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VOLUME XII — PART I

12

A HISTORY OF SPANISH PAINTING

BY

CHANDLER RATHFON POST
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

VOLUME XII — PART I

THE CATALAN SCHOOL IN THE EARLY RENAISSANCE

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Part I

THE CATALAN SCHOOL IN THE EARLY RENAISSANCE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The statement generally made by historians of Spanish art to the effect that at the commencement of the Renaissance the Catalan school of painting began to decline from the preëminence which it had enjoyed throughout the Middle Ages is true only in a limited and particular sense. Production continued as copious as in the past, some of it high in quality, but the difference was that we owe a large amount of it to foreigners from Navarre, Portugal, Naples, and northern Europe, indeed the best of it if we think of Pedro Nunyes and are willing to equate the St. Felix Master with Joan de Burgunya. This intrusion had started at the end of the fifteenth century with, for example, the Andalusian Bermejo, the German Anye Bru, and, of lesser calibre, the Castilian Pedro Bello, but in the Quattrocento quite as notable distinction had attached to the major part of the pictorial output which was characteristically Catalan and under the indigenous control of Huguet and the atelier of the Vergós family, not to speak of the but slightly less gifted followers of these artists. During the Renaissance the preserved works and even more the archives show that a very great number of native painters enjoyed extensive patronage, and yet, so far as our information goes and if, as is likely, the St. Felix Master was an alien, they yielded somewhat in attainments to the foreign colony, even although we do not overlook the most talented of the indigenous group, such men as Jaime Forner and the Catalan Monogrammist.

The reasons for the rise and fall of movements in art are doubtless multiple and often misunderstood, eluding our knowledge or acumen, but the most plausible guess for the partial decadence of local proficiency in Catalonia is the beginning of the loss of independence through the contemporary tendency to the centralization of Spain about the Castilian court. Great art has flourished under despotisms as in France of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries or in western Spain itself during the rule of the second, third, and fourth Philips, but the impairment of the free spirit of a whole region, as in Catalonia from the sixteenth century onward, because of subordination to a distant government, is likely to detract from the stimulus to magnanimous achievement. In the other sections of the peninsula the temper of liberty had run less high, so that the increased centralization was not so much of a change from prior conditions or so deeply felt a shock to indigenous artistic effort. The result was that even in Aragon and Valencia with its territory, i.e., in the other divisions of what had been the separate, eastern kingdom, pictorial creation remained in the hands of local aspirants. Indeed Valencia now and henceforth produced, or was the residence of, some of the most renowned names in the annals of Spanish art.

Barcelona maintained its prestige as the focus and training school of the painters of Catalonia, constituting their most usual residence. So far as may be judged by what is extant, Gerona and its province furnished a richer field for painters even than in the past; but some of the actual monuments were executed by men employed at Barcelona and in other parts of the Catalan domain, and the person who deserves the credit for the finest works of the period at Gerona and in its environs, the St. Felix Master, if, as is nearly certain, identical with Joan de Burgunya, was at least for a considerable time one of Barcelona's citizens. Nevertheless, the native painter for whom I have coined the pseudonym of the Catalan Monogrammist seems to have centered in the province of Gerona, enjoying an enormous popularity as he filled the district with his altarpieces, and the eminent scholar, Juan Ainaud de Lasarte,[1] has extracted from the archives a long array of painters dwelling at or near Gerona during the period who cannot be connected with any still existing production but who, like the Monogrammist, prove that the city formed, in Catalonia, one of the lesser spots of artistic fermentation. Vich also obtained distinction as a place of pictorial significance through the presence of the shop of the Gascó family. Nor can it be doubted that Tarragona, with its province, enjoyed a separate artistic life, because, although it bestowed at least a single commission upon the St. Felix Master and although one of its painters, the Alforja Master, may be the same as a Francisco Ribes of Barcelona, it possessed a nucleus of its own manipulators of the brush in such men as Jaime Segarra, Master Oliva, and the Master of Pedro de Cardona. Likewise, western Catalonia, with its capitals of Lérida in the south and La Seo de Urgel in the north, while occasionally attracting artists from Barcelona, extended its favors to groups of local painters, especially the Canillo Master. Roussillon and Cerdagne, still sections of the Catalan domain, did not lose their connection with painting south of the Pyrenees, inasmuch, for instance, as Jaime Forner and Antonio Peytaví found employment on both sides of the present border between France and eastern Spain, and yet the two northern provinces were the homes of largely independent, autochthonous subdivisions of the whole Catalan school, less subject to French influence than would have been expected.

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[1] Note 11 in a brilliant article, the manuscript of a lecture, a general account of Catalan painting of the sixteenth century. With his habitual magnanimity he has sent me a typed copy of the article, to which I shall often wish to refer in these pages.

More directly dependent on the tutelage and style of Barcelona was the commendable production of Sardinia, which continued to belong to Spain. There has been a very prevalent and rather pernicious tendency to look upon the painting of the island in the period that now concerns us as turning more and more to Italy for its models; but even the outstanding Sardinian member of the profession, Pedro Cavaro, imitated the example of his predecessors of the fifteenth century by spending an apprenticeship at Barcelona, and, although in his full maturity he inclined in greater degree to the manner of the High Renaissance, he became no more Italianate than his compeers in Catalonia proper. In the subsequent chapter on Sardinia, even more than in former volumes, we shall adduce evidence for the intimate ties with Catalan art in the Quattrocento; but by the end of this century the granting of commissions to celebrities in Catalonia had pretty well ceased, and the local Sardinian painters had evolved enough competence to have trained some others without sending them all to the mother country. Indeed, the majority of works at the beginning of the sixteenth century reveal more or less indebtedness to the chief boast of late mediaeval painting in Sardinia, the Castelsardo Master, who himself, however, may actually have been born in Catalonia and, as we shall perceive on a later page, was certainly there active for a time. Howbeit, so far as a local school existed on the island, it ran closely parallel to the modes of the Spanish east coast. Curiously enough, Majorca, though nearer than Sardinia to Catalonia, owed pictorially more in the Cinquecento to Valencia whose modes in the previous century had disputed with Barcelona for the favor of the islanders. Moreover, the standard of production plainly degenerated, generally speaking, from the interesting achievements of Majorca in the Quattrocento. The most significant of the painters active in the island at the commencement of the sixteenth century, Manuel Ferrando, who perhaps even was born in western Spain, is definitely known to have sojourned in Italy and brought thence to Palma an Umbro-Florentine style, little adulterated by any native aesthetic tendencies.

Like even the best painters in the other Spanish centres during the phase of development treated in this and my recent volumes, the transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, the less enterprising of the Catalan personalities merely changed the forms and compositions of the mediaeval past to a limited degree, loosening their asperities, articulating the bodies somewhat more naturally, idealizing the countenances a bit, exhibiting a dim consciousness of the classical types of Italy, and often substituting for the Gothic settings simulated ancient architecture or its adaptations in the sixteenth century. The outstanding practitioners of the pictorial profession in Catalonia, on the other hand, were partially divorced from the previous tradition of the region, ordinarily reverting to it only for minor ideas in composition, iconography, and the like. One reason was that some of them were foreigners or foreign-trained. Pedro Nunyes not only was an alien, but he joined with others in venturing a break with the Catalan past by adopting somewhat prematurely the style of the Roman Renaissance, retaining with them, however, enough reminiscences of the primitive to warrant inclusion in a volume that, strictly speaking, covers the transition to the later period. Even the native-born artists Jaime Forner and the Balaguer Master illustrate the phenomenon of a considerable severance from the earlier Catalan school through an assumption of classicism. Pedro Cavaro in Sardinia succeeded in fusing better the traits of the High Renaissance with a lingering allegiance to mediaeval precedent. There were in the Catalan domain only two painters of whose visits to Italy we are definitely informed, Manuel Ferrando of Majorca and Pedro Cavaro of Sardinia; but it is hard to find in the world another place than Italy where at the time the exponents of classicism in Catalonia about whom we have no record of an Italian experience could have acquired so thorough an acquaintance with the developed Renaissance, and it is very unlikely that they might have obtained such an education from the still restricted transplantations of the modes to any sections of the Iberian peninsula. No Italians of sufficient eminence to have established the style emigrated to Catalonia. The Neapolitan Nicolás de Credensa, so far as our meagre evidence goes, was merely a lame conservative and a general manager of artistic enterprises rather than a powerful personality in the Barcelona *milieu*. Occasionally the divorce from the older trends of Catalan art was caused by personal idiosyncrasies, as probably in the case of the Canillo Master who precociously indulged in a pronounced aspect of mannerism. It is this partial rupture with the former course of painting that, together with the presence of a number of foreign competitors, differentiated the Catalan school of the early Renaissance from its rivals in the rest of Spain.

Some minor extraneous influences were at work in addition to the effects that the strangers had upon indigenous performers, as of the St. Felix Master upon the Catalan Monogrammist. Diversely from the situation in Andalusia, the Antwerp mannerists as yet played only a very sporadic rôle in the formation of the painters active in Catalonia, but, instead, the prints of Dürer, as Angulo[2] has perceptively shown, were unexpectedly the sources for compositions to a greater extent than elsewhere in Spain, even probably than in contemporary Aragon. Despite the changes from the nature of the Catalan school in the fifteenth century, there was much that remained the same. The themes continued to be religious in Catalonia throughout the first decades of the Cinquecento, which constitute the period treated in this book, and, as almost without exception elsewhere in conservative and pious Spain, there was still no patronage for portraits dissociated from the donors of sacred pictures or for the mythological, historical, and other secular subjects that already constituted so much of the meat of art in Italy. A subsidiary result was that the paintings, as in the past, were executed on wood, the material for retables and other pieces of ecclesiastical furniture, and not yet on cloth, save for rare and special reasons. The noble tradition of mural painting in Catalonia had long since fallen into desuetude, and neither here nor anywhere else in the peninsula had the invasion of Italian frescoists yet begun. The guild of bridle-makers, in which the painters at Barcelona were oddly enrolled, still persisted as a forceful organization, but as early at least as the middle of the fifteenth century the representatives of the pictorial profession had been formed also into an association of continuing vitality under the patronage of St. Luke.

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[2] *Archivo español de arte*, XVII (1944), 327.

SECTION 1

FOREIGN AND PRESUMPTIVELY FOREIGN PAINTERS WITH THEIR FOLLOWERS

CHAPTER II

JUAN GASCÓ

1. Biography, Style, and Sources

The transition in painting from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance was chiefly made in Catalonia by an artist who raises problems that will later concern us and prove actually more interesting than the intrinsic quality of his productions themselves. Now generally known as Juan Gascó, he enjoyed at Vich and in the surrounding towns a busy career of extensive ecclesiastical patronage which a scholarly and thorough-going monograph by the elder Gudiol,[1] together with additions in subsequent articles,[2] enables us to follow in great detail. In the earliest mentions of him in the long series of Vich documents,[3] which begin on April 11, 1503, he is denominated in Catalan as Joan Navarro (or, in Latin, Joannes Navarro) and as by this time a citizen of Vich. Furthermore, in a contract of April 5, 1505, for a retable of St. Honoratus and the Virgin in the cathedral of this city, to make us doubly sure that the surname means that he had originated in Navarre, the full name "Joan Navarro" is followed by the redundant supplement, "painter of the kingdom of Navarre." Commencing, however, with his commission of February 3, 1507, to execute a retable for the church of San Juan del Galí (also called San Juan de Riuprimer) in the suburbs of Vich, he is called in the documents Joan Gascó, but that we have to do with the same person is demonstrated by the considerations that in this contract with Galí the words, "of the kingdom of Navarre," ensue immediately upon the appellation, "Joan Gascó," that in the numerous later references to him the same specification or the adjective "navarro" is often used together with the "Gascó," and that in the notices of payment for the decoration of a cupboard in the cathedral of Vich as late as June 11, 1525, in one instance he is styled "Joan Gascó" and in another still by his simple, old title, "Joan Navarro." Although he was residing in the city of Tudela[4] in (Spanish) Navarre prior to his emigration to Catalonia, in designating his parents in his will of March 18, 1529, he vouchsafes the information that his father had been a farmer of the Navarrese town of Tafalla (directly south of Pamplona). The word "Gascó" is, of course, an adjective signifying *Gascon,* and the Catalans of the early sixteenth century might conceivably have loosely described Spanish Navarre as a part of Gascony, so that even the "Gascó" would have only a geographical sense; but the fact that it is followed in the documents by the adjective "navarro" would imply that it had at least become a surname, whether or not because the family had originally emigrated into Spanish Navarre from Gascony in France, and Gudiol suggests that in 1507 he began to call himself more accurately "Gascó" in order to avoid confusion with other Navarrese then residing at Vich. Because he did not easily assimilate the Catalan tongue or through pride in his Navarrese origin, he always continued to use the Castilian language when he himself wrote in the documents. In emigrating to Catalonia, he was only following the precedent set by a number of other artists from western Spain in the fifteenth century.[5]

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[1] J. Gudiol, *Mestre Joan Gascó, Estudis universitaris catalans,* I (1907), 281–301, 358–381, and II (1908), 13–38: reprinted as a small, separate book, Barcelona, 1908. The references in my following pages are to the separate book.

[2] I will later specify the articles as occasion requires.

[3] Unless it is otherwise stated, all the documents to which I refer in my discussion of Juan Gascó will be found by consulting Gudiol's monograph.

The array of records that Gudiol has collected identify a number of extant paintings as Gascó's creations, hence establishing conclusively his style and enabling us to attribute to him on internal evidence other preserved, undocumented works. Fate has thus been perverse in handing down to us so rich a legacy from Gascó, whereas it has restricted the inheritance from many a greater master to exiguous proportions. The archives include also the memory of many productions by Gascó that have perished, but they contain little else about him of importance to the historian of art. It is not really apposite to our purpose to observe that the wording of the documents may signify that he first lived out of wedlock with the Juana whom he soon married and from whom he begat many children.[6] Three of his offspring appear to have followed the paternal profession, Francisco, Sebastián, and Pedro, but only the last is for us a definite personality, whom it will be our duty to study on subsequent pages. Juan Gascó's decoration of some escutcheons for use in the memorial service at Vich in 1504 in honor of the recently deceased Queen Isabella[7] merely connects him with the history of his period. He himself died sometime between his will of March 18, 1529, and November 8 of this year when his widow and daughters took steps to acquire their bequests.

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[4] By an unpardonable oversight I have not come across a publication of the document stating his residence in Tudela, but writing as early as 1911 the trustworthy Gudiol (*Pàgina artística,* No. 103, of the Barcelona newspaper, *La Veu de Catalunya* of December 10, 1911) calls him a son of this Navarrese city, an affiliation that appears in all modern accounts of the painter.

[5] See my vol. VII, p. 45.

[6] We have seen in vol. XI, p. 11, that the word "natural" did not necessarily at this time mean *illegitimate,* so that it is not certain that Gudiol is right in believing that, of Gascó's two sons named Francisco, the one in his will labelled with this

From Gudiol's long list of contracts and other allusions to his retables and minor works in the documents, I will refer in this chapter only to those surely or possibly mentioning extant works, leaving the curious reader to peruse the others, if he so desires, in the Catalan scholar's monograph. Since the issuance of his book a few further data have come to light. Most important of these is the documentation of a work that, as we shall find, occupies a very significant position in the master's development, the retable on the high altar of the parish church at the town of San Pedro de Vilamajor, just north of Granollers. Burned in the cataclysm of 1936, it existed to a late enough date to be excellently photographed by the Archivo de Arqueología Catalana, and I myself had the good fortune to study it *in situ* just two days before the disturbances in Catalonia broke out. The long contract of Gascó, dated February 2, 1513, and his receipts for payment on December 18, 1514, and February 4, 1516, were published by Ferran de Segarra in 1911.[8] The commission included also the polychromy of the vault of the apse and of the arch of entrance to it, above the retable, but this decoration perished when at the beginning of the seventeenth century the old church was torn down and a new one substituted but when happily the whole retable was preserved and merely transferred, with a few changes in the arrangement of its parts, to the more modern edifice. On reading the documents, Gudiol[9] wrote an article about the retable in which he analyzed the original construction of its components. In this article

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adjective was a bastard, despite the fact that he is separated in the document from the rest of the children. Directly underneath in the will, indeed, the adjective "natural" probably should be interpreted as merely and actually emphasizing legitimacy in the terms applied to his daughters, "legitimis et naturalibus."

[7] See the appendix to Gudiol's monograph.

[8] In the *Pàgina artística*, No. 95, of the Barcelona newspaper, *La Veu de Catalunya*, of October 12, 1911.

[9] In the *Pàgina artística*, No. 103, of *La Veu de Catalunya* of December 10, 1911.

also he accepted as later achievements of Gascó two panels hailing from another altar in the church of San Pedro de Vilamajor and now in the Diocesan Museum at Barcelona.

Moreover, in a further article of the year 1912,[10] he published Gascó's contract of January 5, 1522, for a retable of the two St. Johns, St. Michael, and St. Furtianus in the church of the town of San Félix de Torelló (north of Vich) which he had only summarized in his monograph. The retable is not preserved, but his employment at San Félix, and also earlier in 1509, according to a contract that Gudiol does include in his book, for a likewise lost altarpiece at the adjacent village of San Pedro de Torelló demonstrates his popularity in the district, and thus adds its witness to the stylistic evidence to prove that Gascó did the extant, undocumented retable from another not distant hamlet, San Vicente de Torelló, now in the Vich Museum. The actual source of the retable is not the parish church of San Vicente de Torelló but the near-lying *ermita* of San Vicente de Borgoña. J. M. Madurell's publication [11] of Gascó's receipt of January 3, 1526, for remuneration for two lost retables that he had done in the church of the monastery of San Miguel del Fay, south of Vich (near San Félix de Codinas), possesses the importance of showing that his reputation had spread to Barcelona, since the orders came from no less a personage than the director of the Royal Treasury in Catalonia, a Jaime Ferrer; but, since the monastery lies in the general region of Gascó's other activity, we have yet to discover any notice of his employment in the capital Barcelona itself. Furthermore, the archivist of the cathedral of La Seo de Urgel, Don Pedro Pujol, has divulged [12] the record of payment to Gascó at the end of October, 1528, for the expenses of a journey to this city on an unspecified mission, but it is impossible to accept Pujol's suggestion that this painter might be the author of the retable once in the Iglesia de la Piedad at La Seo de Urgel but now belonging to the Conde de Egara at Tarrasa, since he was dead by the time that, not before 1530, it was executed and since, as we shall see,[13] it has recently been recognized as an achievement of Pedro Nunyes.

The chief problem in which Gascó involves us is the pronounced change in his manner that took place at least as early as 1521, the date of his retable for the town of Prúit, from which the Vich Museum possesses the only extant relic, a Crucifixion. He started out as a mediaeval painter, exhibiting no higher than indifferent talents, but he eventually adopted a style not only impregnated with traits of the Italian Renaissance, in particular apparently as embodied in Umbria, but so diverse in its types of humanity and indeed in its general character from the modes of his beginnings at Vich that one could scarcely believe the productions of this second period to be the creations of the man responsible for the works of the first decade of the century, unless both series were soundly assigned to Juan Gascó by the documents. Moreover, he emerges in the second group as having decidedly improved his technical capacity and as at least a tolerable exponent of his art. We cannot resort to the explanation that he turned over the execution of these later works to his son Pedro, who, to be sure, passed entirely into the fashions of the Renaissance but whose paintings exhibit types of persons unlike those of Juan. As a matter of fact, the retable of 1513 for San Pedro de Vilamajor fortunately shows the alteration taking place in Juan himself, fusing, as it does, reminiscences of his early manner and prophecies of his mature attainments. Furthermore, the types of his beginnings occasionally crop forth in his mature creations, and, *vice versa*, there are a few timid prognostications of the Renaissance during his first years at Vich. The easiest theory would be that he made a journey to Italy, lingering in Umbria and possibly Siena, inasmuch as his productions are very like inferior manifestations of the achievements of Pintoricchio's Sienese disciple, Matteo Balducci. Although we can follow his career at Vich in the documents year by year, yet there are intervals of months that he could have spent in the not too distant, sister peninsula, and, despite his meagre artistic gifts, his ability to metamorphose his manner reveals that he was a person at least of sufficient mental alertness to have stimulated him to seek inspiration in the country that was then the fountain-head of European aesthetic proclivities. The sight of the Italian masterpieces of the Renaissance and perhaps the privilege of short study in the shop of some Italian artist would probably account for the rise in the level of his ability.

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[10] *Butlletí del Centre Excursionista de Vich,* I (1912), 46–48; republished by Fortiá Solá, *Historia de Torelló,* Barcelona, II, 1948, pp. 42–43.

[11] *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona,* II, 1 (1944), 65.

[12] *Analecta sacra tarraconensia,* I (1925), 337, n.16.

[13] P. 201.

We can, however, by no means scout the possibility that the transmutation of his style and attainments took place at home and was occasioned merely by the influence of his superior rivals whose activity lay in the contiguous province of Gerona and who adopted wholeheartedly and more successfully mastered the lessons of the Italian Renaissance, the painters whom I shall call the St. Felix Master and the Catalan Monogrammist. The types of Gascó's maturity are to a certain extent like feebler dilutions of the Monogrammist's models, and, although they are more similar to those of Pintoricchio and even the young Raphael than are the men and women whom we meet in the Monogrammist's output, it is conceivable that they embody an autonomous modification by Gascó of his rival's forms, independently resulting in the analogies to the Umbrian school. He might even have absorbed what he knew of the Italian Renaissance at Valencia, where the new movement was early engrafted, especially as it expressed itself in Ferrarese and Bolognese terms, which are perhaps sufficiently analogous to those of Umbria to have constituted the basis of Gascó's later manner. If he was familiar with Valencian production, he acquired much less from Paolo da San Leocadio than from such painters as the St. Narcissus Master and the Artés Master, to the second of whom he often approaches with rather amazing closeness.

Another problem is the question whether the source of his first style was the manner that Pedro Diáz had established in Navarre at the end of the fifteenth century or the very similar modes of Pablo Vergós in Catalonia. Certainly he owed little or nothing to the serene aspect of painting that Huguet had made the norm for the greater part of the Catalan school at the end of the Middle Ages, but the quite fortuitous correspondence of the harsher Pablo Vergós to Pedro Díaz and his Navarrese followers that I stressed in volume VII [14] is so marked that we cannot lightly set aside the hypothesis that Gascó was supplied by Pablo with the Vich painter's earliest style of which we are cognizant. On the whole, nevertheless, the balance weighs in favor of the theory that he came to Vich with his pictorial manner already fixed and derived from the fashions which he had learned in his native province in the *entourage* of Pedro Díaz. The figures of Gascó, for instance, are likely to be hidden in the cascades of Hispano-Flemish drapery that Pedro Díaz affected to an even greater extent than Pablo Vergós, although from the first in Gascó a breath of the Renaissance has slightly smoothed out Pedro's excessive and schematized puckering of the folds. The work in Navarre that most nearly approximates Gascó's manner is the retable of the Crucifix, apparently influenced by Díaz, in the cathedral of Pamplona; [15] but it was probably executed after his removal to Catalonia, and neither in this nor in any other Navarrese paintings does it seem possible to detect his hand.[16]

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[14] P. 430.

The embossing of the gold in his early productions has no bearing upon the origins of the essentials of his style, for Pedro Díaz, like the Catalans, was accustomed thus to render the haloes and such appurtenances as the borders of garments; and the embossing, in which Díaz does not indulge, of the ostentatious patterns in the gold backgrounds was merely demanded of Gascó by his patrons in accordance with the long established and peculiar Catalan practice. Indeed, probably because the chaster taste of the Renaissance was suppressing the mediaeval predilection for this auric splendor even in Catalonia where it had been so deeply embedded, he soon abandoned the raised and gilded stucco embellishments and was content, as sometimes were the earlier Catalan masters themselves, with the tooling of the flat gold surfaces that we encounter, as a matter of fact, in the general Hispano-Flemish production of western Spain in which the Navarrese school was included. The only instances where the embossings intrude into the subordinate compartments are found in his earliest extant retable, made before 1503 for the church of San Juan de Fábregas, and in the Prophets alone in the retable of San Pedro de Vilamajor, where, at the later date of 1513, the usage reappears merely because Gascó was required to imitate the Prophets by Pablo Vergós [17] at Granollers. The last dated monument in which the embossings occur in the background and details of the principal compartment is the retable of 1507 at San Juan del Galí.

2. Documented Works

In the case of the earliest production by Juan Gascó from which pieces are preserved, a retable for the church of the town of San Juan de Fábregas (northeast of Vich), we do not possess the contract, but the panels, now in the Vich Museum, are authenticated by the fact that in the agreement with him of April 11, 1503, to do a

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[15] Vol. IX, p. 722.

[16] After writing this paragraph, I find that José Gudiol Ricart (*Pintura gótica*, Madrid, 1955, p. 384, vol. IX in the series *Ars Hispaniae*) also sees in Gascó the influence of Pedro Díaz and even the former's collaboration in his retable of the high altar in the cathedral of Tudela.

[17] See below, p. 26.

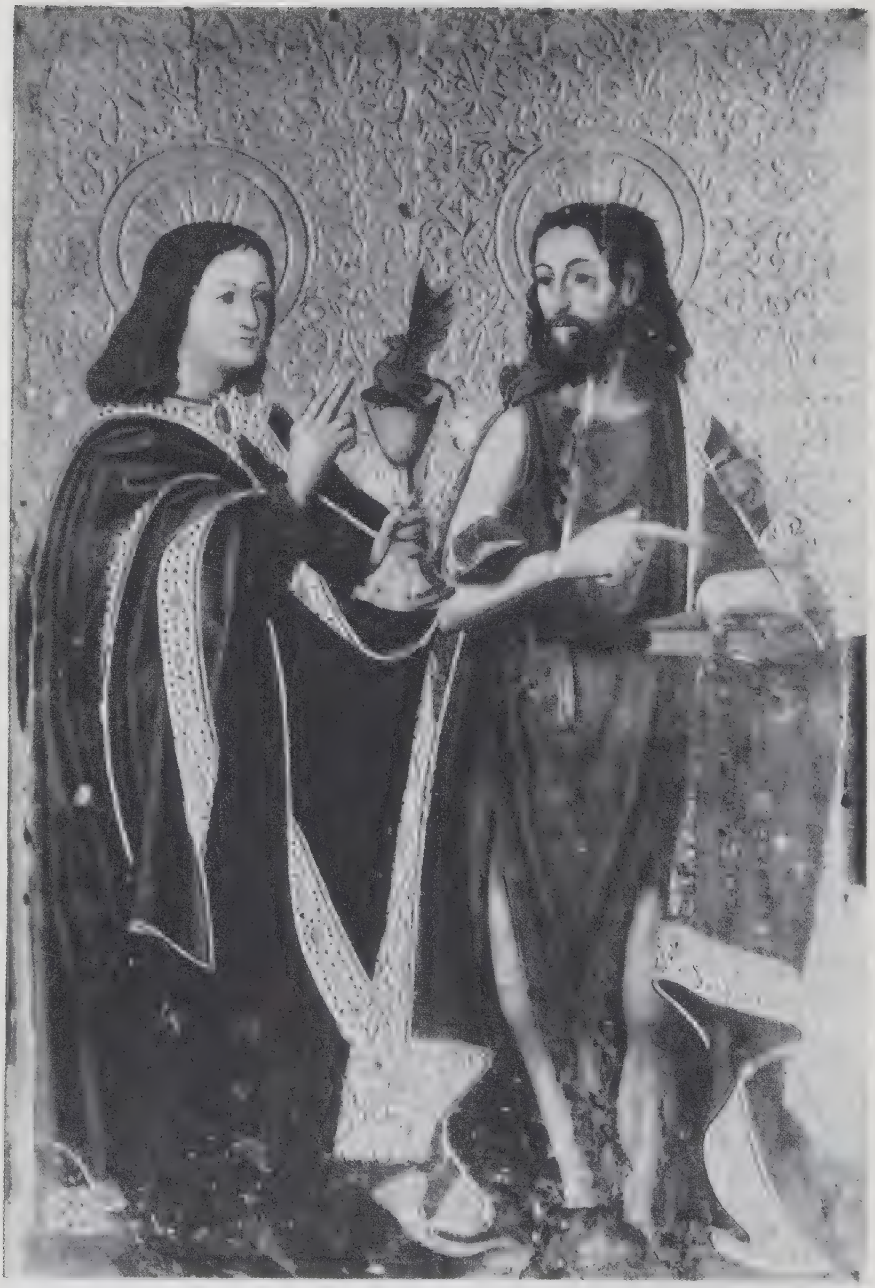

Fig. 1. JUAN GASCÓ. THE TWO ST. JOHNS,
CENTRE OF RETABLE. MUSEUM, VICH
(*Photo. Thomas*)

(lost) retable at Vilanova de Sau (east of Vich) it is ordered that the gold shall be treated in the same way as in the altarpiece at San Juan de Fábregas which he is specifically stated already to have painted. We can thus place him at Vich and date the panels at least as early as the year previous, 1502. They comprise: the principal compartment, displaying effigies of the two St. Johns standing against a rather freely meandering foliate pattern of raised gold such as we often encounter in Catalan pictures of the fifteenth century instead of the formalized designs from brocades (Fig. 1); and two of the lateral, narrative divisions, representing the Precursor's Baptism of Christ and St. John Evangelist composing the Apocalypse on Patmos, both scenes set in mildly pleasing landscapes. The style still belongs wholly within the precincts of the Hispano-Flemish modes of the late fifteenth century, manipulated by a not too competent craftsman, with the St. John on Patmos and the angel mentioned in the first verse of the Book of Revelation patently embodying even at this late moment the Flemish ingredient in this composite phase in the evolution of the Spanish school. The roughness of the type employed for the Baptist might stem either from Pedro Díaz or Pablo Vergós, but the former alternative is implied by the superabundance of angular draperies in which Gascó envelops his personages.

His next documented work of 1507, the retable of the Baptist in the *capilla mayor* of the church of San Juan del Galí,[18] betrays that in the interval of five years he has not altered his style and that, if anything, he has lowered its quality. One or two slight factors might conceivably be interpreted as betokening some dim realization of the Renaissance, but in any case the new movement has as yet meant nothing to him. Almost all the compartments are preserved, conforming exactly in theme, with one slight exception, to the terms of the contract and now built into a structure of the end of the eighteenth century over the high altar. First there is the central panel of the seated Baptist against the embossed gold background that is explicitly required in the agreement, here thrown into an even less formal design of branches and leaves than in the retable for San Juan de Fábregas; then, at the sides, six small scenes from his life which are of such general occurrence that it is not necessary to specify them; the Crucifixion in its customary capping location; and two sections of the predella with half-lengths of paired saints, at the left Barbara and Catherine (whereas the contract had asked for the Magdalene and Eulalia) and at the right Sebastian and Santiago. In the subordinate sections in the main body of the retable and in the predella unembossed gold backgrounds are employed, sometimes again free in their patterns and in other instances derived from the flamboyant, stereotyped character of brocades, but in the Crucifixion the gold has been hidden by repaint. The additional pieces mentioned in the contract have disappeared, the Pietà at the middle of the predella, the doors with effigies of Sts. Peter and Paul, and the *guardapolvos* adorned with heraldry and other purely decorative details.

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[18] See above, p. 11.

It is chiefly in the Crucifixion that we discover elements that we might wrest into prophecies of Gascó's later manner. The Magdalene has something of the smoother, slimmer, and more ideal beauty of the Renaissance, already very like the corresponding figure in the Crucifixion of 1521 from Prúit, but, as in many another instance in the ultimate stages of Hispano-Flemish art, the change may be the result of a natural relaxation of the pristine harshness of the style quite apart from any Italian influence. More suggestive is the establishment, in Perugino's and the young Raphael's mode, of a middle ground, containing small figures of human beings and animals, between the tragedy on Calvary at the front and the city of Jerusalem in the distance. The composition for the Baptism is scarcely varied from the rendering that Gascó did for San Juan de Fábregas, but in the rather vigorously delineated Pharisee in the foreground of the audience of three in the compartment of the Precursor's sermon (Fig. 2) there is some augury of the respectable capacities that the painter was eventually to develop.

A document of March 12, 1508, reiterates the terms of a lost contract of the month of April, 1507, that had been drawn up with Gascó for a retable in the church of San Julián de Vilamirosa, the arrangements for which had been interrupted by an outbreak of the plague. Once a parish church, San Julián de Vilamirosa has degenerated into the status of an *ermita*, near Manlleu, north of Vich, but all the parts of the retable except the *guardapolvos* have survived and are now divided at Vich between the Museum and the Abadal Collection. In the principal panel (Abadal) St. Julian is depicted, according to the demands of the document and according to the general mediaeval Spanish iconography of the theme, as an aristocratic young huntsman carrying his falcon, but Gascó has given his patrons

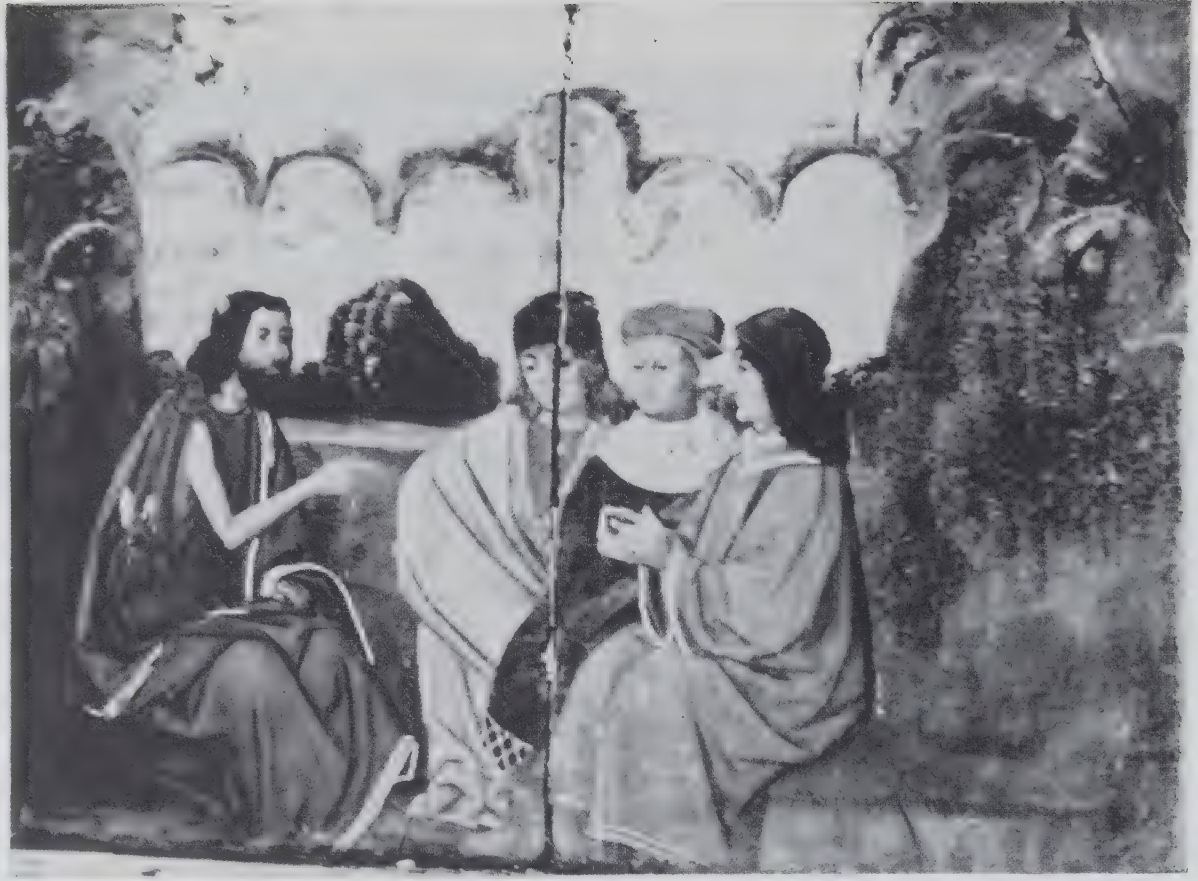

FIG. 2. JUAN GASCÓ. ST. JOHN BAPTIST PREACHING TO THE PHARISEES, SECTION OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, SAN JUAN DEL GALÍ
(*Photo. Mas*)

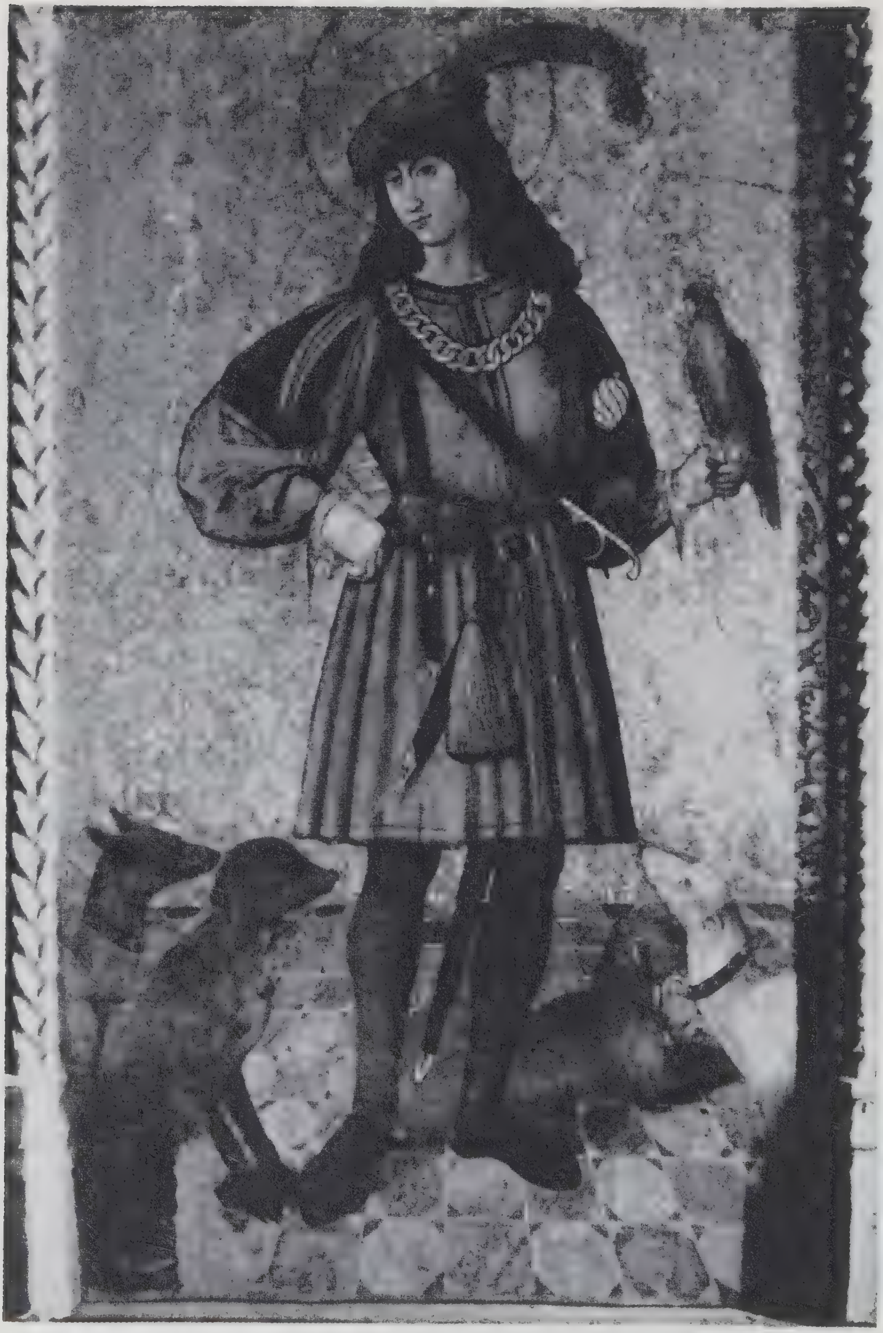

FIG. 3. JUAN GASCÓ. ST. JULIAN, CENTRE OF RETABLE.
ABADAL COLLECTION, VICH
(*Photo. Mas*)

good measure by adding four hounds of the chase, which, however, betray that Providence had not meant him to be a painter of animals (Fig. 3). The Crucifixion (Abadal) curiously lacks the figure of the Magdalene that the contract definitely stipulates, the actors being confined to the suffering Saviour, the Virgin, and St. John. In the lateral compartments, the specified St. Michael and Santiago (both in the Museum) occupy the lower zone. The document states that the commissioners will decide whether the corresponding spaces in the upper zone shall contain effigies of saints or episodes from St. Julian's life, but the former alternative prevailed, causing Gascó to paint the seated Roch and Sebastian (both in the Abadal Collection). The themes of the predella (Museum) are also left to the arbitrament of the donors, and they turn out to be in the middle the Christ of the Mass of St. Gregory between two angels and at the sides half-lengths of Sts. Peter, John Baptist, Stephen, and Paul, designated by underlying inscriptions in Catalan, Stephen's name followed by the initials P and M of Protomartyr. It is also nominated in the bond that the authorities will determine whether the gold backgrounds in the predella (and so, by implication, in the whole retable) shall be embossed or not, and the extant panels reveal that the decision was for flat surfaces, tooled with various brocaded patterns. The style still lies within the Gothic tradition, showing little or no amelioration of the artist's craft, and the only really new element is the sincerity with which in the Crucifixion the grief of the Virgin and St. John is felt.

From a retable for the parish church of San Román de Sau (just east of Vich) that on April 28, 1509, Juan Gascó agreed to execute, there remains only the central panel of St. Romanus (somewhat cut at the left side) in the Orriols Collection at Vich, a dull performance adding to neither our knowledge nor appreciation of the artist (Fig. 4). The gold both of the halo and of the brocaded design in the background is unembossed. The emblem of St. Romanus [19] is here the rack (*eculeus*) upon which, among his various tortures, his body was carded.

We come next to a pivotal creation of Gascó, the retable of 1513–1516 preserved until 1936 over the high altar of the parochial church at San Pedro de Vilamajor, which, as a transitional work, very materially helps to bridge the sharp gap between his two manners. The statue of St. Peter with its Gothic canopy, the polychromy of both

[19] Vol. VII, p. 586.

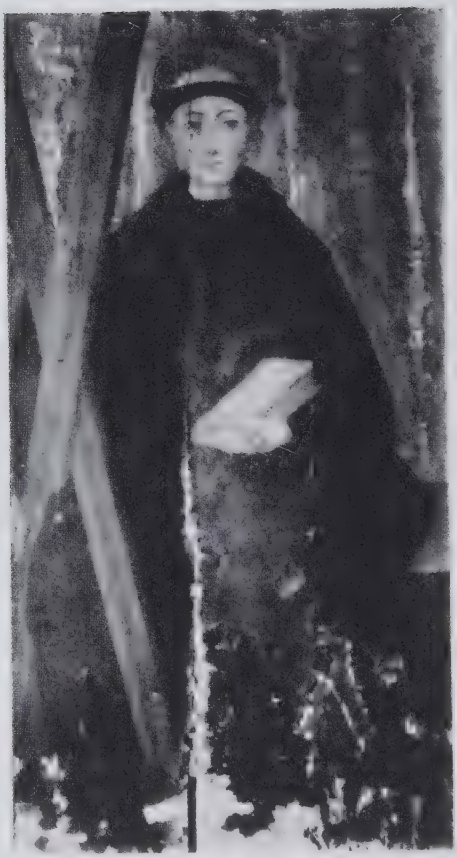

FIG. 4. JUAN GASCÓ. ST. ROMANUS.
ORRIOLS COLLECTION, VICH
(*Photo. Mas*)

of which he was ordered to do in the contract for the retable,[20] was moved higher up in its position at the centre of the structure when in the seventeenth century the retable was transferred to the new church, the purpose being to give place below to the elaborate baroque tabernacle of the year 1660. Until the retable's destruction in our day, the paintings consisted, first, of four large flanking scenes from St. Peter's life the subjects of which are left in the contract to the authorities of the town, who eventually chose his calling by Christ, together with St. Andrew, his resurrection, in company with St. Paul,

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[20] See above, p. 13.

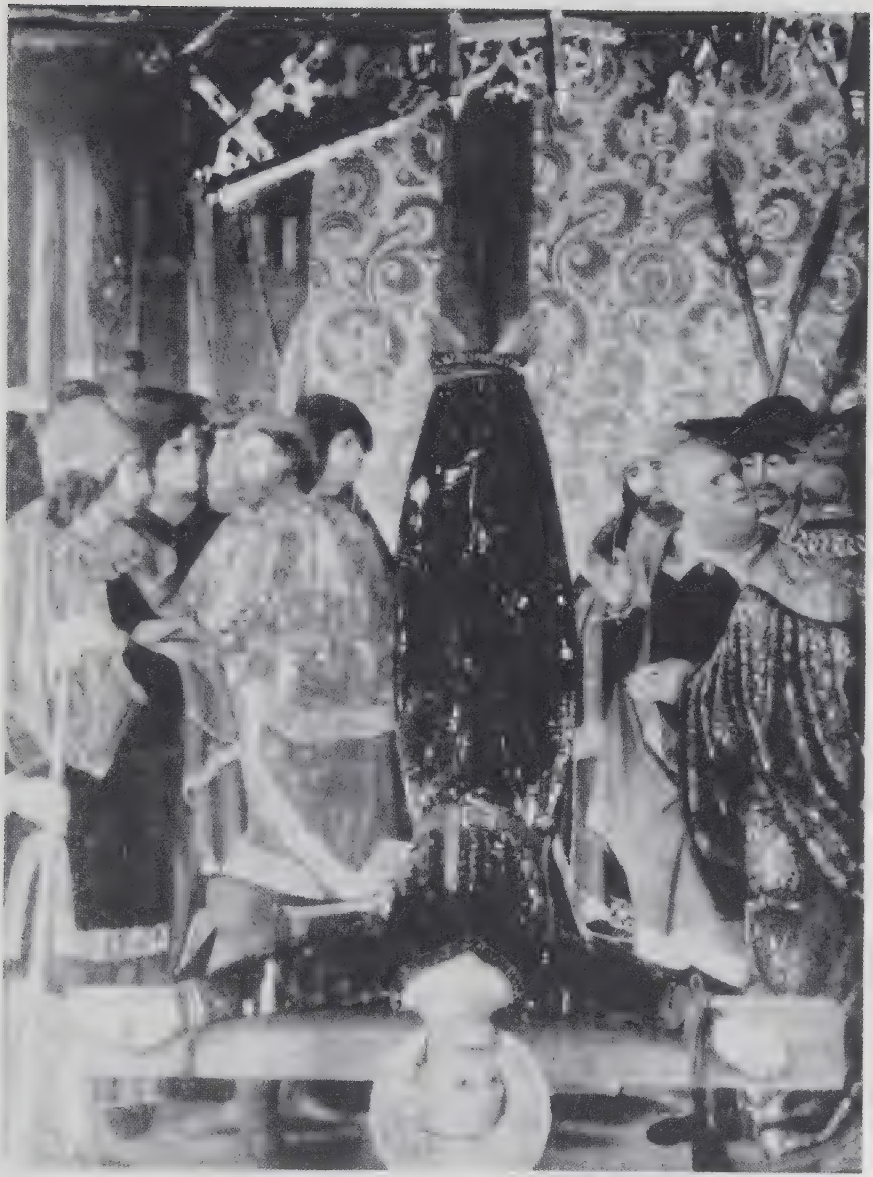

Fig. 5. JUAN GASCÓ. CRUCIFIXION OF ST. PETER, SECTION OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, SAN PEDRO DE VILAMAJOR
(*Photo. Mas*)

of the youth upon whom the incantations of Simon Magus had failed,[21] the "Quo vadis" episode, and the Apostle's crucifixion (Fig. 5). On the tabernacle, Gascó depicted Christ of the Passion in the central face and the mourning Virgin and St. John in the lateral pieces, but the Christ was eventually inserted in the uppermost level of the baroque tabernacle and the two other figures on the tabernacle's back. The scenes of the Flagellation and Via Dolorosa demanded in the contract to flank the original tabernacle in the predella were at the time of the reconstruction set at either side of the middle level of the later tabernacle, but, since thus two spaces were left below in the new arrangement, they were filled with a pair of panels, embodying the legend of St. Michael, which have now been discovered to be by a painter, Francisco Mestre, and must derive from some other retable once in the church.[22] The *guardapolvos,* with the four Prophets Abraham, Moses, David, and Isaiah, were transferred, by the reorganization, into parts of the retable's main body, at the outer sides of the narrative scenes. The contract explicitly required that they should be imitated from the Prophets in the retable at Granollers,[23] whom I believe to have been executed by Pablo Vergós, and as a matter of fact Gascó painted the same four worthies of the Old Testament, reproducing their style to a certain extent and even repeating the inscriptions on the accompanying banderoles except in the case of David, for whom there was selected at San Pedro de Vilamajor verse six of the seventy-second Psalm, "Orietur in diebus eius justitia, etc." The orthodox themes for the doors of a retable were Sts. Peter and Paul; but, since the former was already honored in the structure, the contract substitutes Santiago, and by one of the frequent changes in an iconographical program he was eventually ousted by St. Bartholomew.[24] In the reconstruction, beyond the doors were two pilasters, the only sections not itemized in the contract, painted with figures of the four Fathers of the Church smaller in size than the Prophets above. Gudiol believed that the pilasters were parts of the *guardapolvos*, but it is more probable that they constituted only further ornaments of the doors like the four Evangelists in Gascó's retable in the Hospital de S. Bartolomé at Vich.[25] The two doors and pilasters were elevated in the seventeenth century from their pristine spots beside the altar into the body of the retable, framing the predella. The embossing of the brocaded patterns in the gold behind the Prophets was occasioned by the obligation laid upon Gascó of copying the figures by Pablo Vergós, for in the gilded backgrounds in the other compartments the several formalized and flamboyant designs are not emphasized by raised stucco.

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[21] Wrongly denominated by Gudiol as the raising of Tabitha.

[22] See my vol. VII, p. 51. Ainaud has included in his unprinted article (cf. above, p. 4) what he had already kindly revealed to me in conversation, namely that an unpublished note of the elder Gudiol shows the archives of the church to disclose Mestre as the author of the panels of the archangel. I have yet to recognize any other works by his hand, and none of his documented achievements seems now to be preserved; but we possess rather copious notes of his activity stretching from September 11, 1476, to his death about 1500. See: Sanpere y Miquel, *Los cuatrocentistas,* II, 202; José Mas, in *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras,* Barcelona, VI (1911–1912), 256, 435, and 440; and J. M. Madurell in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona,* II, 1 (1944), 37–38, and II, 2 (1944), 66–67. The elder Gudiol states that behind the tabernacle in San Pedro de Vilamajor there was a third panel which did not belong to Gascó's assemblage but the subject of which he does not specify. This I failed to see at my visit to the church.

[23] Vol. VII, p. 425. The younger Gudiol (*Guías artísticas de España, Barcelona,* Barcelona, 1946, p. 181, and in a letter to me) attributes the actual Prophets in the Granollers retable to Gascó, but I cannot agree. In their more primitive but at the same time much more virile and distinguished character, they seem to me worlds apart from the specimens in the altarpiece of San Pedro de Vilamajor and are often duplicated by the facial types in other works by Pablo Vergós. It is one of several contemporary or nearly contemporary Spanish instances of an artist being asked to base himself upon the achievement of another. I still hold by my rejection (vol. X, p. 354) of Angulo's ascription to Gascó of the veronica of Christ in the Museum of Vich that has been generally assigned to Bermejo, whose similar head on the reverse of the Epiphany of Granada (vol. V, p. 186) strengthens his claims to the Vich example. The Granada picture has been fully revealed by cleaning and is illustrated as plate XV in the book by F. J. Sánchez Cantón, *Libros, tapices y cuadros que coleccionó Isabel la Católica,* Madrid, 1950.

In the scenes of the calling and the "Quo vadis" Gascó pretty largely abided by his old, Gothic habits, indeed betraying more sadly than in any of his former works his incompetence in the articulation of movement; and the Christ of the predella also contributed nothing new to his hitherto limited attainments. The small forms of the Roman soldiers searching for the escaped St. Peter in the distance of the "Quo vadis" episode, however, were somewhat accommodated to Umbrian or Ferrarese-Bolognese precedents, and the Flagellation and Via Dolorosa, although the treatment of the Saviour was still retrogressive, included many participants in large scale practically identical with the types that we shall find in his fully evolved second manner. Not only all of the figures at the left in the Flagellation belonged to this forward-looking class, but also in the Via Dolorosa the bravo above Our Lord in particular and the boy with the lance at the right, one of the dapper youths who are so frequent in the master's later output (as at the head of the group beside St. Vincent's bedside in the retable from San Vicente de Torelló) and whom it is difficult to explain save through contact with the art of Pintoricchio and Raphael. In the compartment representing St. Peter's miracle of resurrection, Nero's empress had the countenance that we shall see in the St. Sigismund among the fragments of a later retable in private possession at Vich; the St. Paul was a kind of long-bearded old man often emerging in Gascó's subsequent productions; and the fleshy countenance of the personage just behind St. Peter (Simon Magus?) was afterward much used by the painter, as in the attendant upon the king in the panel from the Hospital de S. Bartolomé at Vich, in a praiseworthy endeavor to individualize his actors sharply. The same almost monstrously obese specimen of humanity was forced into service for two of the spectators at the right in St. Peter's martyrdom, where the style of the Renaissance very perceptibly affected all the men at the left, especially the foremost wearing a jauntily slanting cap, who was to be virtually repeated in the second prominent young witness of St. Vincent's death in the Torelló altarpiece. Gudiol has noted at the right in the background of the "Quo vadis" episode an attempt to give the Roman *milieu* by a suggestion of the Castel Sant' Angelo, which, however, since it may be derived from a print or someone else's description, cannot be taken as an argument for the possibility that Gascó had been in Italy. The encasement of the Prophets in auric splendor was imposed on Gascó by the injunction to have in mind the Vergós prototypes, and he even amplified the volume of Abraham's and David's garments, perhaps because of his Castilian training; but their faces, the only parts that the schematized magnificence left free to his efforts, assumed almost the character of the high Roman Renaissance, and this tendency, carrying with it even something of the dryness of the painting of the later Cinquecento, was even more apparent in the four Fathers, who should be compared with the St. Martial among the figures from another retable that he did subsequently for San Pedro de Vilamajor.[26] With the changes in manner there was already involved a slight realization of higher technical ambitions. As we have seen, Gascó possessed a partial alertness of mind superior to his actual artistic endowment, stimulating him in this instance to give expression to his originality by violating the prescription of the contract so far as to vary slightly Pablo Vergós's conceptions of Abraham and Isaiah and very considerably the treatment of Moses and David.

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[24] The elder Gudiol failed to perceive that St. Bartholomew took the place of Santiago, but the former Apostle is plainly identified not only by the attributes of the knife and demon but even by the inscription in his halo.

[25] See below, p. 35.

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[26] See below, p. 43.

The panel in the Vich Museum of St. Barbara standing before a throne, the principal compartment of an otherwise lost retable for which in the church of the Piedad in this city Gascó contracted on November 25, 1516, is so bound by the long tradition of such paintings at the centre of Spanish altarpieces that it gives us little opportunity to judge how much further by this time he had progressed along the ways of the Renaissance (Fig. 6). His draughtsmanship, however, has improved; he has acquired some ability to pose a figure easily and gracefully; the architecture of the throne, including a tympanum adorned with the shell *motif*, is very definitely Italianate; and the nature of the martyr's face and its delicacy seem plainly to witness to an admiration for Pintoricchio's style. Brocaded gold again constitutes the background, and the emblem of the tower is set at one side, in exactly the spot where the contract requires. The inscription of St. Barbara's name in Roman letters in the lower left corner of the panel is probably a much later addition.

Another sole relic of an authenticated altarpiece, the Crucifixion in the Vich Museum from a retable in the church of S. Andrés at Prúit (northeast of Vich), for which the contract is dated April 6, 1521, turns out to be more instructive, though less attractive, than the St. Barbara (Fig. 7). Were it not for the document and for the partial predictions in his earlier undertakings, one would hardly recognize the painter of San Juan de Fábregas and San Juan del Galí in these slim and elegant forms in which his old asperity has been mitigated by Italianism. The Virgin is one among many of the types in his later productions arrestingly similar to the persons depicted by the Artés Master at Valencia. He maintained until the end his golden skies, here tooled with one of his favorite patterns, a repeated rosette. The great vogue of Dürer's prints as models for the Catalan artists of the period that Angulo[27] has demonstrated is strikingly illustrated by the fact that even so provincial a painter as Gascó was familiar enough with them to use as prototypes for the Virgin and

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[27] *Archivo español de arte*, XVII (1944), 327–330; and for the many examples noted in the present volume, see the entry Dürer in the index of names.

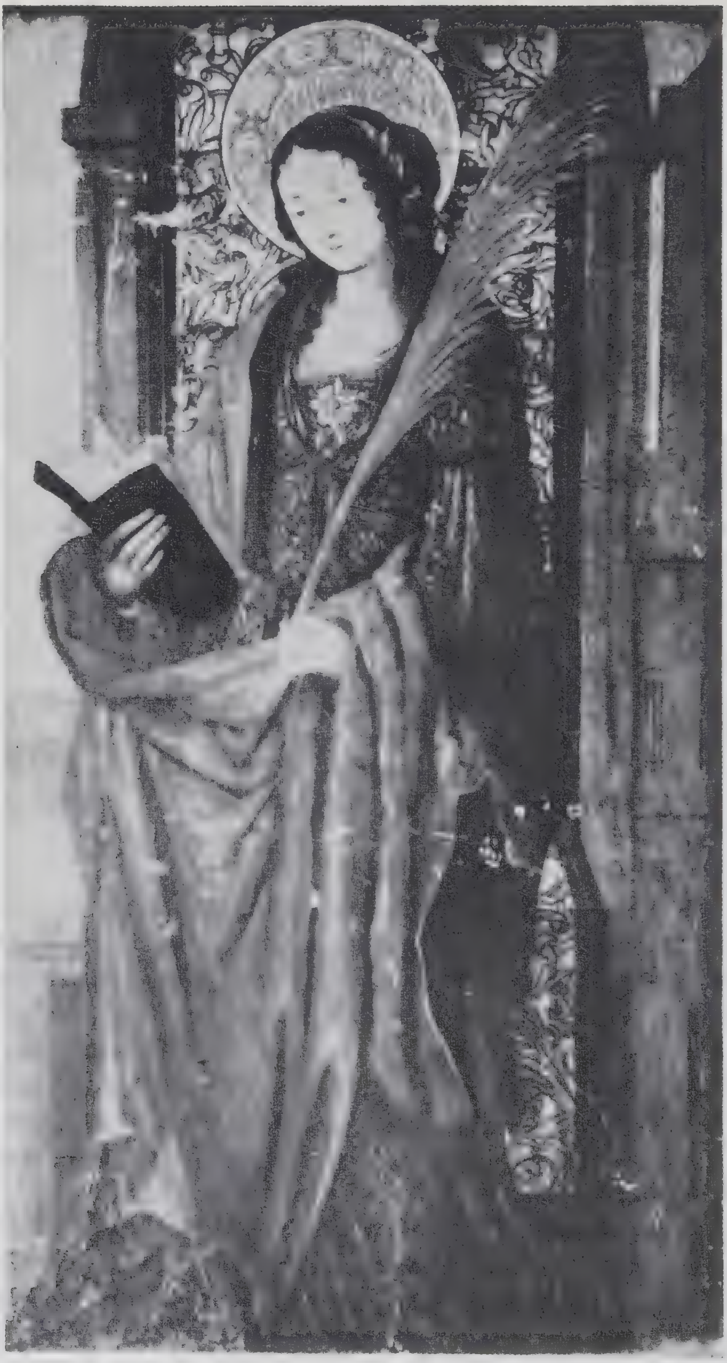

FIG. 6. JUAN GASCÓ. ST. BARBARA. MUSEUM, VICH
(*Photo. Serra*)

St. John in this Crucifixion the corresponding figures in the engraving of the theme comprised in the series of the Little Passion.

On June 11, 1525, and again on the same or an immediately succeeding day he was remunerated for painting the door of a cupboard which in the cathedral of Vich contained silver vessels and other precious objects of cult. From this commission the Vich Museum possesses a panel that constituted the whole or perhaps one valve of the door, divided into eight small, rectangular compartments, two in each of the four tiers, decorated with busts of Prophets and Sibyls enveloped by inscribed scrolls and executed in grisaille against alternating red and blue backgrounds. The six upper figures are Prophets; but the pair in the top row are preserved only in part, and their inscriptions so far destroyed as to be unidentifiable and to forestall the personages' recognition. Of the four succeeding Prophets, Amos and Jonah display scrolls merely with pious sentiments from their writings,[28] but the verses from Joel and Habakkuk bear upon the use of the chest to contain the church's treasure.[29] The two lowest compartments are reserved for Sibyls,[30] in whom I can see no reason for discerning, with Gudiol, the Cumaean and Erythraean. The sources of the inscriptions encircling them are found, as generally in the iconography of the period,[31] among the many Christian predictions ascribed to the various Sibyls by the Latin writer of the early Church, Lactantius. Both of those chosen for Gascó's panel come from the end of the eighteenth chapter of the seventh book of the *Divinae institutiones* of Lactantius and look forward to the advent of Christ: "A summo sole egressio eius" (evidently an adaptation of the Greek that Lactantius puts in the mouth of one of his Sibyls, more usually done into Latin as "Tunc ex sole Deus mittet regem"); and (now conforming to the regular Latin translation), "Grave servitutis iugum tollet et impias leges (solvet)." [32]

The door incorporates a fairly capable style of the Renaissance quite surprisingly analogous to that of Pintoricchio and Balducci. The foppish youth into whom Amos is strangely transformed seems

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[28] In the case of Amos, V, 4–5, and of Jonah, II, 3.

[29] Joel, III, 5, and Habakkuk, II, 6.

[30] For further examples of the Sibyls, not often included in Spanish iconography, see vol. XI, p. 292.

[31] E. Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France*, edition of 1908, pp. 270 ff.

[32] The *solvet* does not appear in the scroll.

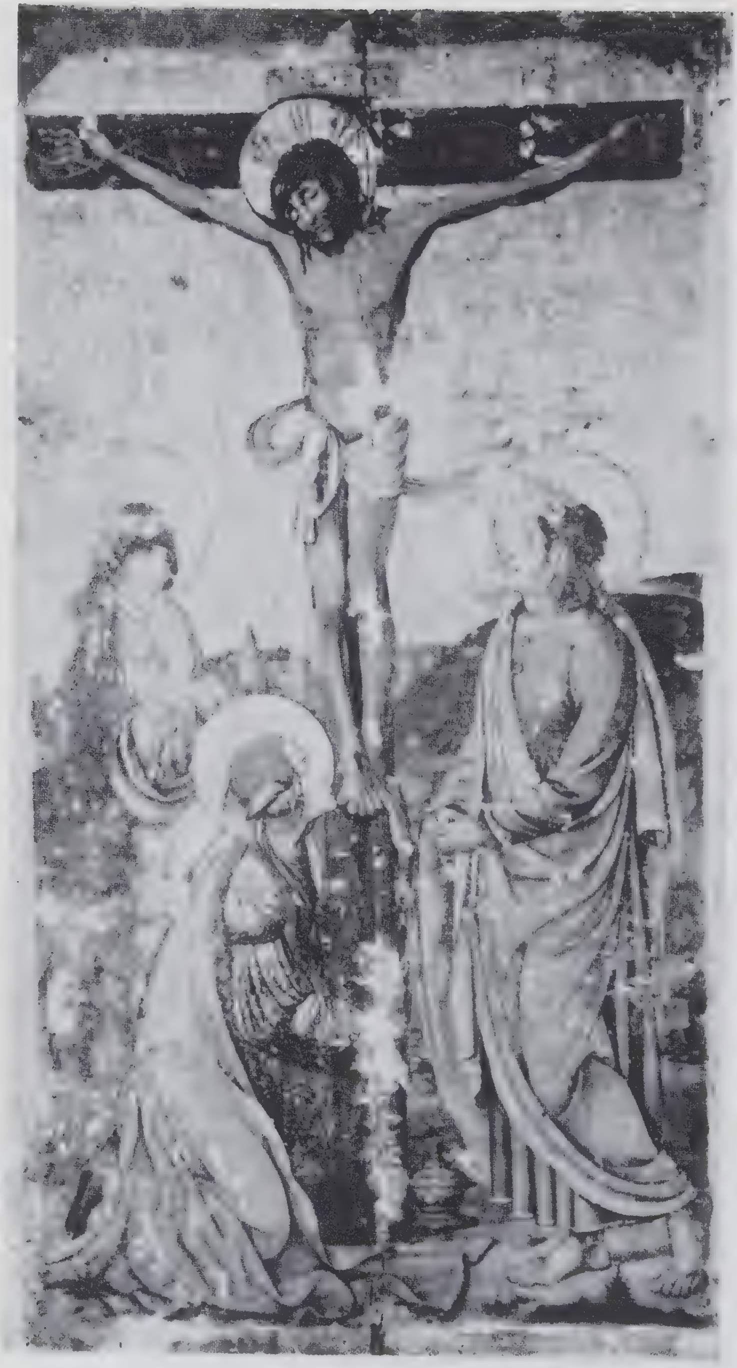

Fig. 7. JUAN GASCÓ. CRUCIFIXION FROM SAN ANDRÉS DE PRÚIT. MUSEUM, VICH
(*Photo. Serra*)

vividly reminiscent of the so-called portrait of the adolescent Raphael in Pintoricchio's fresco of the canonization of St. Catherine in the Library of the Siena cathedral, and the Sibyl with the inscription about the sun (Fig. 8) scarcely differs from the Italian master's pretty but entirely inadequate conceptions of these prophetesses at Spello and in the choir of S. Maria del Popolo at Rome. Jonah is another specimen of Gascó's heavily jowled old men.

His last, extant, documented work is once more a single panel, now in the Torelló Collection, Barcelona, depicting St. Bartholomew exorcising the idol and shattering it in the presence of King Polemius (Fig. 9), the only piece remaining to us from a retable in the destroyed church of the Hospital de Peregrinos de S. Bartolomé at

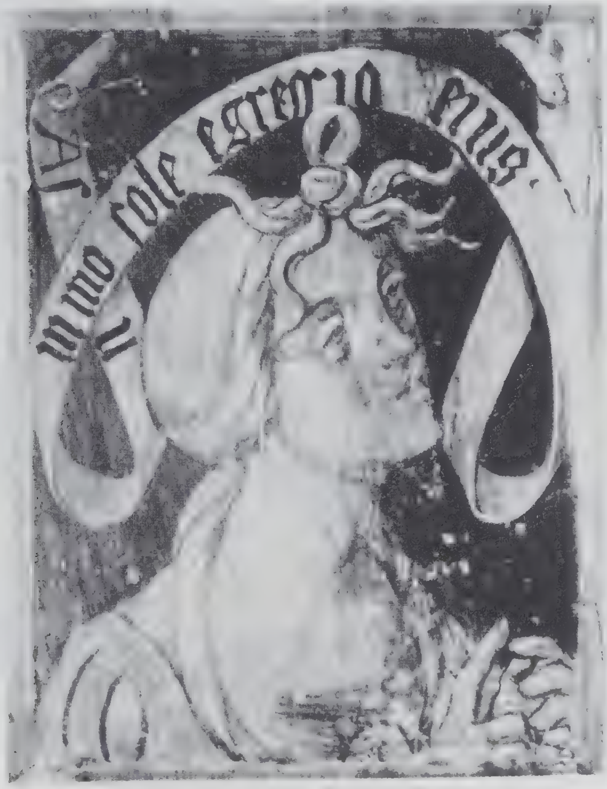

FIG 8. JUAN GASCÓ. SIBYL, COMPARTMENT OF A DOOR. MUSEUM, VICH
(*Photo. Serra*)

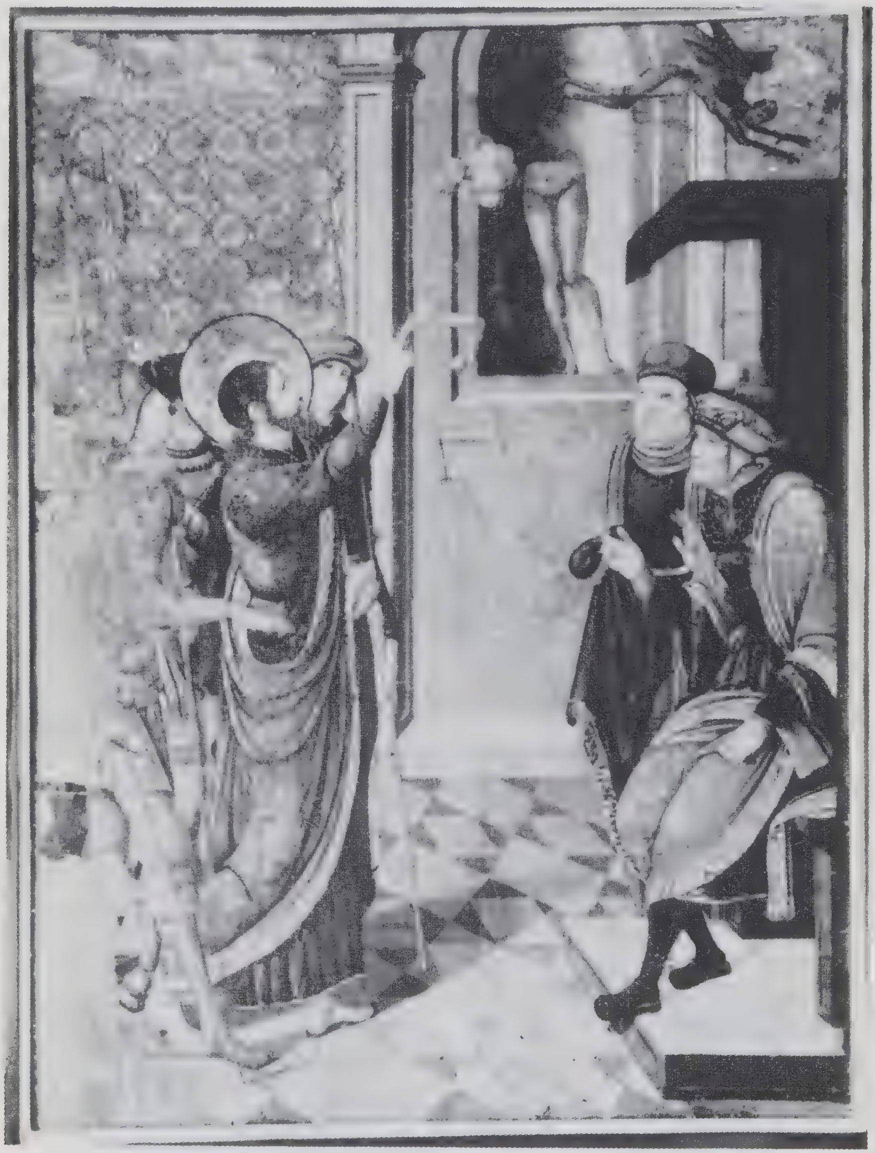

Fig. 9. JUAN GASCÓ. ST. BARTHOLOMEW SHATTERING THE IDOL. TORELLÓ COLLECTION, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Serra*)

Vich. The enterprise had a long drawn out history. As early as 1491, Gascó's predecessor in moving from western Spain to Catalonia, the Castilian Fernando Camargo,[33] did the predella and lateral doors; in 1513 Gascó contracted to paint the central effigy of St. Bartholomew, the surmounting Crucifixion, and *guardapolvos*; but it was not until many years later, on December 18, 1525, that he received the commission to execute the sections from which the preserved panel derives, namely eight lateral compartments the subjects of which are left to the decision of the hospital's authorities, figures of the four Evangelists to flank the doors, and certain ornamental additions. The picture owned by Señor Torelló shows that the authorities naturally chose for the eight spaces beside the effigy of the Apostle at least in part episodes from his life. Although still abiding by a gold background with his *motif* of rosettes, Gascó has now finally arrived at a style entirely of the Renaissance, with slender and rather graceful forms, even already edging upon mannerism. The youth facing us just at St. Bartholomew's right illustrates one phase that this incipient mannerism often assumes in the master's ultimate creations, a strained expressiveness in the countenance.

3. UNDOCUMENTED WORKS RECOGNIZED BY GUDIOL, TOGETHER WITH A FEW POSSIBLY RELATED PANELS NOT ATTRIBUTED BY HIM

Among the paintings in this category included in the Catalan scholar's monograph, the enthroned St. Lucy of the Vich Museum (Fig. 10) must be placed at the beginning of Gascó's career not only by reason of the style but also because, coming from what was then the great Augustinian monastery of San Juan de las Abadesas, it can scarcely be doubted that it was the central compartment of a retable of this virgin martyr recorded, without the artist's name, to have been executed for the church in 1505.[34] The attribution is confirmed by the general manner and the structural similarity of the face to such a countenance by Gascó as the St. Sebastian in the altarpiece from San Julián de Vilamirosa. The embossed design in the gold background is formalized into a more florid brocade than in the other

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[33] For Camargo, see: Sanpere, *Los cuatrocentistas*, the pages listed in his index; my vol. VII, p. 45; and J. Mas in *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras*, Barcelona, VI (1911–1912), 308 (the record in 1503 of his marriage at Barcelona, where he consistently dwelt).

[34] See Gudiol's monograph, p. xxvi.

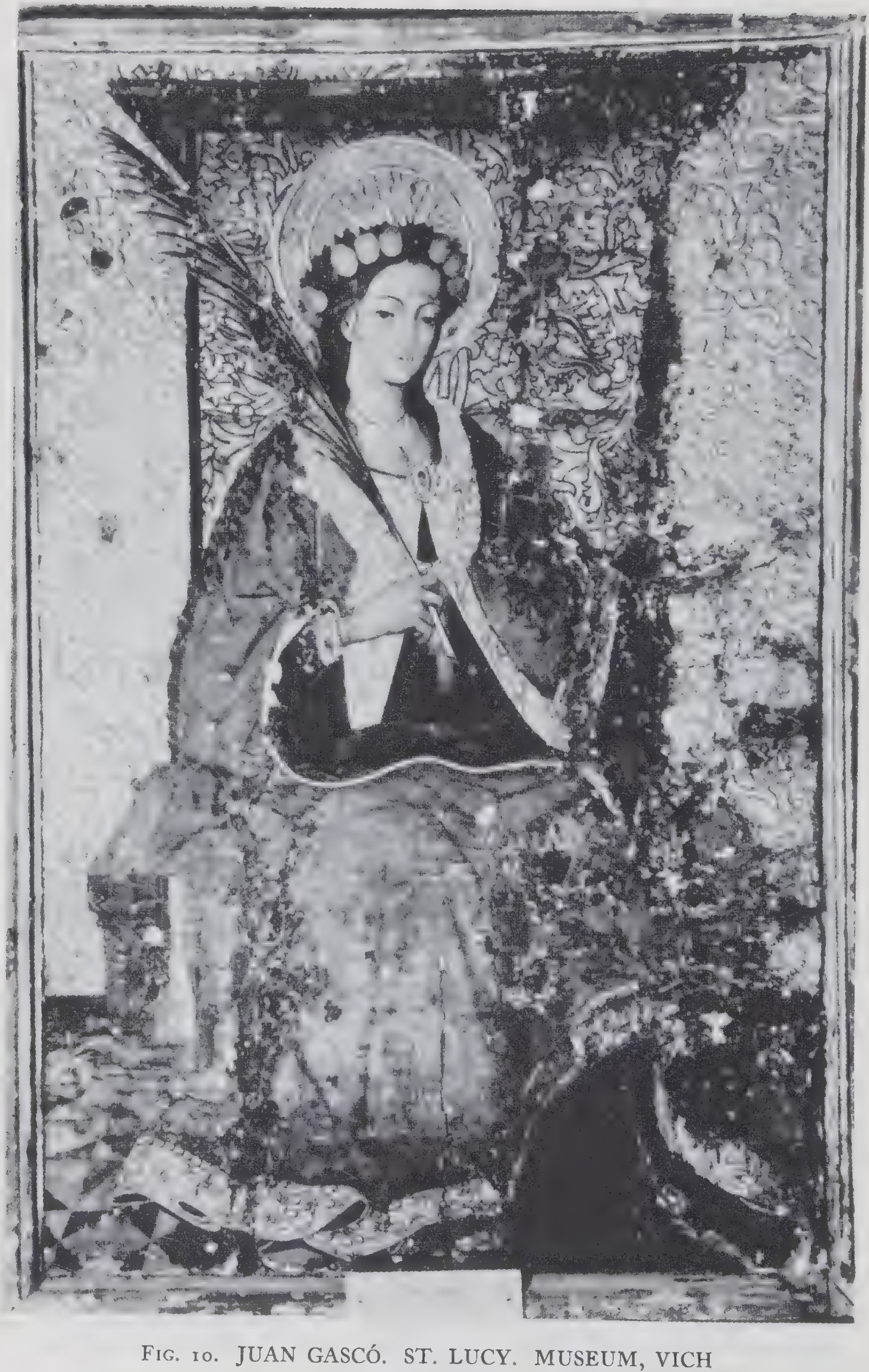

FIG. 10. JUAN GASCÓ. ST. LUCY. MUSEUM, VICH
(*Photo. Serra*)

panels of this period in which he still indulged in raised stucco, and the brilliant red of St. Lucy's mantle in the midst of this gilded splendor makes the picture the most sumptuous that he has bequeathed to us.

The subjects, four further female saints, and the fact that the style implies the identical moment in his development supply arguments for the hypothesis that two battered sections of a predella still remaining at San Juan de las Abadesas may derive from the same retable as the painting in the Vich Museum. The canonized women, reading from left to right, are St. Ursula, next to her a maiden whose distinctive emblem has been lost in the wreckage, then St. Helen (with the emblems of the cross and three nails), and finally St. Margaret (with an unusually large and savage dragon at her feet) (Fig. 11). The types quite accord with the other feminine heads that Gascó was painting at about this time, for instance, in the retable of San Juan del Galí, the figures of the predella and the Salome and Herodias in the banquet of Herod.

In a panel of the *Anna selbdritt* in the Vich Museum, manifestly by Gascó and deriving from the convent of the Misericordia in the city, where it possibly constituted the centre of one of his retables, the delineation of the face of the Virgin's mother would indicate a date slightly subsequent to his activity for San Juan de las Abadesas, but the types of Our Lady and the Child, as well as of the angels symmetrically arranged in the interstices of the Gothic throne, do not allow us to set this date *very much* later (Fig. 12). The figuration of the unembossed gold background is similar to that in some of the subordinate compartments in the Galí assemblage.

Quite as obviously by Gascó is the lone panel of the Crucifixion with which the church of S. Francisco at Vich has endowed the Museum as No. 529 (Fig. 13). In a contract of April 11, 1504, for a non-extant retable of St. Michael in the cathedral of Vich, Gascó is asked to use as a model for one of the compartments a likewise lost painting of the Virgin adored by angels in S. Francisco (which belonged to the Friars Minor), and Gudiol[35] deduces that therefore he was the lost painting's author. The document, however, does not state him to have executed it, so that it may have been someone else's creation,[36] and in any case, since we do not know that a Crucifixion

[35] Monograph, p. ix.

[36] See above, p. 26, n. 23.

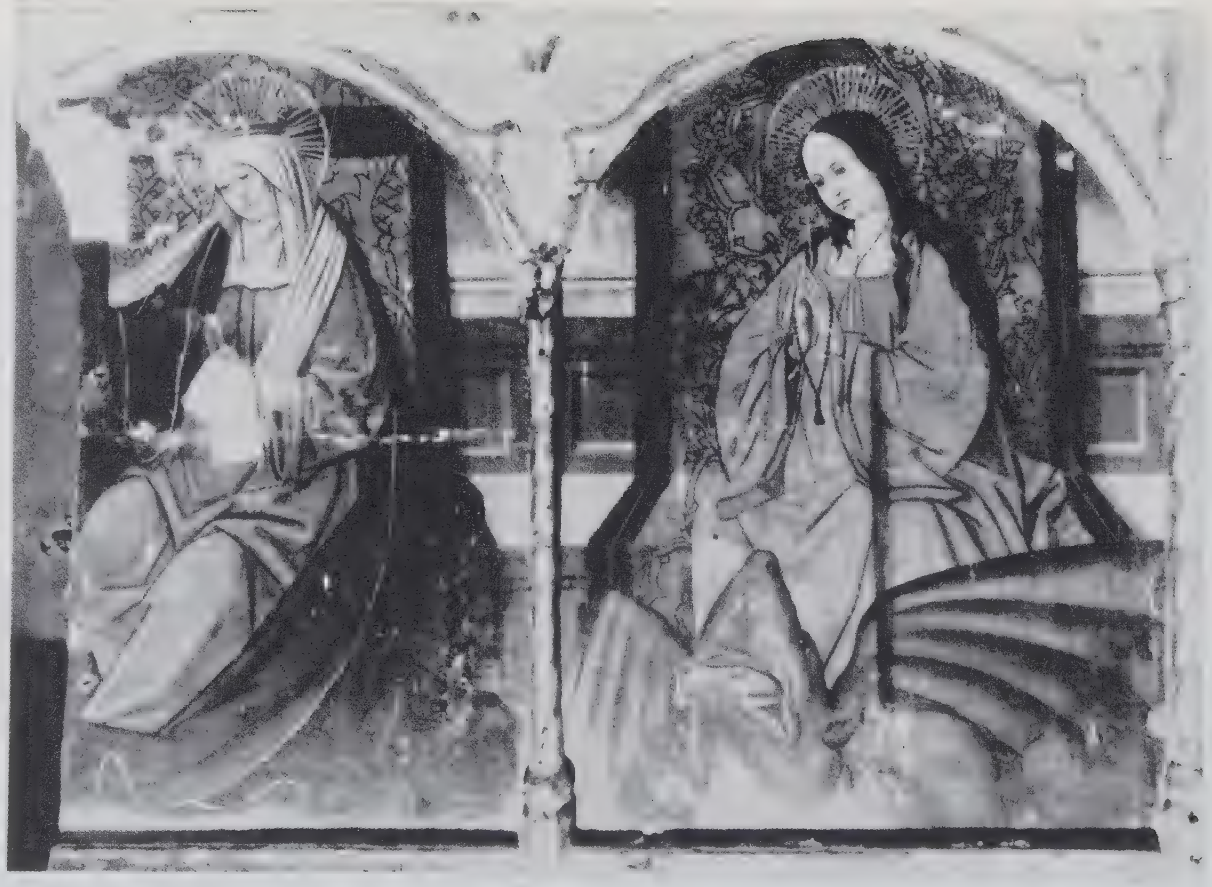

Fig. 11. JUAN GASCÓ. STS. HELEN AND MARGARET, SECTIONS OF A PREDELLA. CHURCH, SAN JUAN DE LAS ABADESAS
(*Photo. Mas*)

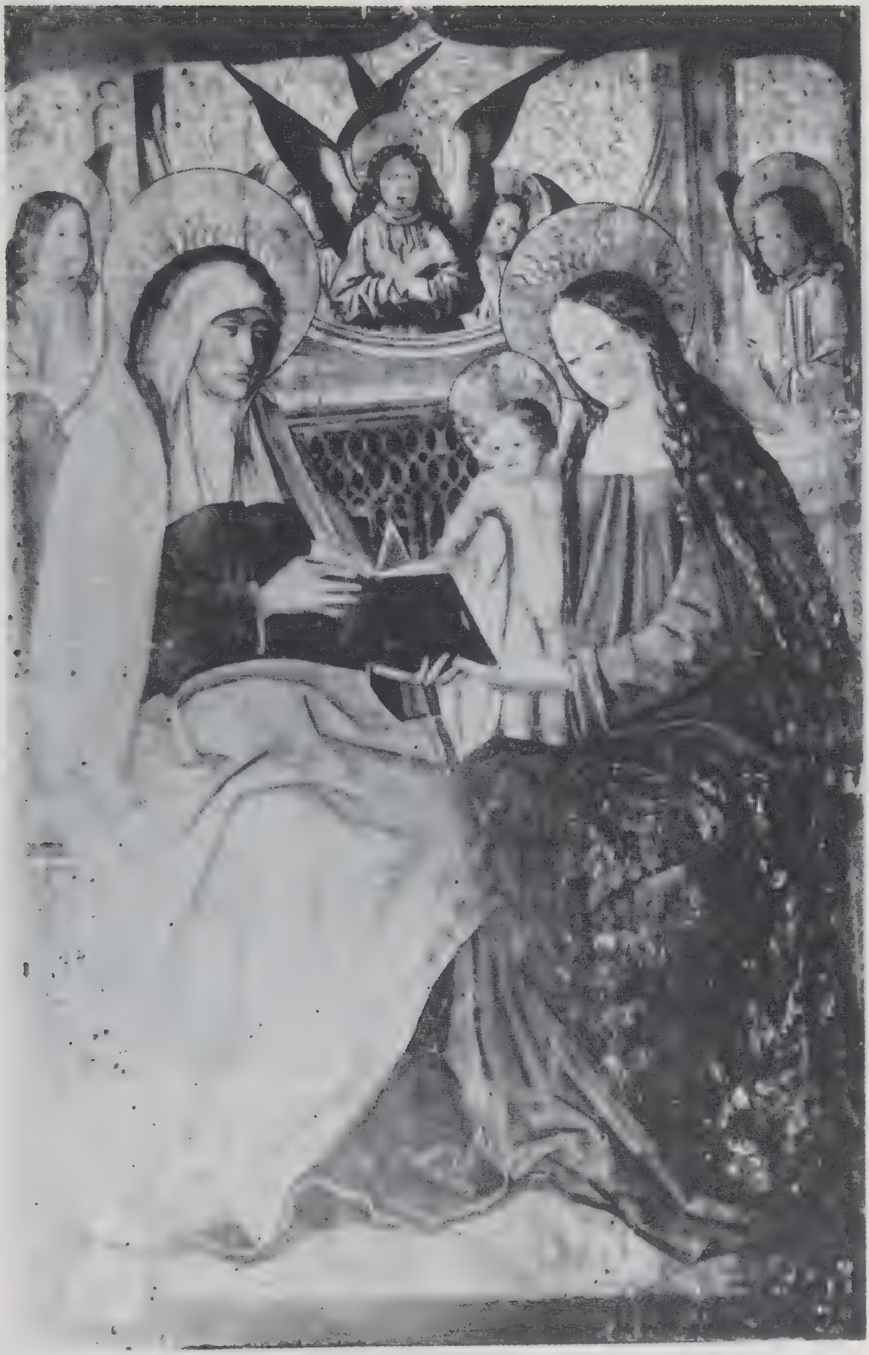

FIG. 12. JUAN GASCÓ. *ANNA SELBDRITT*. MUSEUM, VICH
(*Photo. Serra*)

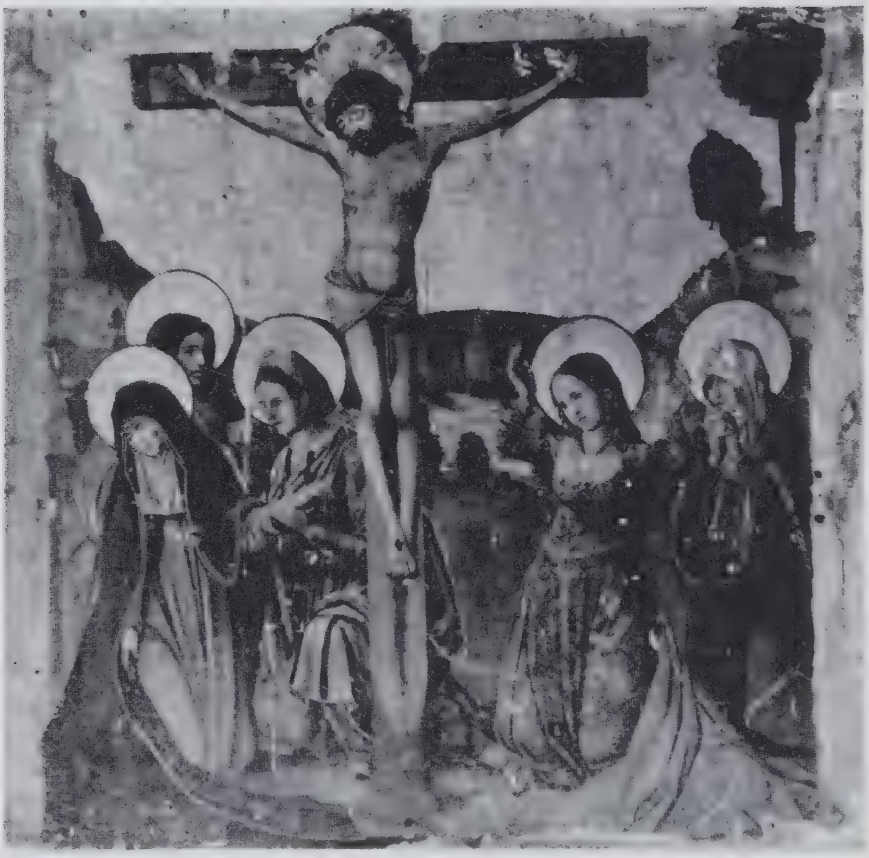

Fig. 13. JUAN GASCÓ. CRUCIFIXION FROM S. FRANCISCO, VICH. MUSEUM, VICH
(*Photo. Serra*)

was attached to the picture of the Virgin and angels, we are very far from justified in assigning the panel, No. 529, to a time prior to the spring of 1504. Gascó treats this theme in much the same way and with much the same types from the beginning to the end of his career, even as late as the retable from San Vicente de Torelló, which otherwise belongs definitely to the Renaissance, and it is thus difficult on internal evidence to propose a date for the Crucifixion that now concerns us. It must be anterior to the example of 1521 from Prúit, where he adapted even the Crucifixion to his final manner, and its technical inferiority to the treatment in the Torelló retable would probably imply an earlier moment in the sixteenth century. The only figure that might point to execution subsequent to Gascó's Gothic period is the holy woman who behind the cross bends toward the swooning Virgin. The likeliest guess would then be some time in the second decade of the Cinquecento. The composition is more populous than his other renderings of the subject, including a more emotionally agitated Magdalene.

Gudiol is certainly right in ascribing to Gascó and to a stage in his life when he has wholeheartedly adopted the lessons of the Renaissance one of the soundest pieces of his craft, the retable from San Vicente de Torelló now in the Museum of Vich. We have already observed that to the stylistic proof for the attribution there is joined the supererogatory evidence of his known employment in other churches in the immediate region. St. Vincent stands in the main compartment, properly emphasized, like the St. Lucy from San Juan de las Abadesas, by the outstanding red of his garment, a dalmatic in the graceful delineation and suave coloring of which Gascó surpasses his ordinary standard. The Crucifixion occupies its orthodox spot, and at the sides are four scenes from St. Vincent's life, his arraignment, together with St. Valerius, before Dacian, his ordeal on the *eculeus* (Fig. 14), his release from torture by death in his bed, and the raven guarding his body from the beasts, while in the background there is enacted in smaller scale the consignment of his corpse to the sea, weighted with the millstone.

Throughout the altarpiece Gascó maintains the unexpectedly competent draughtsmanship that enlivens the panel from the Hospital de S. Bartolomé. A comparison of the Crucifixion with the very similar composition in the retable of San Juan del Galí reveals the advance attained by Gascó in the transmission of a convincing effect

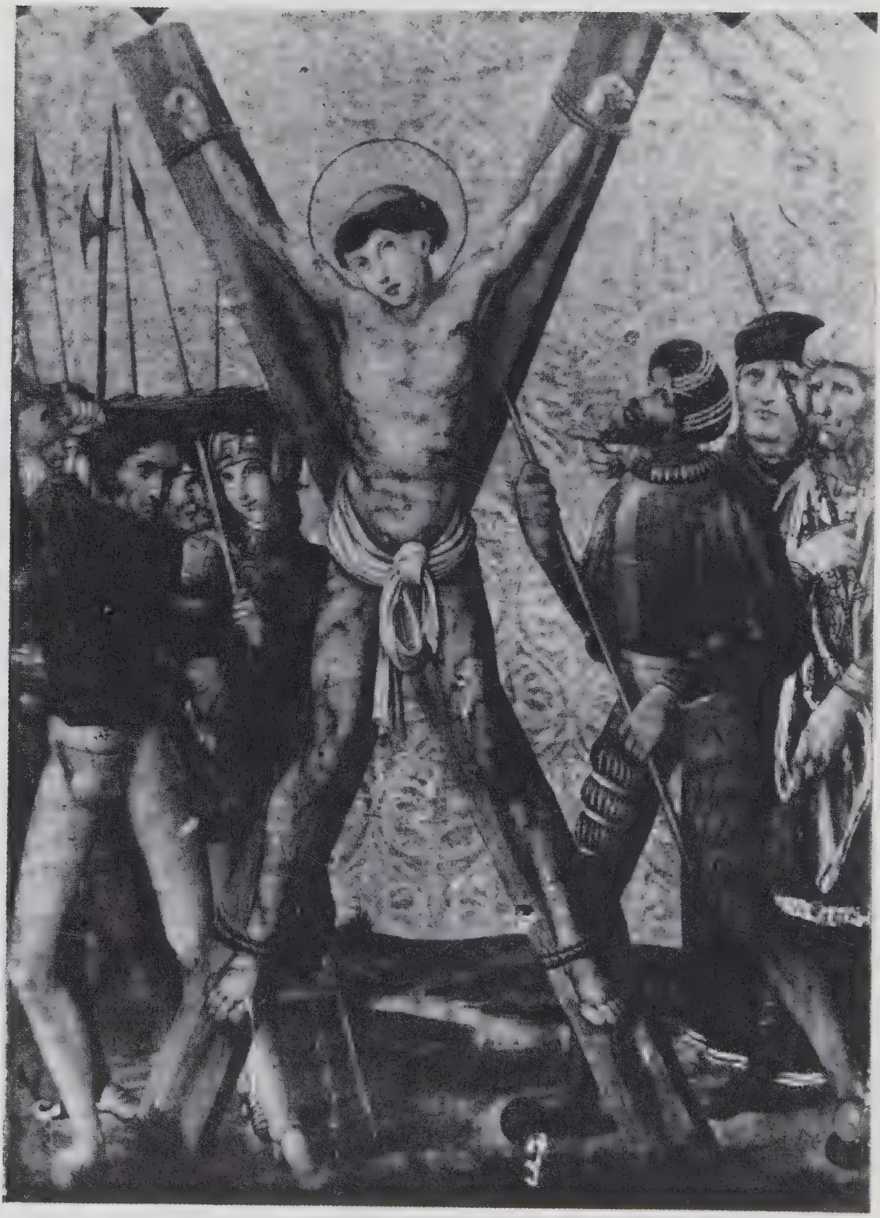

Fig. 14. JUAN GASCÓ. ST. VINCENT TORTURED ON THE *ECULEUS*, SECTION OF RETABLE. MUSEUM, VICH
(*Photo. Thomas*)

of emotion. The St. John in the Crucifixion and the flagellator in the scene of the ordeal on the *eculeus* illustrate the windblown locks that he often employs for accentuating the tensity of action in his later productions. Behind the boat from which St. Vincent's body is cast into the water there stretches a quite astounding landscape, with much of the beauty and the impressionistic treatment of a romantic setting that characterize the frescoes by Raphael and his shop in the Logge of the Vatican. The type of the youth at the left of St. Vincent in the episode of the arraignment practically constrains us to a belief in Gascó's cognizance of at least some of Pintoricchio's and Raphael's achievements. The manneristic tendency to a simpering expression of which we have caught a glimpse in the panel from the Hospital de S. Bartolomé reappears on the central effigy of St. Vincent and the helmeted lad watching the torture on the *eculeus*. The gold backgrounds are tooled with various brocaded *motifs*.

The analogy of the Virgin to Juan Gascó's feminine types perhaps renders credible Gudiol's attribution to him of a small panel of the Madonna of the Milk in the Vich Museum (Fig. 15), but the modelling and sophisticatedly pious expression of the Child, who with prophetic symbolism and disregard of the maternal breast grasps a cross held by an angel, argue strongly against the Spanish scholar's early dating. Indeed the close similarity of the Child to the Infant in an almost identical composition of the theme by Pedro Gascó in the same Museum [37] evokes the query whether the son may not in this case have finished a painting that the father left incomplete at his death, but it is hardly possible to bring the representation of Our Lady herself within Pedro's norms. Such half-lengths of the Madonna enter the Spanish school of the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries only under direct Italian or Flemish influence.

In some year considerably subsequent to the retable over the high altar of the parish church at San Pedro de Vilamajor, Gascó is demonstrated, by the internal evidence of the pieces that remain, to have done another retable for an altar in the edifice dedicated to Sts. Mark and Martial.[38] These pieces are two large panels in the Diocesan

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[37] See below, p. 239.

[38] See the article by A. Gallardo in the *Butlletí del Centre Excursionista de Catalunya*, XLVIII (1938), 182, and for the popularity of St. Martial in Catalonia, my vol. VII, pp. 366 and 501. Gudiol (article in the *Veu de Catalunya*, December,

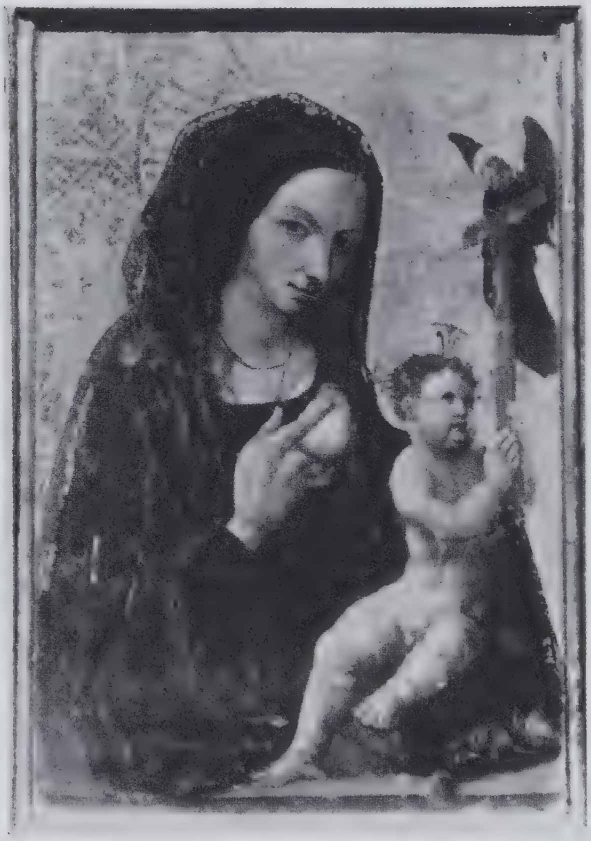

Fig. 15. JUAN GASCÓ. (FINISHED BY PEDRO GASCÓ?). MADONNA OF THE MILK. MUSEUM, VICH
(*Photo. Thomas*)

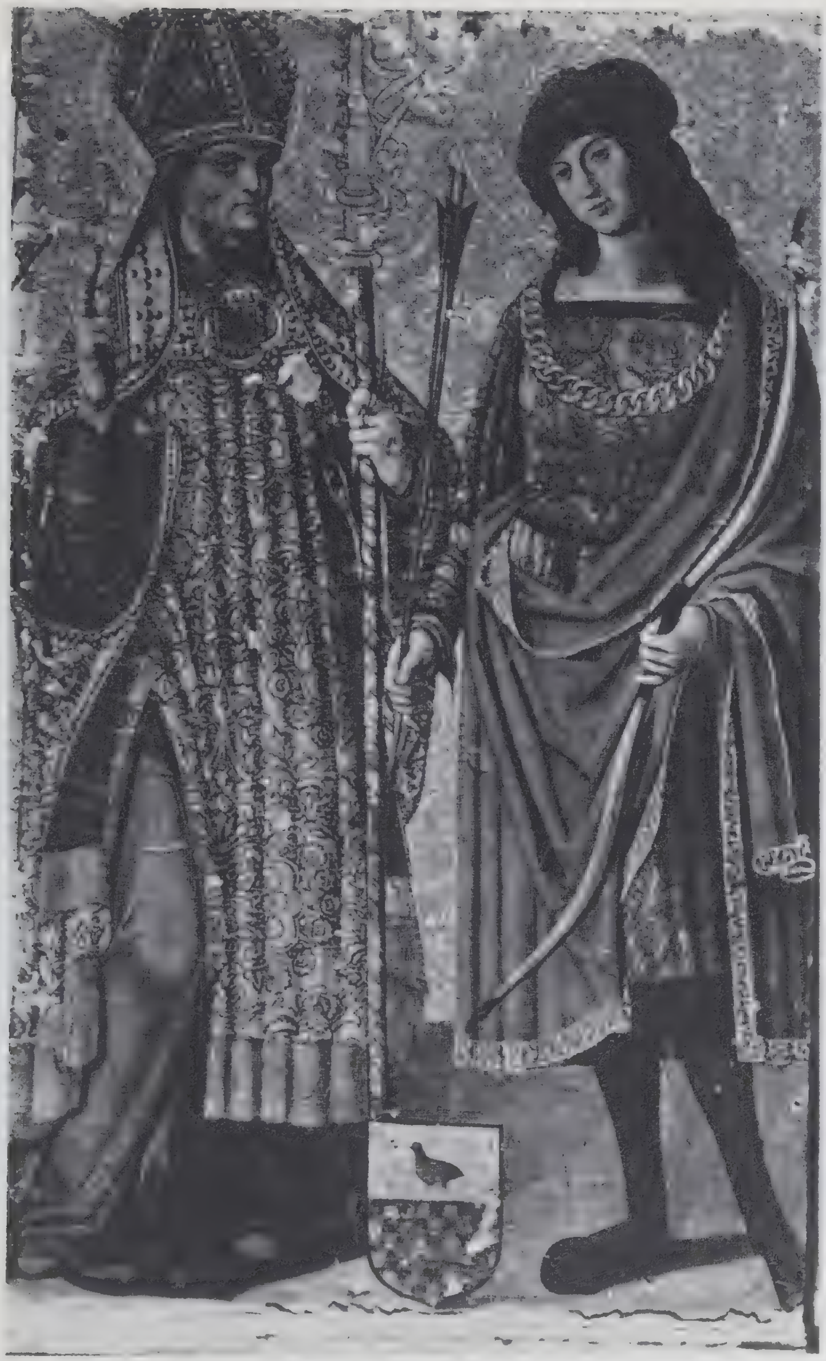

Fig. 16. JUAN GASCÓ. STS. MARTIAL AND SEBASTIAN.
DIOCESAN MUSEUM, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

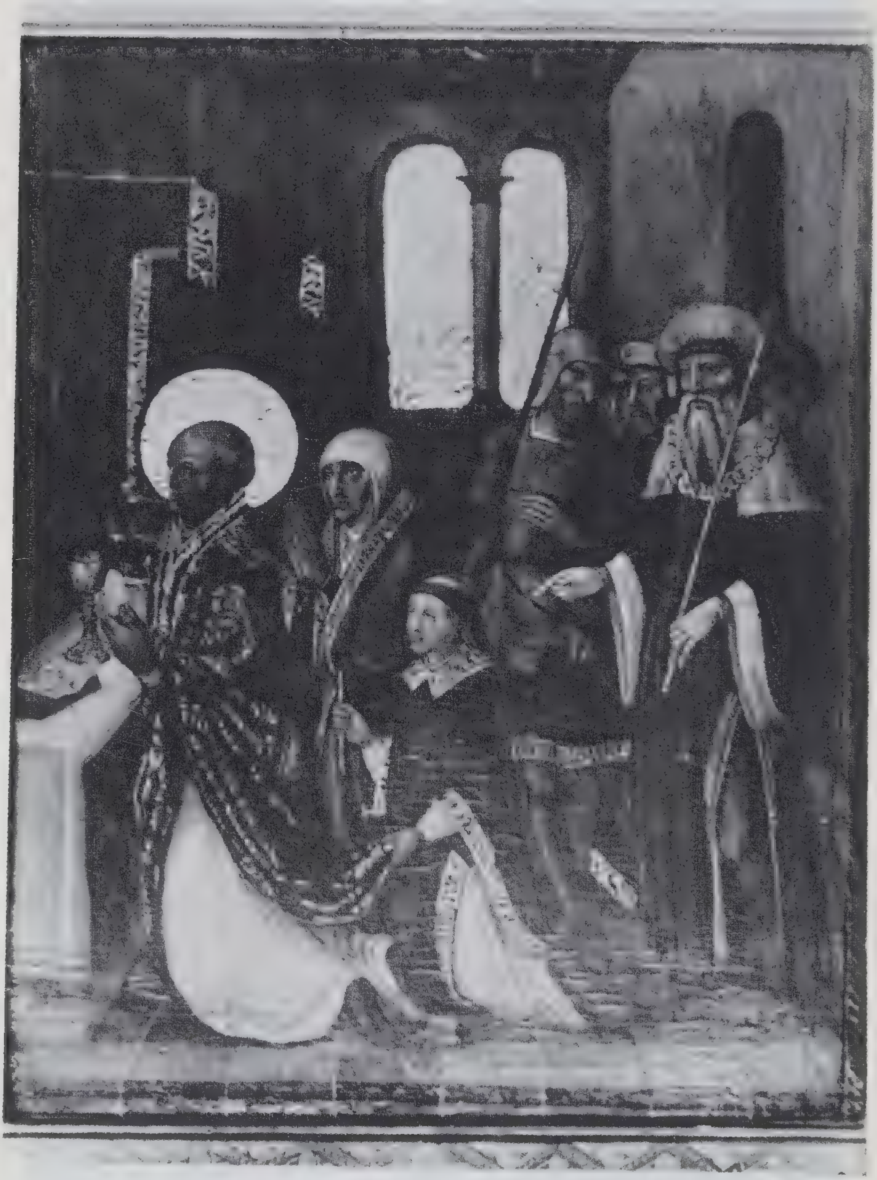

FIG. 17. JUAN GASCÓ. ARREST OF A SAINT CELEBRATING MASS. BARNOLA COLLECTION, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

Museum at Barcelona, each with paired effigies of saints, Martial and Sebastian in one (Fig. 16), the Magdalene and Apollonia in the other. At the bottom of the former panel are the *armes parlantes*, a quail above a charge of vair, that belonged to a family prominent at San Pedro de Vilamajor with the name of Gual de Vilarrassa,[39] and Gudiol [40] conjectures that the donor of the retable may have been a Narcis de Gual, a distinguished member of the family in the early sixteenth century. The style is wholly characteristic of the period in Gascó's life when he has succumbed entirely to the invasion of the Italian Renaissance, the St. Sebastian, for instance, being one of his most Umbrian figures.

It is not impossible that we should recognize a further relic of this retable in a panel of the Barnola Collection at Barcelona depicting the arrest of a saint while he is saying mass (Fig. 17). It was thus that the persecutors of St. Mark surprised him, and the only objection to this identification of the theme would be that his captors are usually represented in the scene as already casting about his neck the rope by which he was dragged through the streets.[41] In any case, the panel must have been executed at the same stage in his development as the pieces in the Diocesan Museum at Barcelona. The deacon of the mass is a facial repetition of the central St. Vincent from Torelló, and the window of the church in which the saint is celebrating looks out, not upon the sky, but upon one of Gascó's brocaded gold backgrounds. The chief significance of the picture is that, of all his works, it is the one that most insistently recalls the productions of the Valencian Artés Master.

4. UNDOCUMENTED WORKS NOT REGISTERED BY GUDIOL

A rather fine rendering of the Crucifixion, No. 30 in the Catalogue of the Vich Museum but of undiscovered provenience, is demonstrated a creation of Juan Gascó by the close analogy in types as well as composition to the version in the retable of San Juan del Galí,

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1912) states that his cult was diffused particularly in the region of San Pedro de Vilamajor.

[39] A. Gallardo, *op. cit.*, 179. The Catalan word for quail is *guatlla.*

[40] *Op. cit.*

[41] Vols. II, p. 375, and VI, p. 562. St. Matthew was actually slain at the altar (see vol. X, p. 315), but in the Barnola panel the persecutors are merely standing in the background.

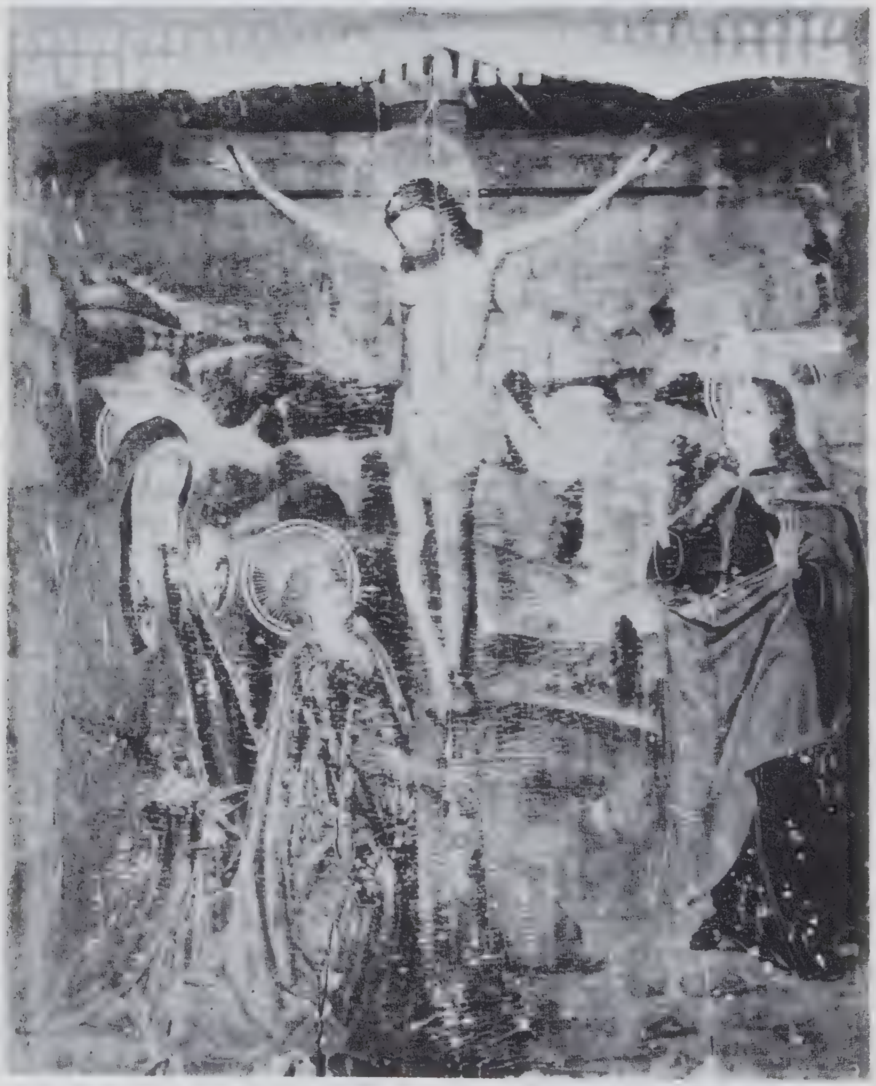

FIG. 18. JUAN GASCÓ. CRUCIFIXION. MUSEUM, VICH
(*Photo. Serra*)

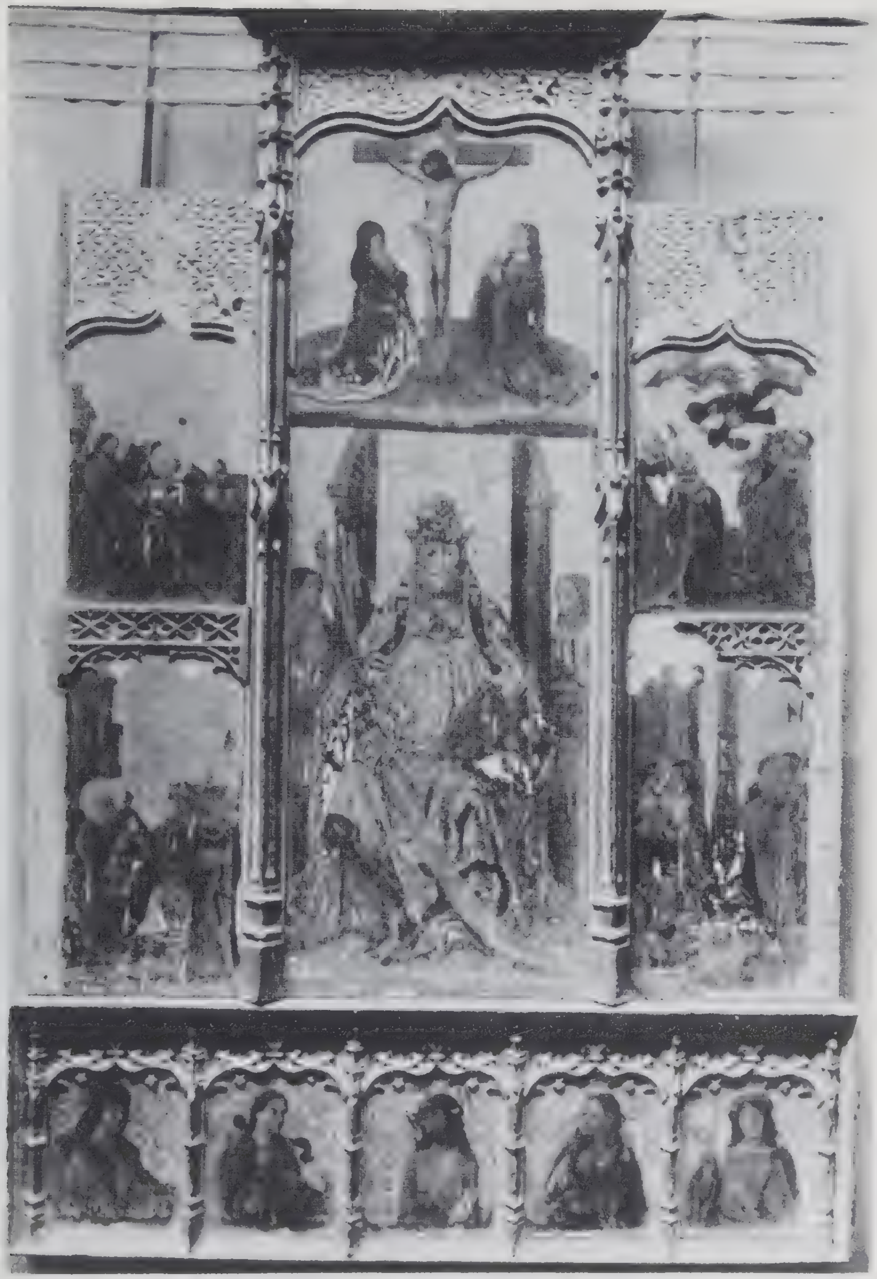

FIG. 19. JUAN GASCÓ. RETABLE OF ST. PETER. MUSEUM OF CATALAN ART, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

and it thus should be assigned to about the same early phase of his evolution (Fig. 18).

At Palautordera, close to San Pedro de Vilamajor, an artist who is plainly Gascó left a whole retable dedicated to St. Peter and now in the Barcelona Museum (Fig. 19). Slightly posterior in date to the altarpiece under the same invocation once at Vilamajor itself, the Palautordera example is probably about contemporary with the St. Barbara of 1516 in the Vich Museum, who stands before a throne of the Renaissance identical with that upon which the Apostle is seated in the principal compartment. Two adoring angels very similar to those in corresponding places in the panel of the *Anna selbdritt* in the Vich Museum peer over the throne's arms, and the surmounting Crucifixion nearly duplicates the version in the retable of San Julián de Vilamirosa. Of the four lateral sections, the first and last, the calling of Sts. Peter and Andrew and the former's martyrdom, reduce to differently shaped spaces and to smaller scope the compositions in the altarpiece of San Pedro de Vilamajor. The other pair depict an encounter of Sts. Peter and Paul with Simon Magus and their discomfiture of the latter in his attempt at aviation. The predella exhibits, as half-lengths, in the middle the Christ of the Mass of St. Gregory, at the extremes Sts. Cosmas and Damian, and in the other two divisions the Magdalene and a virgin martyr. The unraised gold backgrounds comprise, as usual with Gascó, several brocaded patterns.

Stylistic evidence would imply approximately the same time in Gascó's evolution for three fragments with the standing figures of Elijah, St. Severus, and St. Sigismund in a private collection at Vich (Fig. 20) but coming from an *ermita* south of the city, near Seva. In a retable for the Carmelite monastery at Vich upon which at intervals he was engaged from as early as 1505 to practically the end of his life, he agreed on May 17, 1519, to do a number of pieces, including, on the *guardapolvos*, a figure of Elijah. Inasmuch as this Prophet was thought to have founded the Carmelite Order in the Hebrew past, he wears in the picture privately owned at Vich the Carmelite habit and is enveloped in a scroll (like the Prophets of San Pedro de Vilamajor) inscribed with a Latin sentence in which his retreat, Mount Carmel, is mentioned; [42] but it is difficult to enter-

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[42] I am unable to decipher the rest of the inscription and therefore to state its source.

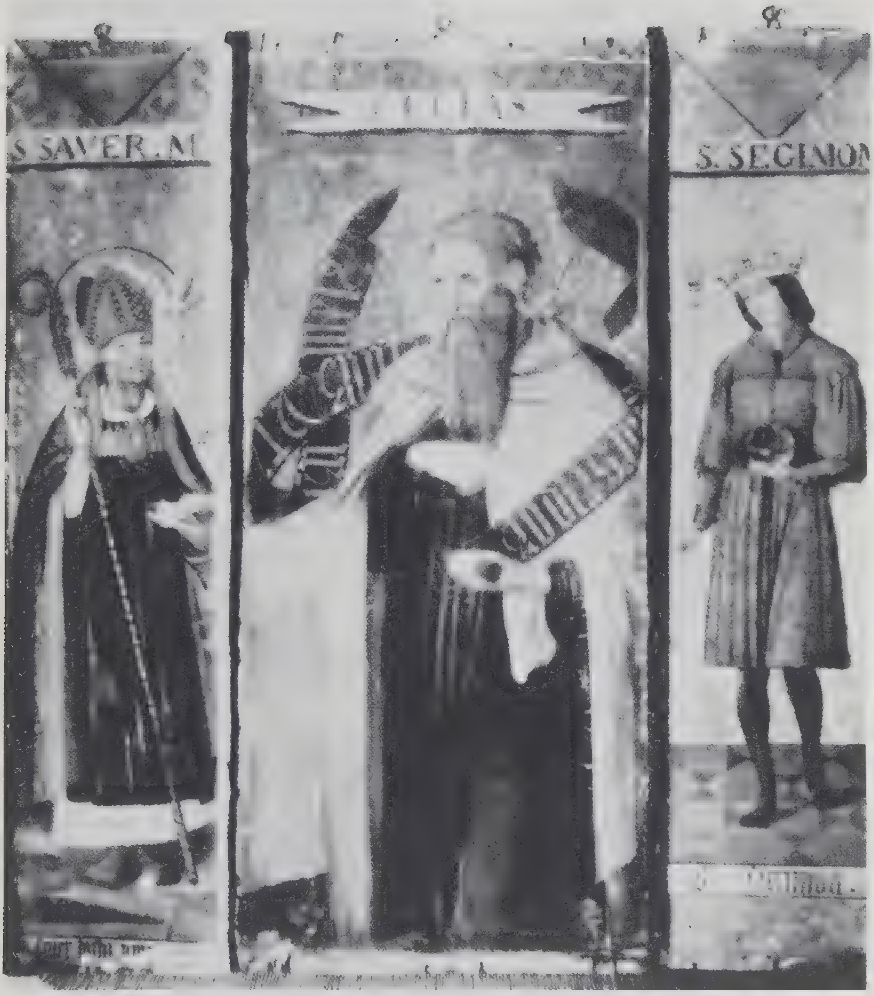
S SAVER . M
S. SEGIMON

FIG. 20. JUAN GASCÓ. ELIJAH, ST. SEVERUS, AND ST. SIGISMUND.
PRIVATE COLLECTION, VICH
(*Photo. Mas*)

tain the bold hypothesis that the three pieces which now concern us were once parts of the Carmelite retable and thence were relegated to the *ermita* at Seva, since the description of the retable itemizes, not Sts. Severus and Sigismund, but other sacred personages as aligned with Elijah on the *guardapolvos.* Nevertheless, the figures of the martyred bishop of Barcelona, St. Severus, and of the royal St. Sigismund, both in slightly smaller scale, probably belonged to the same original retable as the Elijah, for they were all found in the one *ermita,* and the Catalan inscriptions of the names at the tops of the three panels, though obviously later superimpositions, consist of the identical sort of Roman capitals.[43] St. Sigismund is a rarity in Spanish cults,[44] although not entirely absent;[45] but the mention of persons called Sigismund in the documents[46] about Juan Gascó shows that it was not an uncommon name in Catalonia of the period, and the canonized king probably owes his presence in the fragments now in a private collection at Vich to the prominence of some gentleman with this appellation in fostering the artistic enterprise.

In 1525 Gascó contracted to do in the main body of the Carmelite retable four compartments representing the Tree of Jesse, the Expulsion of Sts. Joachim and Anne from the Temple, the Meeting at the Golden Gate, and the Nativity of Mary; and, if we are willing to admit one of the frequent slight alterations in iconographic schemes, we are at liberty to amuse ourselves with the guess that they are preserved in a cycle, now deposited by the Prado in the Museum of Pontevedra, which comprises the last two themes but, instead of the first two, the Visitation and Purification. In any case, the Pontevedra panels are unmistakably his creation and were obviously produced in his last days (Fig. 21). Dogmatism, however, on their provenience from the Carmelite monastery is far from allowable, since the subjects were commonplaces in all altarpieces dedicated to Our Lady. The Meeting at the Golden Gate, the Nativity of Mary,

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[43] Beneath Sts. Severus and Sigismund there are preserved the original Gothic, Catalan inscriptions of their names, in the case of the former followed by the Catalan for "bishop and martyr."

[44] In a review of my volumes VII and VIII in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, I, 2 (1942), 106, J. Ainaud rightly points out that the figure that has been called St. Sigismund in Huguet's retable of the Constable (see my vol. VII, p. 67) is really St. Catherine of Alexandria. Her emblem of the wheel in the lower left corner has not been wholly erased by the deterioration.

[45] See below, pp. 242 and 526.

[46] Gudiol's monograph, 9, 14, and 19.

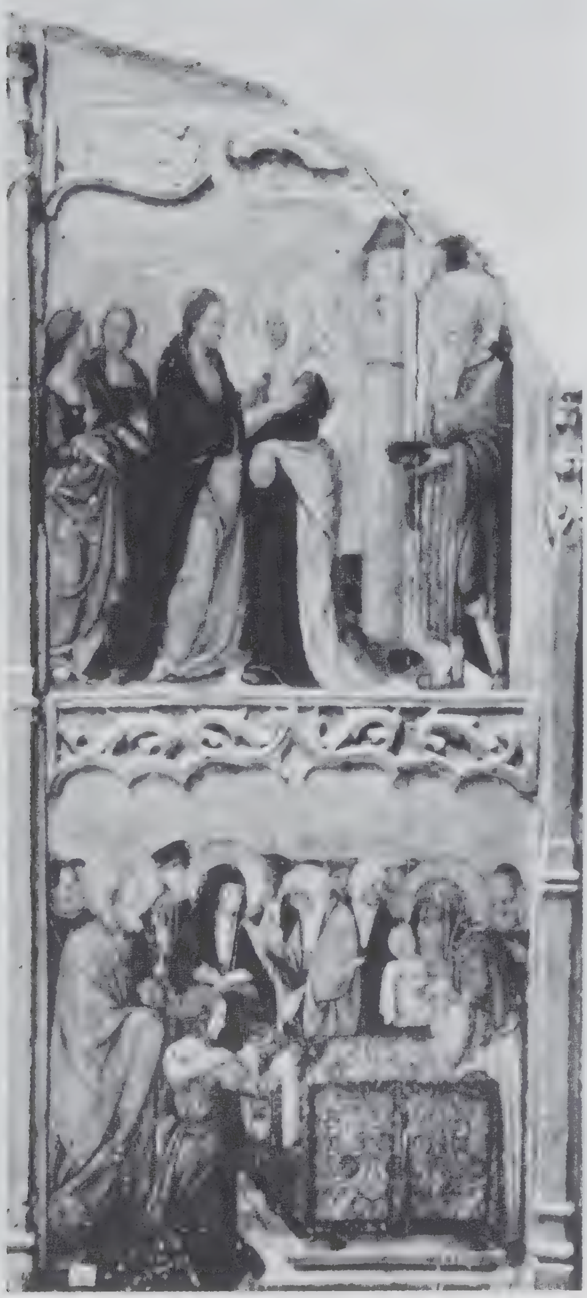

FIG. 21. JUAN GASCÓ. VISITATION AND PURIFICATION, SECTIONS OF RETABLE. MUSEUM, PONTEVEDRA

(*Photo. Ruiz Vernacci*)

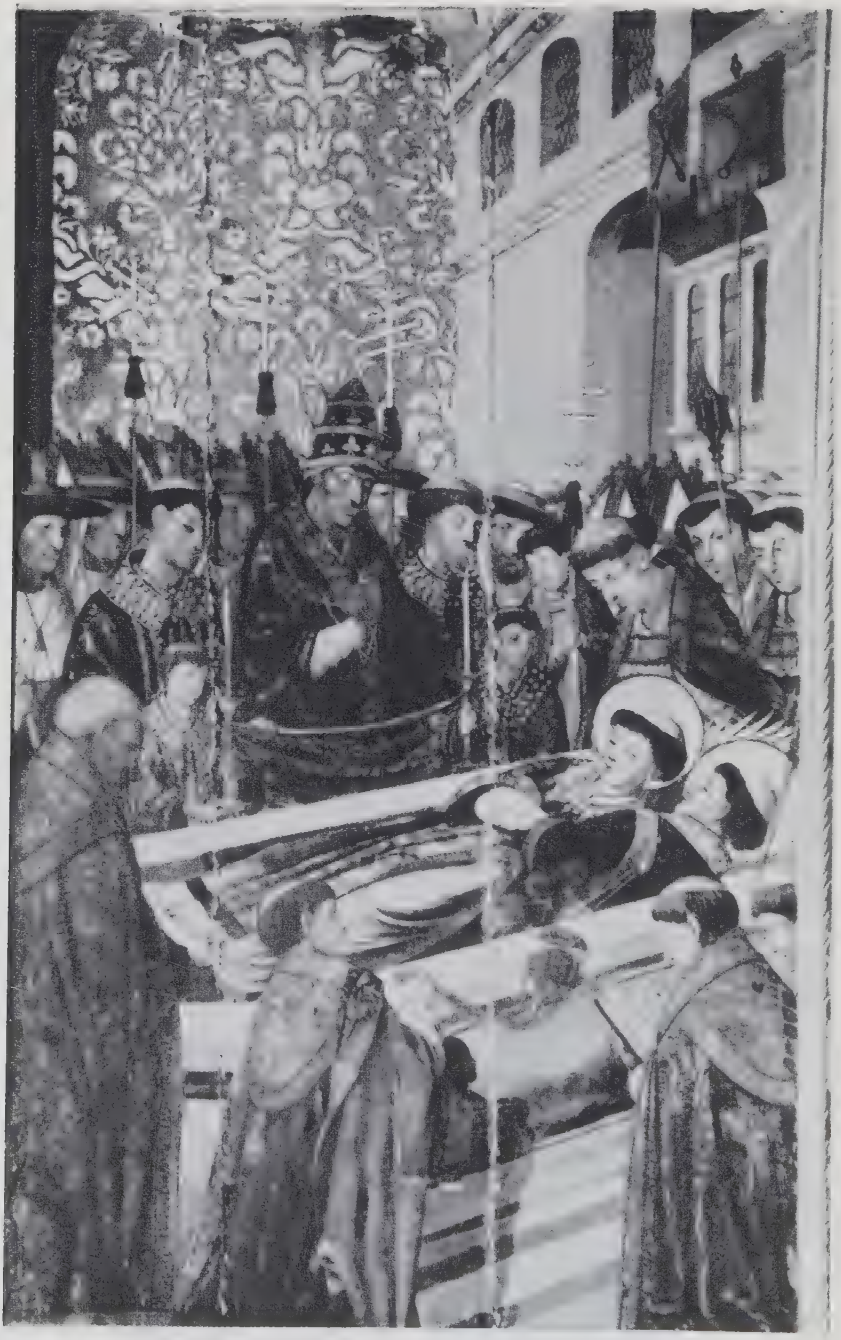

Fig. 22. JUAN GASCÓ. ENTOMBMENT OF ST. STEPHEN.
PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, GERONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

and the Purification, for example, were comprised in Gascó's (lost) retable of the Iglesia de la Rodona at Vich, but, inasmuch as they occurred in its predella,[47] they cannot be identified with the panels in the Prado, which come from an altarpiece's lateral divisions.

The head of Zacharias in the Visitation literally repeats that of the Elijah in a Vich private collection; the St. Elizabeth in this scene, the St. Anne in the Meeting at the Golden Gate and in the Nativity of Mary, and Anna the prophetess in the Purification embody a type for women much used by Gascó in his last period, illustrated by the Virgin in the Prúit Crucifixion; and one of his characteristic sentimental youths can be seen in the Purification just behind St. Joseph. The composition of this scene betrays a tendency to a crowding with supernumeraries that emerges in many of his final productions but is visible as early as the Flagellation at San Pedro de Vilamajor. The old mediaeval Spanish affection for the decorative values of brocaded fabrics is still very evident in the costumes of the Pontevedra series and in the covering of the altar in the Purification. The patterns tooled in the gold backgrounds are, as usual with him, diversified, taking the form, in the Meeting at the Golden Gate, of his beloved rosettes.

Another instance of an at least possible survival from one of Gascó's documented retables is a large panel that has long been owned by the Provincial Museum at Gerona, depicting the story of how the body of St. Lawrence graciously moved over to the side in his sepulchre at Rome to give the place of honor at the right within the same tomb to the remains of St. Stephen (Fig. 22). In his contract of November 20, 1520,[48] to do a retable of St. Stephen for the church of S. Esteban at Granollers de la Plana (near Gurb),[49] the theme of the last of the six narrative compartments is specified as the very scene in the panel now at Gerona. We shall find that paintings until recently extant in the church at San Esteban de Bas assignable on internal evidence to Gascó but for the most part different in subjects from those prescribed in the contract of Granollers de la Plana demonstrate him to have done another retable dedicated to the protomartyr. It is not out of the question that the Gerona panel should be a still further member of the series once at San Esteban de Bas, and the divergence in the figuration of the gold background would not negative such an hypothesis, since the designs varied within the sections at San Esteban de Bas itself. Moreover, we should expect a picture in the Provincial Museum of Gerona to have come from somewhere in this province, in which San Esteban de Bas, but not Granollers de la Plana, lies. According to the theory of probability, Gascó would not in a lifetime have been called upon to do three retables of Stephen, and the likelihood is perhaps as great for a derivation of the Gerona panel from Granollers de la Plana as from San Esteban de Bas. An argument for the former alternative is the definite mention of the subject in the contract of 1520, whereas otherwise it is rarely represented in the many Spanish cycles from St. Stephen's life, although it does occur in the series by Rexach or a follower in the church of S. Esteban at Valencia.[50] The central effigy from the retable of Granollers de la Plana was preserved in modern times in a near-lying estate,[51] but it has now, so far as my knowledge goes, disappeared from our ken.

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[47] Gudiol's monograph, 33.

[48] The date is given as August 5, 1520, by Bofill (*Butlletí del Centre Excursionista de Vich*, XVII, 1924, p. 177), but it must be a mistake since the actual document published by Gudiol names November 20.

[49] Not the town of Granollers just north of Barcelona, the parish church of which is also dedicated to St. Stephen and once contained the great retable by the Vergós shop: see vol. VII, pp. 416 ff.

The Gerona panel is sufficiently authenticated as a work of Juan Gascó by the multiplication of countenances similar to those of the standing figure of St. Vincent from Torelló in the St. Stephen and in a number of the clerics taking part in the sepulchral ceremony and by the emergence, in the officiating pope and cardinals, of the hard, stern visages that he affected for older personages in the mode of the Artés Master. The composition is so overcrowded that many of the attendant ecclesiastics are entirely hidden except for their mitres which make a pattern against the background.

It is within the range of credibility that a further piece of the retable of Granollers de la Plana is preserved to us in a panel formerly in the possession of Axel Beskow at Stockholm, depicting St. Stephen either preaching or disputing with the Jewish ecclesiastics (Fig. 23). The former subject is definitely demanded in the contract; but the women who appear among the protomartyr's congregation in the representation of the theme at San Esteban de Bas are absent from the Beskow picture, in which the majority of his audience look like

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[50] Vol. VI, p. 96.

[51] Bofill, *op. cit.*, 178.

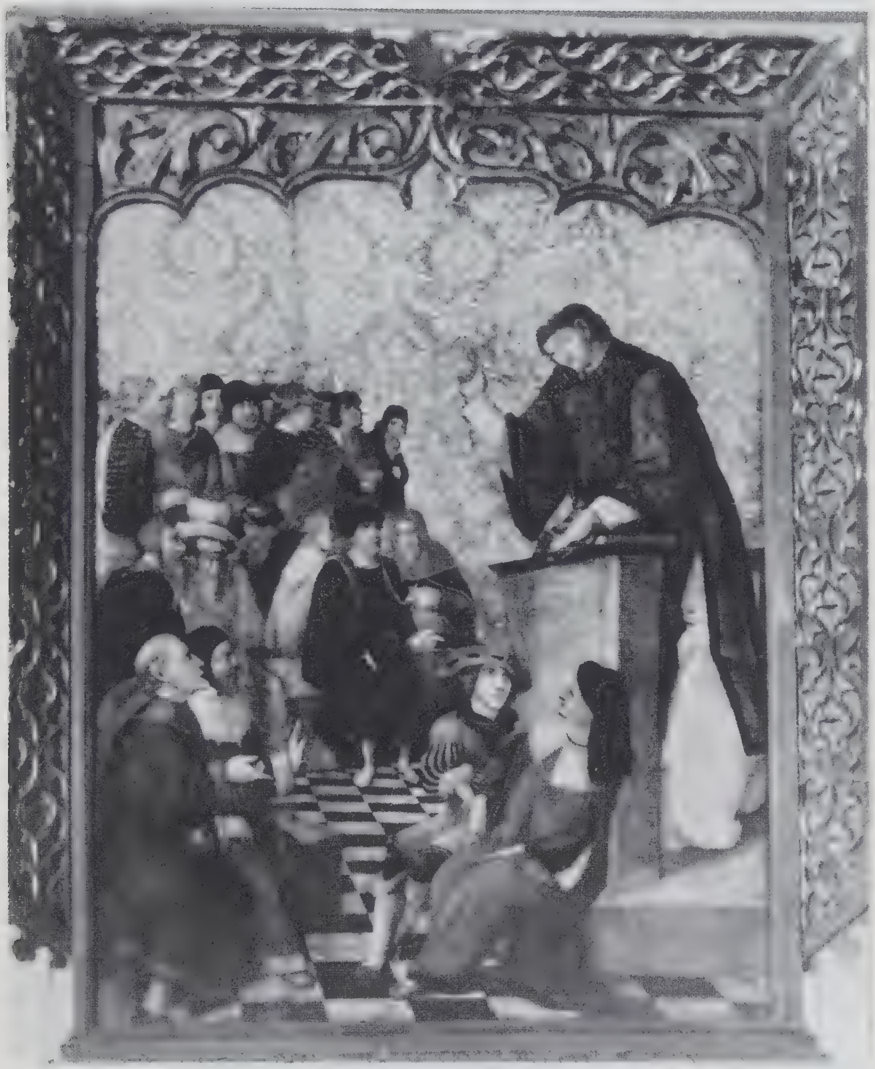

Fig. 23. JUAN GASCÓ. ST. STEPHEN PREACHING. BESKOW COLLECTION, STOCKHOLM

Hebrews learned in the law. Instead of the disputation, the contract asks for the scene of "how they led him to the disputation," referring to the words in Acts VI, 12, "And brought him to the council"; but we could readily assume that so slight a change occurred in the iconographical program as to permit the substitution of his actual contention with the council's members. If the subject is the disputation, however, the source of the panel might be San Esteban de Bas, where it is not depicted in any of the pieces. I find it hard to see how anyone could deny the panel to Juan Gascó since the types and methods accord in general with his standards and some of the heads are literally repeated in his other works. We shall discover, for instance, that the youth just beneath St. Stephen reappears at the same spot in the version of the preaching formerly at San Esteban de Bas, and he falls within a class of young men that peer forth at us everywhere in Juan's works, as in the soldier to the immediate left of St. Vincent's *eculeus* in the retable from Torelló. The aged listener in the lower left corner is used for the rôle of Hosea on the door in the Vich Museum. The jewelled designs in the orphreys of St. Stephen's dalmatic are practically identical with those employed for deacons' vestments in the Gerona panel and at San Esteban de Bas. There is a certain relaxation of tight draughtsmanship in passages of the picture, especially in the group in the background, but I suspect that this characteristic is due to modern restoration rather than to the collaboration of Juan's son, Pedro, at an early moment in his career when he may be supposed to have been marked by a greater dependence upon his father than his surely authenticated productions reveal. The pattern of the brocaded gold background is different in the Gerona picture, but we have already observed that such changes are likely to take place within a single retable by Gascó.

Until their burning in the civil war, four of the series from a retable of St. Stephen at San Esteban de Bas (in the province of Gerona but close to several other villages in which Juan Gascó is documented as active) were built into the lateral walls of the apse of the parish church, representing the protomartyr's ordination, his delivery of a sermon, the invention of his body (with conspicuous emphasis upon the roses that distinguished his remains from those of the others who were buried with him), and a cleric blessing the halt, blind, and variously afflicted who resort to the saint's shrine for relief. A fifth compartment, which, at the time of my visit to

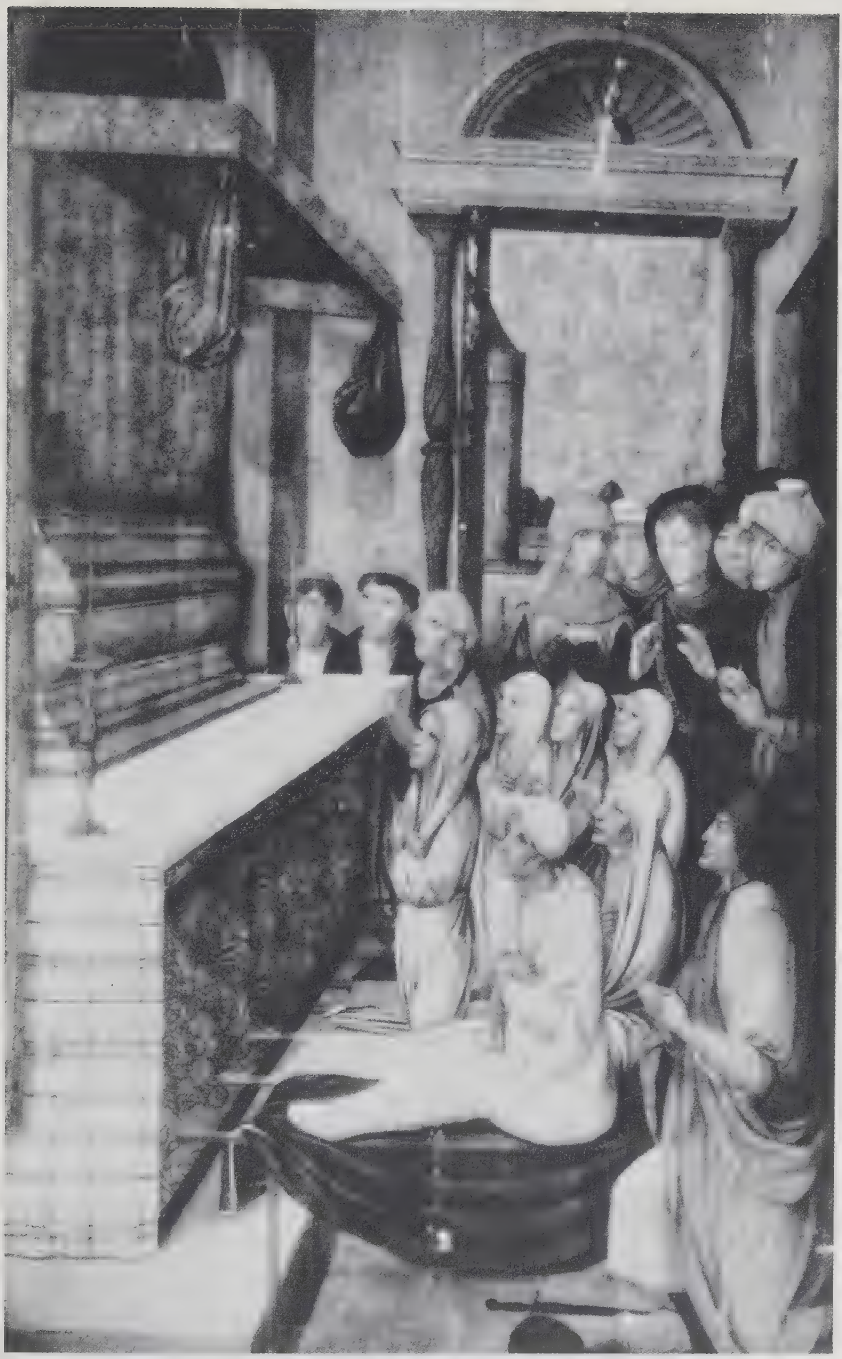

Fig. 24. JUAN GASCÓ (ASSISTED BY PEDRO GASCÓ?).
RESURRECTION OF SIX CORPSES AT ST. STEPHEN'S
SHRINE, SECTION OF RETABLE. HOUSE OF PRIEST,
SAN ESTEBAN DE BAS
(*Photo. Mas*)

the town in 1934, was, if I remember, kept in the house of the parish priest (Fig. 24) and probably also suffered annihilation, depicted the resurrection of six corpses at the shrine but without the posthumous appearance of St. Stephen that is usually included in the iconography of the theme.[52] The only question in regard to the attribution that could be raised is whether Juan Gascó was here assisted, as has been suggested, by his son Pedro. No works surely assignable to Pedro by document or style substantiate the hypothesis, since the forms in them fail to approximate those of his father so closely as do the types in the series of San Esteban de Bas; but it is quite possible that he did collaborate with Juan at times, and in such cases he would have subordinated his own proclivities and followed the paternal models. In a few passages, as particularly in the compartment of the priest receiving the sufferers at the shrine, a slight looseness and dryness may betray Pedro's intrusion, but, on the other hand, the precise modes of Juan are quite as much relaxed in the panel from the Hospital de S. Bartolomé, where no one has ever proposed to discern the son's participation. It must not, however, be forgotten that Pedro did another retable in the town.[53]

The series at San Esteban de Bas teemed with figures that are constants in Juan's many other productions. In the scene of the ordination St. Peter repeated the central figure in the retable of Palautordera and even sat upon the same throne of the Renaissance. The Apostle at the extreme left had a countenance exactly like that of the soldier in a corresponding spot in the compartment of St. Vincent's arraignment from Torelló, and his companion carrying the vessel of holy water displayed the tousled hair characteristic of Juan's last period. In the populous episode of St. Stephen's sermon, the affected kind of youth frequent at this period in his output, as in the effigy in the main panel from Torelló, reappeared prominently just beneath the protomartyr's pulpit, and several of the women in the congregation are found in the Pontevedra Birth of the Virgin. These ladies were called into service once more in the group whom the priest blessed at St. Stephen's shrine, and the cleric himself had such counterparts as the St. Valerius brought before the judge with St. Vincent in the Torelló assemblage and the presumptive St. Mark in the panel of the Barnola Collection. The two deacons accompany-

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[52] Vol. VII, pp. 810 and 827.

[53] See below, p. 246.

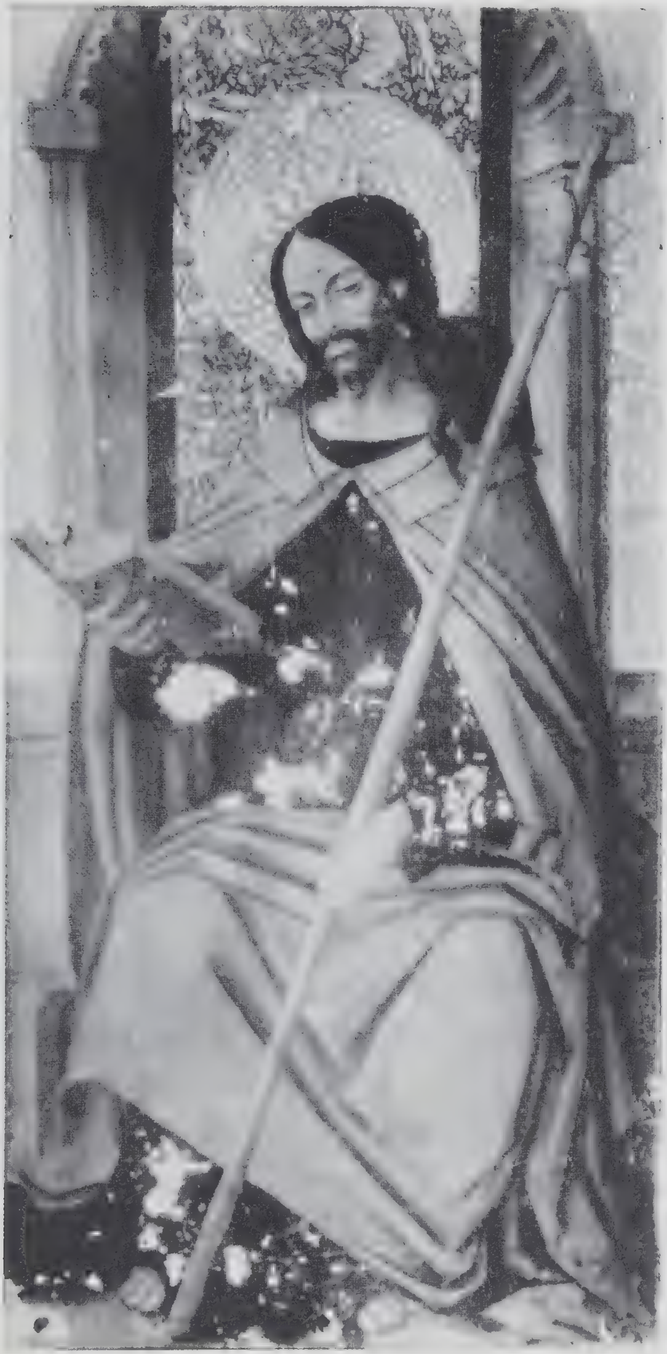

FIG. 25. JUAN GASCÓ. ST. JAMES MAJOR.
ORRIOLS COLLECTION, VICH
(*Photo. Mas*)

ing the bishop in the scene of the invention again embodied the type represented by the central St. Vincent from Torelló. In the compartment depicting the resurrection of the six persons, the rather mawkish upward glance of the spectator at the extreme right was an unpleasant touch obtruding in many of Juan Gascó's later works. The patterns in the gold backgrounds of the ordination and sermon were derived from ostentatious brocades, but in the other three instances he still maintained his old fondness for the *motif* of rosettes.

The Orriols Collection at Vich contains not only the documented St. Romanus by Juan Gascó but also other pieces both by Juan and his son Pedro. Their provenience is unknown or at least undivulged, nor can they be connected with any of the works the subjects of which the published documents describe. Of the two that the father surely executed, one must have been originally the central or a principal compartment of a retable, a representation of St. James Major enthroned as an object of cult (Fig. 25). The nearest analogue in style seems to me the altarpiece of 1513 for San Pedro de Vilamajor, and the throne of the Apostle, relieved against gold patterned with Juan's favorite floral circles, already is constructed of architecture of the Renaissance, covered by a semidome decorated with the *motif* of a shell, exactly as in the case of the St. Barbara of 1516 in the Vich Museum. The second of the panels in the Collection that internal evidence shows Juan certainly to have painted is a Crucifixion, once the pinnacle of a retable, that finds its closest counterpart, among his renderings of the theme, in the altarpiece of 1507 for the church of San Juan del Galí, although it possibly derives from the same original assemblage as the St. James. A third panel in the Collection, a fragment with the figure of St. Onuphrius, perhaps once a bit of a *guardapolvo,* cannot with quite such confidence be claimed for Juan Gascó, despite the fact that it exhibits a facial type that he often employs for old men. The Gothic lettering at the top of the panel should not be taken as evidence of an early date in the master's career, since he uses this alphabet as late as 1525 for the inscriptions accompanying the Prophets and Sibyls of his door in the cathedral of Vich, but the embossing of the halo's rings ought to be indicative of his beginnings in contrast to the flat treatment in the panels of St. James and the Crucifixion. The Holy Family by Pedro Gascó in the Orriols Collection will demand our attention in a subsequent chapter.

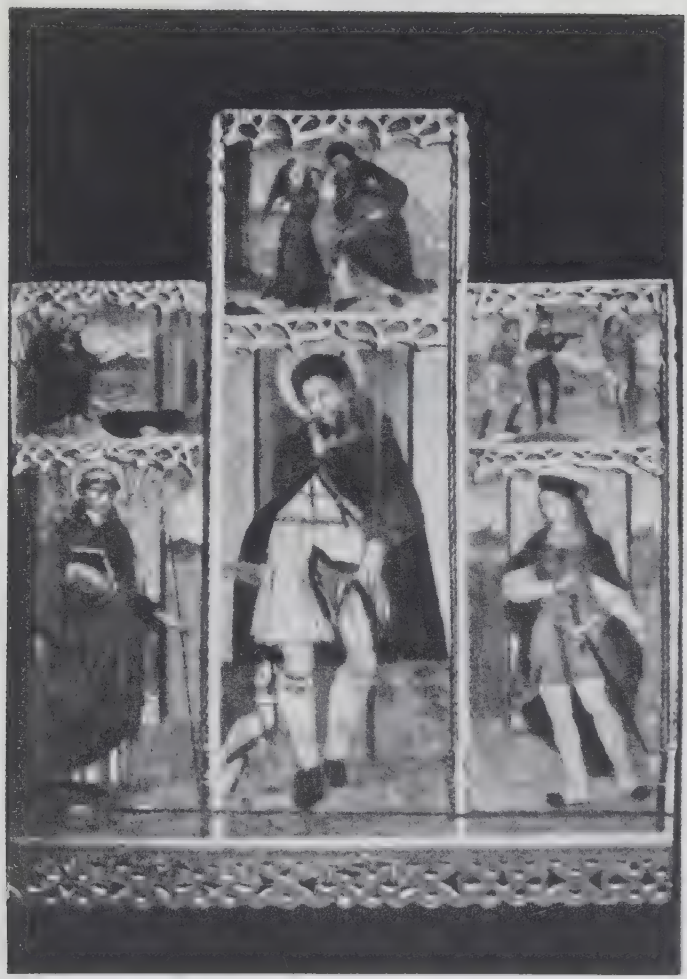

FIG. 26. JUAN GASCÓ. RETABLE. BUSTILLO COLLECTION, SEVILLE
(*Courtesy of Dr. Martin S. Soria*)

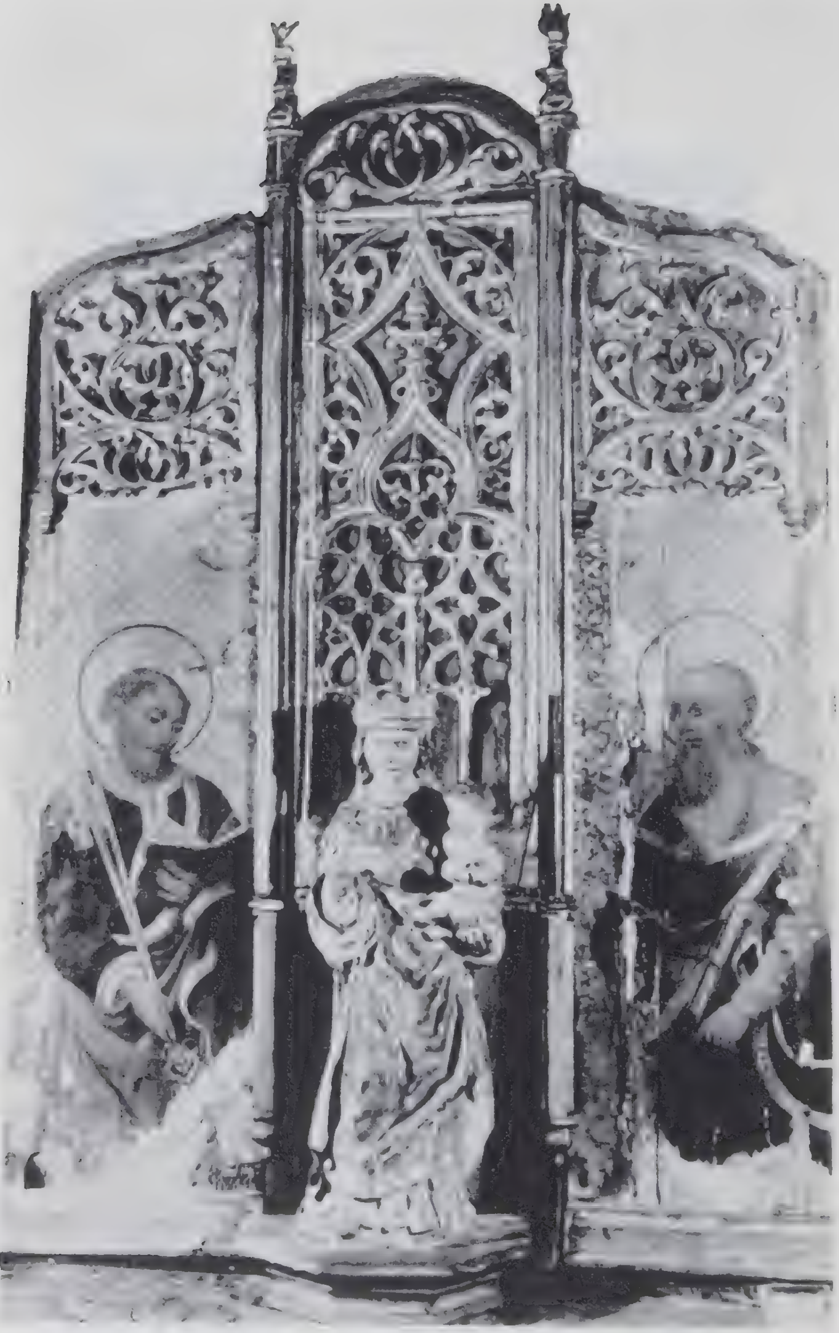

FIG. 27. JUAN GASCÓ(?). STS. PETER AND PAUL, WINGS OF A TRIPTYCH. FORMERLY IN THE COLLECTION OF MRS. FRANCISCA REYES, NEW YORK

It has become apparent that very few of Juan Gascó's works, perhaps by reason of his pleasant provincialism, have had sufficient general appeal to obtain purchasers or homes outside of the immediate region where he was active, and it thus proves somewhat of a surprise to find a whole retable by him (minus the predella) as far away as Seville, in the Collection of the Conde de Bustillo (Fig. 26). The central compartment is occupied by an effigy of St. Roch and the lateral divisions by figures of Sts. Benedict and Sebastian, all three standing against plaques of textiles; and the structure is completed with a narrative scene above each recipient of devotion relating an event from his life. The scene chosen for St. Roch is his succor by an angel during his attack of the plague, for St. Benedict, his resuscitation of the monk killed by the collapse of a wall of the rising monastery,[54] and for St. Sebastian, the ordeal of the arrows. Manifestly belonging to Juan Gascó's later manner, the retable finds the closest counterparts of its figures in the production transitional to this manner, the altarpiece of San Pedro de Vilamajor. The St. Sebastian is practically a replica of the mincing youth at the right in the Via Dolorosa of this altarpiece, and his pietistic upward glance is duplicated in the adolescent soldier beside the *eculeus* of St. Vincent in the retable from Torelló. The St. Roch, though he is conceived somewhat differently in the Vilamirosa retable, has a countenance often encountered in Gascó's achievements, as, at Vilamajor, in the first head at the right in the crucifixion of St. Peter and in the Christ of the Flagellation. At the sides of the textile behind St. Roch the gold is incised with one of the master's typical designs, consisting of lozenges ornamented with a floral pattern.

We can hardly refuse to discern Juan's hand in the wings of a triptych sold at Barcelona and last known to me as in the possession of Mrs. Francisca Reyes at New York (Fig. 27). The effigies of Sts. Peter and Paul, relieved at three-fourths length against a variation of his rosettes in the gold background, flank a shrine at the centre containing a statue of the Madonna which possibly but not surely belonged to the original monument. The St. Paul is not discordant with Gascó's standards, and the St. Peter repeats a type to which he frequently resorts, as in his representations of this Apostle

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[54] St. Benedict anomalously wears in the retable a white cassock beneath his black robe, but he is identified by the inscription in the halo of his standing effigy and by the narrative episode.

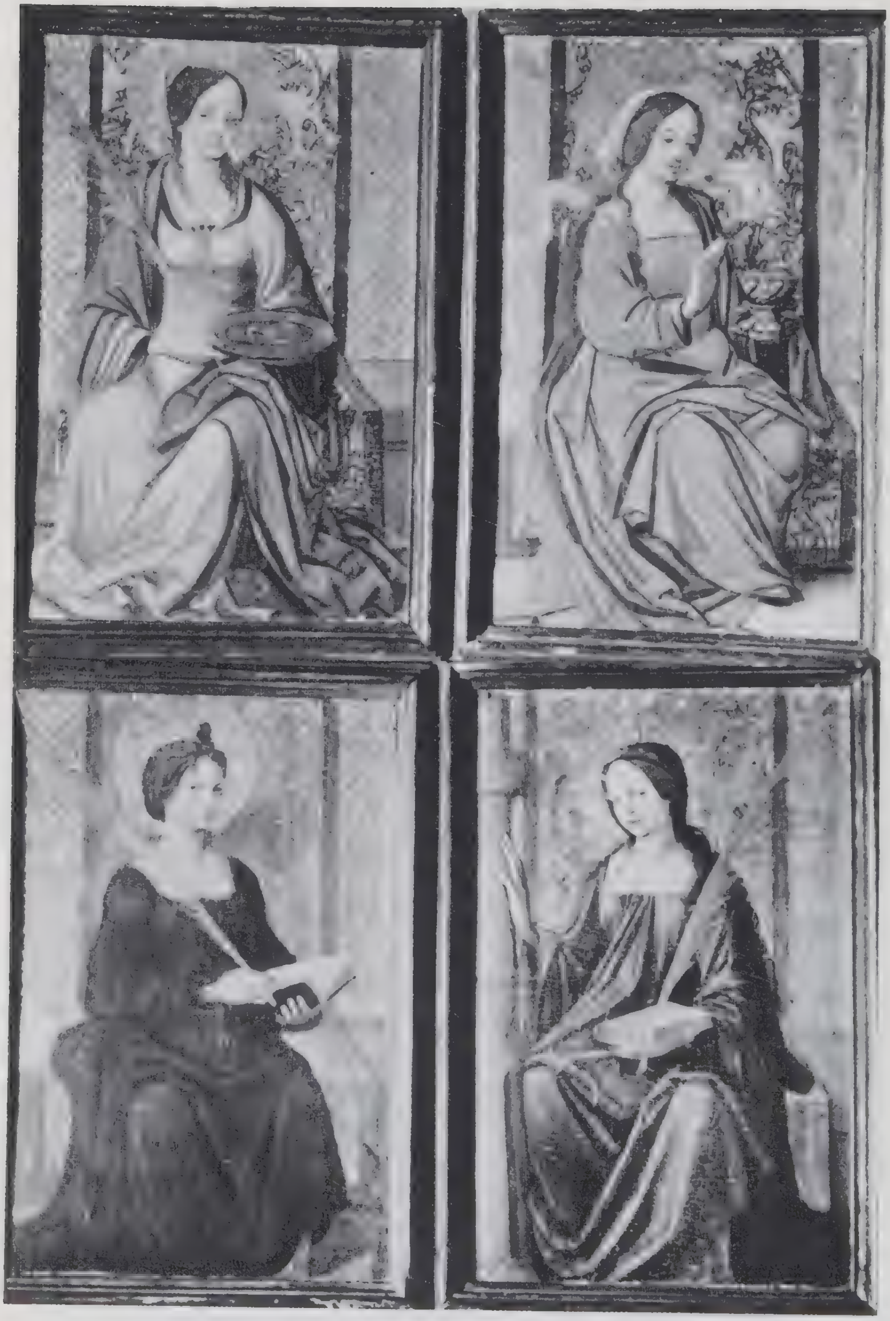

Fig. 28. JUAN OR PEDRO GASCÓ. STS. LUCY, MARY MAGDALENE, QUITERIA, AND BARBARA. FORMERLY IN THE RÓMULO BOSCH COLLECTION, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

in the retable of San Julián de Vilamirosa and in the scene of the youth's resurrection at San Pedro de Vilamajor.

In the case of four small panels of enthroned feminine saints, Lucy, the Magdalene, Quiteria,[55] and Barbara, probably relics of a predella and formerly in the Collection of Rómulo Bosch at Barcelona (Fig. 28), Juan Gascó seems a more likely candidate for the authorship than his son Pedro, to whom they have sometimes been ascribed. In the scene of the miracle of resuscitation in the retable of San Pedro de Vilamajor, the empress's lady-in-waiting seen in full face is practically a replica of the St. Lucy; in the same retable a maiden viewing the Flagellation is very similar to the Magdalene; the canonized women in the predella at San Juan de las Abadesas fall within the same general types of humanity; and St. Quiteria's bangs are elaborated into exactly the topknot that we have seen on the head of the Sibyl at the left on the door in the Vich Museum. According to Juan's customary variation of the patterns in the gold backgrounds of single monuments, two different designs are employed within the range even of these four compartments.

The decision between the father and the son is more difficult when we study a panel of the levitation of the Magdalene (Fig. 29), originally perhaps the face of a tabernacle but at some later time made into the door of a cabinet, in the same church of San Juan del Galí for which Juan had painted the documented retable of the Baptist at the beginning of his career in Catalonia, but the balance is tipped in favor of the father by the virtual facial identity with the St. Barbara of the Bosch series. The mature style of the panel proves, of course, that it cannot belong to the Baptist's retable but must be a relic of some altarpiece of the Magdalene executed for the church at least as late as *c.* 1520. Although Juan Gascó, if he is indeed the author, still abides by a gold background and its rosettes, the old, rural master quite surprises us by the almost poignant delight in the feminine nude instilled into him by the spirit of the Renaissance.

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[55] The emblem looks more like the fettered mad dog, which is one of her attributes, than the dragon of St. Margaret.

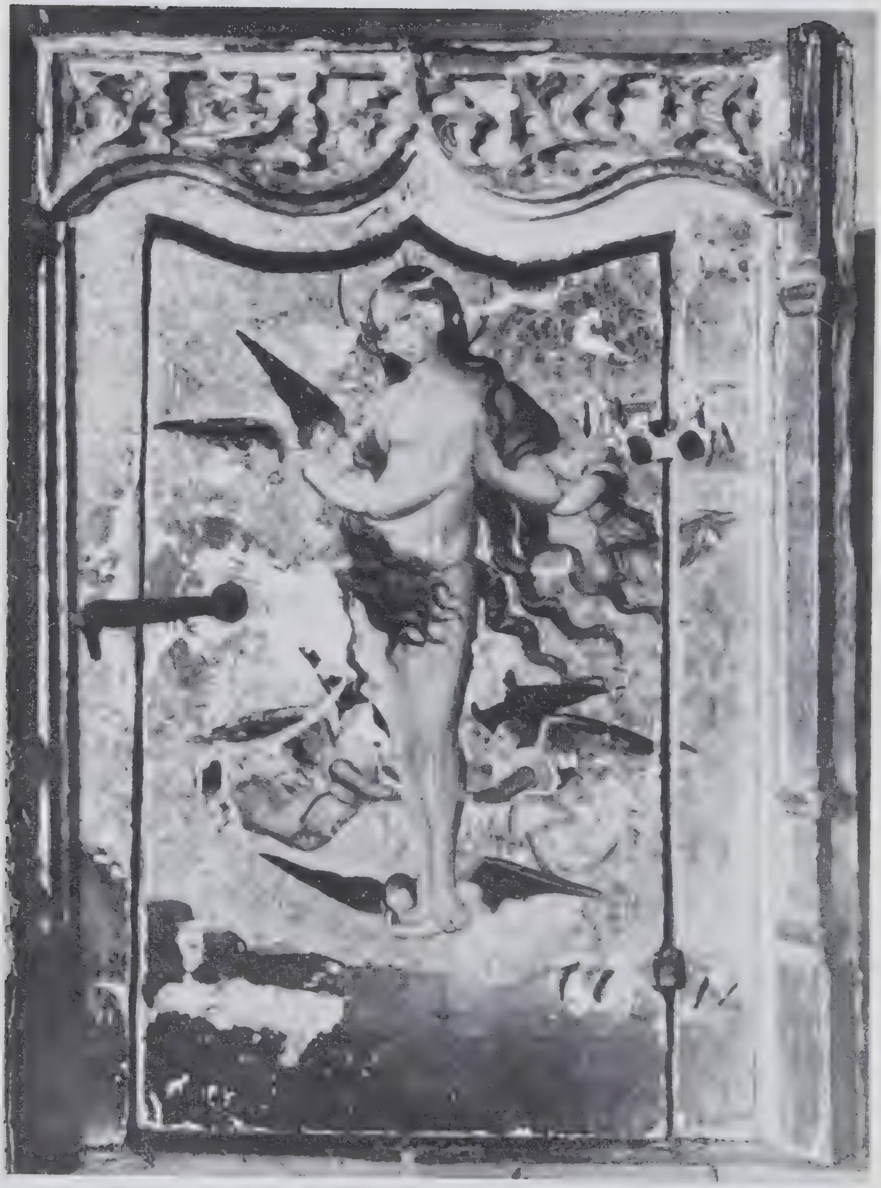

FIG. 29. JUAN OR PEDRO GASCÓ. LEVITATION OF THE MAGDALENE. PARISH CHURCH, SAN JUAN DEL GALÍ
(*Photo. Mas*)

CHAPTER III

PERRIS FONTAYNES

The acute perspicacity of the eminent historian of art, Juan Ainaud de Lasarte,[1] has elicited the actual name, Perris Fontaynes, of a talented stranger employed in Catalonia at the beginning of the sixteenth century, a Fleming or a Frenchman saturated in the modes of the Low Countries. In the documents [2] where he is mentioned the appellation occurs in slightly varied forms according to the fluid and careless spelling of the time, and in one instance his Christian name is set down as Pierre, suggesting even more definitely than Fontaynes French origin; but he might have come from the Gallic part of Belgium, which then included a section of what is now northern France. In order not to create confusion, I adopt the forms of both his names as chosen by Ainaud, who arrived at his identification in the following way. The tier of panels at the base of the retable over the high altar of the church of S. Félix at Gerona are obviously by a different and somewhat earlier hand than that of the St. Felix Master, the author of the paintings in the structure's main body.[3] The scholar of Gerona, Dr. Lamberto Font,[4] discovered on the book held by a Prophet, one of the sculptured figures on the retable, the inscription "Petrus F. obiit oz aprilis 1518" (the *oz* being interpreted by Ainaud as 12 [5]), a sentence that indubitably registers the death of the earlier painter on the altarpiece. Moreover, we shall find on a later page that there is every reason for believing that it was immediately after this date when the St. Felix Master took hold and completed the enterprise. The interpretation of the F in the inscription recording the decease as the initial of Fontaynes receives considerable support from a monogram written on a page of a book in the hands of an angel, again one of the carved pieces of the structure. There is a huge P, the vertical stroke of which is prolonged above in lines to form an F; in the loop of the P the joined letters T and A seem plainly decipherable, accompanied by other characters that are less clear; and above the loop a line curves forth to make what appears to be an S, providing us with T-A-S as the presumptive end of the cognomen Fontaynes, for which F would constitute the beginning, whereas P would stand for the Christian name Perris. The F and the T-A-S must represent the cognomen Fontaynes, because in our copious records of the painters then active in Catalonia there is mention of no other Petrus whose second name would fit the letters. The proof culminates in the considerations that the style of the pertinent panels in the church of S. Félix is obviously that of an intruder from northern Europe such as the appellation Fontaynes shows the artist to have been, that in his contract of June 20, 1511, to do the (lost) shutters of the organ in the Dominican church, Barcelona, he is designated as dwelling at Gerona, and that, as passing judgment, April 21, 1515, on the works of Joan de Burgunya in the church of Sta. María del Pino, Barcelona, he would have been a friend of this painter who in all probability should be identified with the St. Felix Master.

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[1] Unpublished article.

[2] See J. M. Madurell in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, I, 3 (1943), 82–85.

[3] See below, p. 78. The panels by Fontaynes are temporarily consigned to the Diocesan Museum, Gerona.

[4] *Gerona, la Catedral y el Museo Diocesano,* Gerona, 1952, pp. 76–77.

[5] Font (*op. cit.*) explains it rather as the second of April.

The left page of the book containing the monogram displays (with the customary abbreviations) a prayer for the artist's felicity in the after life, "Qui hoc depingebat semper cum Domino vivat," as if he were already dead, but such cannot have been the case, since the date March 11, 1518, in the same script is written in Catalan on the book held by another angel, "A XI de marts (*sic*) del any MDXVIII," and since, as we have noted, an inscription by another hand records that he did not die until April. The explanation may be that Fontaynes, feeling himself already very ill, tragically wished to perpetuate his memory with his monogram, the prayer, and the date in March.

The cycle at the bottom of the retable of St. Felix comprises: four scenes from the life of the Virgin, the Annunciation, Nativity of Christ (Fig. 30), Epiphany, and Assumption; two narrower compartments punctuating these scenes and depicting Sts. Michael and George, both overcoming the dragon; and in the middle of the tier four Prophets. The banderoles carried by David and Isaiah are inscribed with their names as well as with sentences from their writings, in the case of the former from Psalms, LXXII, 9, "Reges Tharsis et insulae munera (offerent)," and in the case of the latter from his book, LX, 14, "Et

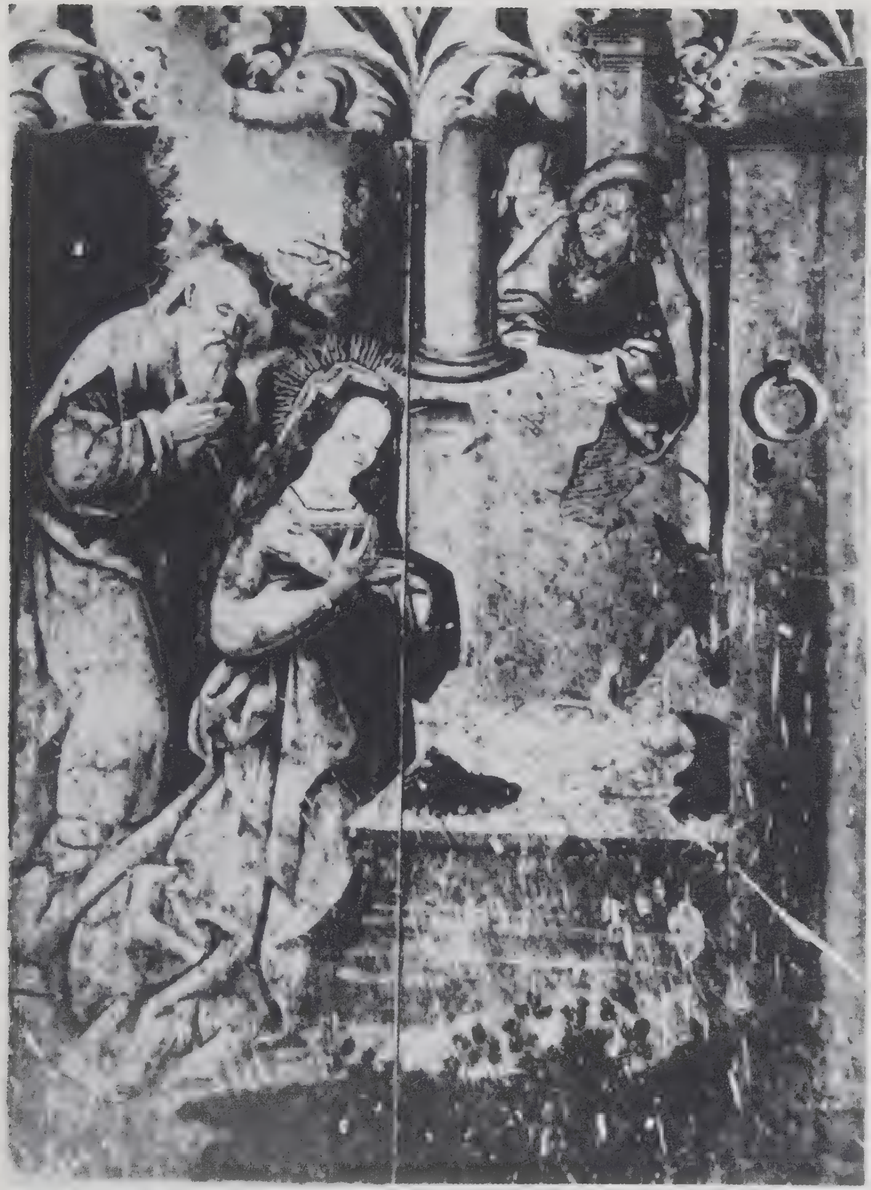

FIG. 30. PERRIS FONTAYNES. NATIVITY. SECTION OF RETABLE OF ST. FELIX. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, GERONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

adorabunt vestigia pedum tuorum." The other two Prophets are not denominated on their scrolls, but Daniel is identified by an adaptation from his book, II, 34 and 45, "Lapis angularis sine manibus abscissus est" (with the order of words in the Vulgate changed and with the adjective *angularis* added to make the stone of the original into a corner stone as a symbol of Christ). Although the fourth figure cannot be Isaiah, who is already included in the assembly, his inscription, according to a not unparalleled transfer of verses from one Prophet to another,[6] is constituted by the familiar message of Isaiah, IX, 6, "Parvulus natus est nobis, et filius datus est."

The competent style is an eclectic product of the general condition of Flemish painting in the dawning Renaissance rather than dependent upon any single master of the Low Countries, except possibly to a certain degree Quentin Matsys, but some of the racial types are perhaps partially Hispanicized. In distinction from the haloes of rays in the episodes of the life of the Virgin, Sts. George and Michael display the sort that is like a gold plaque, but the rest of the internal evidence implies that they too were executed by the painter of the other sections. Angulo[7] has perceived that the cartoon of the Epiphany and the Virgin in the Nativity are derived from Schongauer's treatments of the themes, Bartsch nos. 6 and 5.

Under the number 1273 there exists in the Museum of Vich a small[8] panel of the Nativity, decidedly Flemish in character and for which a tempting but by no means conclusive argument can be put up in favor of an attribution to Perris Fontaynes (Fig. 31). Since it comes from the great monastery of San Juan de las Abadesas, the escutcheon of this institution is twice imposed upon the bottom of the picture. The monastery at this time belonged to Augustinian canons, and it may well be that one of these was the donor who, still in diminished size according to a mediaeval practice, kneels in a canon's robes at the left.

The most copious grounds for the attribution are afforded by a comparison of the renderings of the Nativity at Gerona and Vich. The first thing that strikes us is that St. Joseph is nearly the same personage in both pictures. Moreover, the halo that he wears in the Gerona version is only a simplification of the very peculiar treatment of the

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[6] Vol. VIII, p. 96, n. 2.

[7] *Archivo español de arte*, XVII (1944), 359.

[8] The dimensions are 57 ½ centimetres in height by 45 in width.

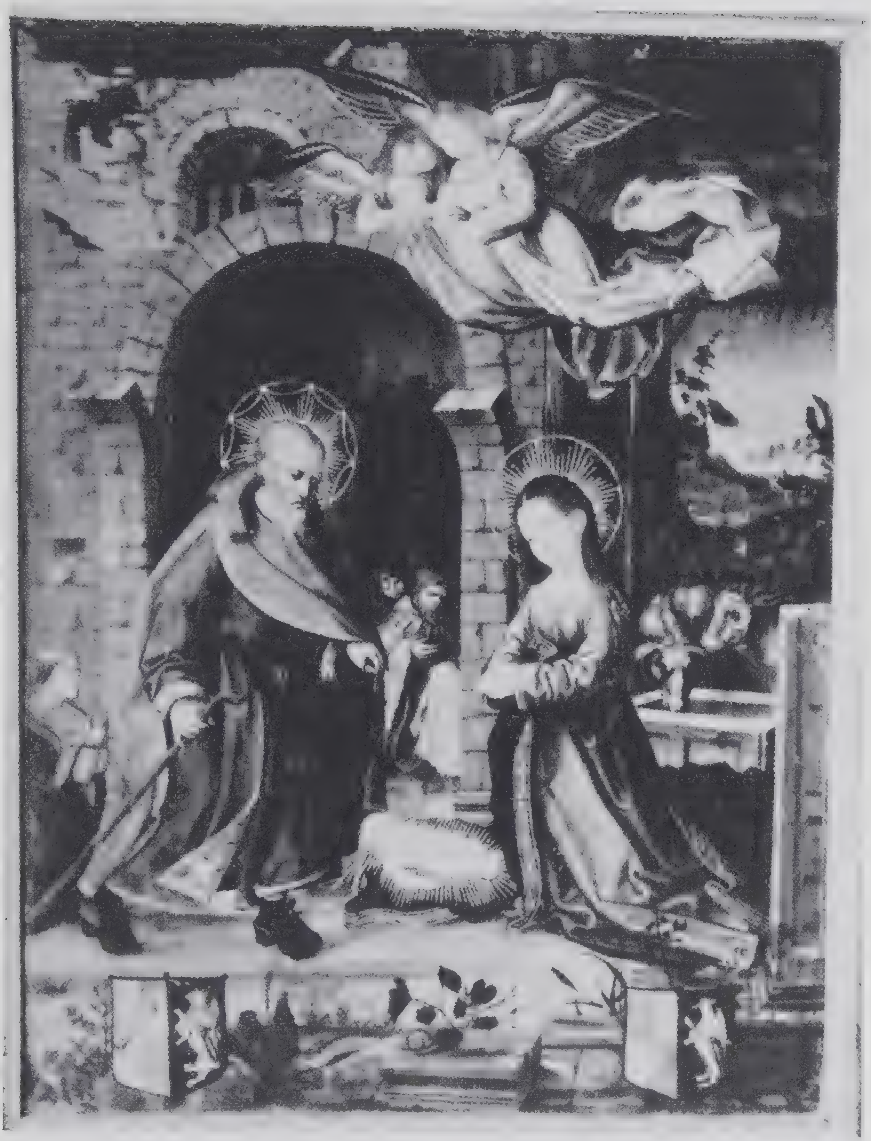

Fig. 31. PERRIS FONTAYNES (?). NATIVITY. MUSEUM, VICH
(*Photo. Serra*)

polygonal nimbus belonging to worthies of the old dispensation that distinguishes him in the Vich panel: in each instance its sides are scalloped and consist merely of gold lines, although at Vich it is enclosed in a circle. The Virgin in the Gerona Nativity, as well as in the Epiphany, if relieved of her headdress, would look much more like the delicate creature that the Vich picture makes her to be. The mood of dreamy mysticism that is spread over all the participants in the Vich rendering of the Birth of Christ may be observed also at Gerona, for instance especially in the older standing Magus and the St. George. The abundant draperies of Our Lady in both Nativities flow down and forth in analogous Flemish folds, in the Gerona version derived, as to a certain extent the whole figure, from the smaller of Schongauer's two engravings of the theme. More obviously than to Mary in the Gerona Nativity, the Vich Madonna is comparable to the Virgin in the Gerona Annunciation but particularly to Gabriel, since they have no headcloths. The Child in both treatments of His Birth is the same lusty and alert little urchin. Flowering plants so frequently are seen in the foregrounds of religious paintings in the Middle Ages and Renaissance that not much stress can be laid upon their appearance in the Gerona version as well as at Vich, but some weight attaches to the fact that an ancient stele is included at the right edge of the setting of each Nativity, in the case of the Vich panel with its top broken away so that it embodies the sentiment of the Renaissance for ruins.[9] Other resemblances could be adduced, such as the like desire for *sfumatezza* in the angels of the Gerona Assumption and those of the Vich panel, but enough evidence has been itemized to make us reckon with at least the possibility that the creator of the panel was Fontaynes. Since at this time the activity of a painter was still likely to be distributed through a province or diocese, we can add to the count the point that San Juan de las Abadesas, the source of the Vich panel, lies within the province of Gerona.

Whether or not Fontaynes did the Vich Nativity, I am disposed to believe, though without dogmatism, that its author deserves the credit for a fairly large [10] Visitation, a part of the Scheufelen bequest to the Gallery at Stuttgart (Fig. 32). I have not arrived at the decision to include the picture at this place in my volumes without

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[9] A keyhole and handle were introduced at some subsequent time into the stele in the Gerona panel, showing that the picture was barbarously made to function as a door.

[10] The measurements are 113 centimetres in height by 85 in width.

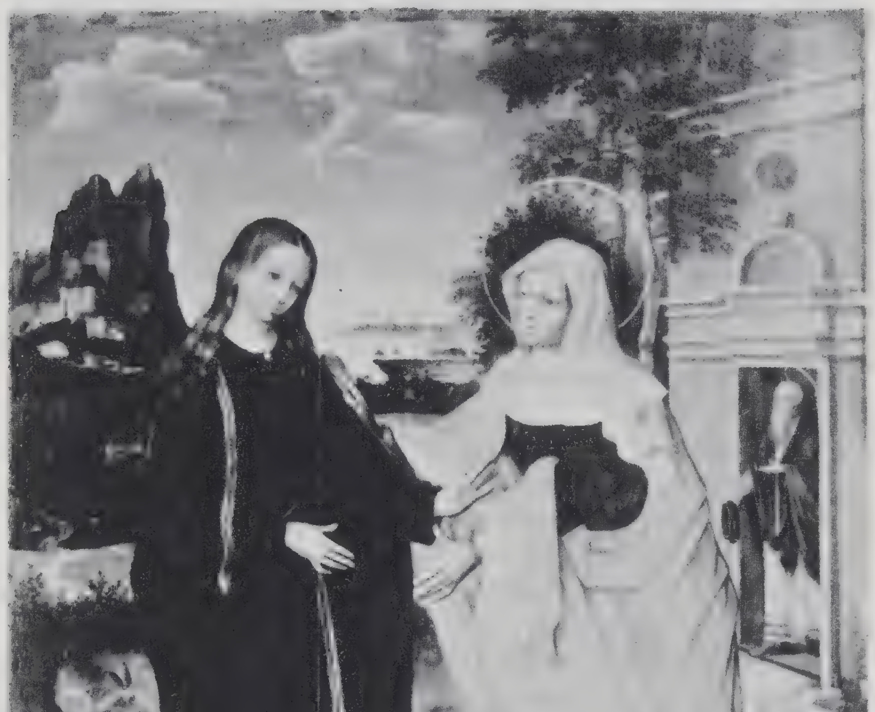

FIG. 32. PERRIS FONTAYNES (?). VISITATION.
GALLERY, STUTTGART

having laboriously weighed the claims of other Spanish schools and without having at times been tempted by them, nor have I neglected the possibilities of other artists active in Catalonia, especially the urgent demands of the Canapost Master for consideration. The likeness of the ethereal St. Elizabeth to the separate effigy of St. Bernard in the retable of Canapost is very arresting, and the panel of the Trinity in St. Jacques, Perpignan,[11] has revealed that the Canapost Master was a man of broader scope than we had suspected; but no discovered work justifies the opinion that he adopted the ways of the Renaissance which the Visitation exhibits, and the evidence for an attribution to the author of the Vich Nativity is more abundant and persuasive. Both pictures seem patently to belong to the Flemish or Franco-Flemish strain in the painting of Catalonia at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Virgin's countenance and coiffure scarcely differ in the Nativity and Visitation, and in the gold edging of her garment the *motifs* between the twin lines are somewhat similar. The Zacharias emerging through a doorway in the background of the Visitation is not too unlike the St. Joseph of the Nativity, but (if we are willing to assign the latter panel to Fontaynes) he resembles more closely the foster-father of Christ in the Gerona representation of the Birth of Our Lord and in the Epiphany. The St. George in the Gerona cycle, moreover, provides almost, if not quite, as exact an analogue for St. Elizabeth's face as the Canapost Master's St. Bernard. If you would take the unusually large circle of St. Elizabeth's halo and set within it the rays of the Virgin's nimbus, you would get the halo distinguishing Mary in the Nativity.

The vista seen at one side in the Vich panel is only a small counterpart of the extremely deep and beautiful landscape spreading forth in the setting of the Stuttgart painting — at the left majestic, towering rocks, punctuated by a picturesque castle, as in the works of the Master of the Scala Salutis and the Master of the Four Saints, and at the right a spacious view of the sea and its shores, with an extraordinary realization of aërial perspective and in rivalry with the marine backgrounds that the St. Felix Master sometimes essays. One of the rocks forms a natural bridge through which there brilliantly and eerily penetrates the light, made to seem the brighter by contrast with a little figure that the artist has knowingly introduced into its midst; and a finely delineated group of travellers also in diminished scale flashes forth in a patch of illumination amidst the fanciful chiaroscuro of the whole rocky mass. As in other instances of troublesome attributions subordinate details may swing the pendulum towards a solution, so the likelihood that the Visitation and Nativity were executed by a single person is increased by the pronounced similarity in the foregrounds. Not only are we led into the pictures by growths that show an actual scientific interest in botany, but amongst the plants in the Visitation there conspicuously lies a large stone, a relic of some demolished building, to match several such pieces strewn in the vegetation of the Nativity's foremost plane.

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[11] See below, p. 673.

CHAPTER IV

THE ST. FELIX MASTER (JOAN DE BURGUNYA?)

1. His Identity

Neither I nor anyone else can entertain any substantial doubt that the great Catalan scholar, Juan Ainaud de Lasarte,[1] by brilliant reasoning and deduction has arrived at the truth in believing Joan de Burgunya[2] the real name of the distinguished painter of the early Renaissance who is the subject of the present chapter; but perhaps with excessive punctiliousness I prefer to err on the side of caution and keep for him the sobriquet, the St. Felix Master, waiting for a document or signature to reveal with absolute surety that he did one of the works attributable to this Master on stylistic grounds. I take the sobriquet from his most conspicuous extant production, the scenes from the life of St. Felix that form the main body of the retable over the high altar of the church of S. Félix at Gerona, the base of which we have found[3] to be the achievement of Perris Fontaynes.

We must first dismiss Angulo's[4] earlier attempt to arrive at his actual name. His guess that the monogram on the book of a sculptured angel in the retable in S. Félix enshrines the cognomen Porta collapses with the discovery that it stands for Perris Fontaynes.[5] He took the P as the initial of the surname, though it really begins the Christian name, and combined it with the T A, which we now know to be a part of Fontaynes, so as to form, with the undecipherable letters, Porta. The F he thought might perhaps be the initial of *Fecit*. A deterrent to such an interpretation of the monogram was, from the beginning, the consideration that, so far as I am informed, no painter with this appellation emerges in our records, despite their fullness, of indigenous or even immigrant artists of the period in Catalonia; but, since it is quite possible that one of the St. Felix

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[1] Unpublished article.

[2] Although for the sake of uniformity throughout my volumes I usually translate Catalan names into Castilian, I am compelled to keep the Catalan form Joan de Burgunya in order to distinguish him from the master active in Castile, Juan de Borgoña.

[3] P. 69.

[4] In his article on the artist in *Archivo español de arte*, XVII (1944), 359.

[5] See above, p. 69.

Master's retables in a church at Valencia was done originally for this city,[6] Angulo found some significance attaching to the existence of a Valencian dynasty of painters with the surname Porta who may be traced from the fifteenth to the early seventeenth century.[7] No Valencian painter so styled, however, is known to have lived at the time of the St. Felix Master's activity, the first half of the sixteenth century; but a late member of the dynasty towards the end of the Cinquecento, Miguel Juan Porta, was a native of Ager in northwestern Catalonia,[8] with the corollary that his predecessors may also have had Catalan affiliations. Angulo would like to believe that the author of the St. Felix retable was trained in the school of Valencia, but I fail to discern any sure marks of such an education. Subsequently I shall adduce analogies to the manner of the Master's Valencian contemporary, Vicente Juan Masip, the father of Juan de Juanes, but the painters are too nearly synchronous for either to have had much of a part in the formation of the other, although at some period in their lives and at some place one may have admired the other's achievements.

We shall eventually deprecate the idea that the St. Felix Master could be the same person as the artist Juan Petit.

The ingenious logic on which Ainaud bases his equalization of Joan de Burgunya with the St. Felix Master consists largely in a discernment of a correspondence between the places where the latter's works exist and the knowledge of the former's peregrinations that we gain from the documents.[9] Joan states in his will of March 13, 1523, that, born at Strassburg (which, as an imperial free city on the edge of Maximilian's Burgundian estates, would allow an artist from the place to be called John of Burgundy), he contracted matrimony at Orihuela in Valencian territory, and much later in life, at the end of the year 1521, when he had long since been established at Barcelona, he gave a power of attorney to a citizen of Orihuela to collect debts still owed to him in this town. Thus residing south of Valencia at a presumably somewhat youthful age, he is supposed by Ainaud to have executed for the church of Nuestra Señora del Milagro in this city an extant retable of St. Andrew, which is most assuredly a work of the St. Felix Master and which the Catalan scholar thinks to have been done originally for the church, rather than presented to the edifice by a donor after having been made for an institution in another town,[10] and judges to be an early achievement of Joan de Burgunya.[11] His connection with Valencia is further substantiated by the fact that in the problems which arose in regard to his labor on the (lost) retable of the high altar of Sta. María del Pino, Barcelona, one of the experts who gave judgment on April 21, 1515, was no less a person than the Valencian artist Fernando Yáñez de la Almedina,[12] and that Valencian elements are perhaps to be detected in the style of the St. Felix Master. The St. Felix Master has also left us a retable of the Magdalene in the Provincial Museum, Tarragona, deriving from a monastery in the province,[13] and Tarragona, lying between Valencia and Barcelona, might have enjoyed a temporary sojourn of Joan de Burgunya on his way north, or the retable might have been done after he was already living at Barcelona when the memory of the honor of his visit to Tarragona was so fresh in the citizens' minds that a work from him was ordered for their region. Indeed we have notice that on December 21, 1510, a prominent member by this time of the artistic circle of Barcelona, he was involved in a legal suit against Nicolás de Credensa in regard to their respective shares in the payment for a retable which they were doing for the monastery of Santas Creus in the province of Tarragona, Joan responsible for the painting and Nicolás for the gilding. The most cogent arguments, however, for the identification of Joan with the St. Felix Master have to do with the latter's retable in the church of S. Félix, Gerona, and the former's eventual residence in this city. An acquaintance with Perris Fontaynes, who did the lower part of the retable, is shown by this painter's service, together with Fernando Yáñez, in giving an expert opinion on Joan's contributions to the altarpiece of Sta. María del Pino, Barcelona, but more concretely significant is the knowledge that, after the death of Fontaynes in the spring of 1518, Joan is found on December 12, 1519, to be dwelling in Gerona and receiving compensation for some product of his profession in the town. The document[14] telling us of his presence at Gerona states that he had recently arrived, accompanied by eight persons, some of them doubtless members of his family but including probably also a group of assistants; and his widow's legal action, on March 3, 1527, to obtain funds owed to him at Gerona confirms his employment in the city, where, moreover, we shall find further works by the St. Felix Master. The death of Joan de Burgunya must have occurred shortly before December 3, 1525, when in the contract of Pedro Nunyes to complete the retable of Sta. María del Pino he is described as no longer in the land of the living. To Ainaud's elaborate and persuasive web of evidence for the identification of Joan with the St. Felix Master, I myself should wish to add the scarcely deniable influence upon the latter of Michael Pacher, who, though active farther south in Teutonic territory, could easily have come within the travels of a young student of the arts from Strassburg towards the end of the Quattrocento. Whimsically formed letters are simulated as woven into borders of garments here and there in the paintings of the retable of St. Felix, but I can elicit from them no sure meaning or reference to a Joan de Burgunya.

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[6] See below, p. 94.

[7] They may most readily be found in the Thieme-Becker *Lexikon.*

[8] See L. Tramoyeres Blasco in *Revista de la Asociación Artísticoarqueológica Barcelonesa*, IV (1903–1905), 721–730.

[9] J. Mas in *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras* (Barcelona), VI (1911–1912), 311. J. M. Madurell in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*: I, 3 (1943), 48–50, 69–70, 80–88; II, 1 (1944), 7–11; II, 2 (1944), 36–37, 40; VI, 3–4 (1948), 351, 361, 364; and in the Portuguese periodical, *Museu*, VI (1950), 134 and 146. Cf. also: J. Ainaud de Lasarte and F. P. Verrié in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, I, 1 (1941), 44; my vol. IX, p. 176; and Ainaud's very important article to which I have referred at the beginning of the present chapter.

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[10] See below, p. 94.

[11] But see below, p. 86.

[12] See my vol. XI, p. 185.

[13] See below, p. 100.

2. His Works

The lion's share in the retable of St. Felix went to the St. Felix Master, the six great panels from the martyr's story, with the figures almost as large as life, at the sides of the sculptured Madonna and her shrine which occupy the middle of the structure. There were two saints of the name honored at Gerona, and the subjects depicted seem to prove that the one here intended was the martyr who, commemorated on August 1 and, according to tradition, a brother of St. Cucufas,[15] came to Catalonia from Africa and who, usually considered to have been a layman, is often so represented; [16] but in the altarpiece that now concerns us he is made into a deacon through a not uncommon confusion [17] with the other St. Felix of Gerona, a companion of the bishop, St. Narcissus,[18] and also a martyr, who, however, is not recorded to have gone through the series of tortures related of his homonym and whose day is March 18. The confusion is perhaps further illustrated by the facts that St. Narcissus is highly honored in the church of S. Félix, possessing there indeed a special chapel, and that in the sculpture of the retable large statues of a hallowed deacon and bishop, i.e., Sts. Felix and Narcissus, counterbalance each other, whereas the layman St. Felix is not reported to have had such an episcopal associate; but it is possible that the deacon's statue was really meant to represent the companion of St. Narcissus and that only the painted panels were devoted to the martyr from Africa. We can scarcely postulate, instead, that the companion of St. Narcissus absorbed in the paintings the story of the martyr ordinarily conceived as a layman, for the inscription on the sarcophagus, once existing in the church, of the Felix to whom the edifice is dedicated described him as an African,[19] whereas the deacon is generally declared to have been a native of Gerona.

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[14] The recording of this document for the first time is one of the many additions to our understanding of the Catalan Cinquecento comprised in Ainaud's article.

[15] Vol. V, pp. 84 ff.

[16] See my vols. VII, p. 831, and VIII, p. 411.

The six scenes by our Master depict St. Felix [20] sermonizing (Fig. 33), arraigned before Rufinus, dragged by mules, visited in prison by angels while his persecutor plans still further cruelties, cast into the sea weighted with a millstone but rescued by his angelic protectors (both of these marine episodes telescoped in a single panel), and finally torn with rakes on the *eculeus* (Fig. 34). In small scale in the background of the last compartment a martyr is being beaten

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[17] See the Bollandists under the feast of the layman St. Felix, August 1. C. Sarthou Carreres (*Datos para la historia de Játiva*, Játiva, 1933, I, 35–36) shows that the St. Felix of Gerona, honored on August 1, was considered at Játiva to be a deacon. He is thus depicted in a retable of Juan de Leví's shop at Uncastillo: see my vol. IX, p. 776. Fortiá Solá (*Historia de Torelló*, Barcelona, II, 1948, p. 22), not realizing the confusion between the two saints of Gerona named Felix, interprets the use of the dalmatic for the hallowed layman as a relic of the time when the garment was merely secular, but by the period of the Spanish paintings dealing with him it could have signified only the diaconate.

[18] See my vol. VI, p. 242.

[19] See an article by E. González Hurtebise in *Revista de la Asociación Artístico-arqueológica Barcelonesa*, IV (1903–1905), 836.

[20] Angulo (*op. cit.*) at first wrongly saw in the panels the life of St. Vincent, whose story is similar, but he afterward corrected himself (*Pintura del Renacimiento*, vol. XII in the series *Ars Hispaniae*, Madrid, 1954, p. 58). All the events depicted are related of St. Felix, and the dragging by mules and the rescue of a martyr from the water while still alive do not belong among St. Vincent's experiences. It would, moreover, be anomalous to ornament the high altar of a church dedicated to St. Felix with episodes from the tale of another canonized youth.

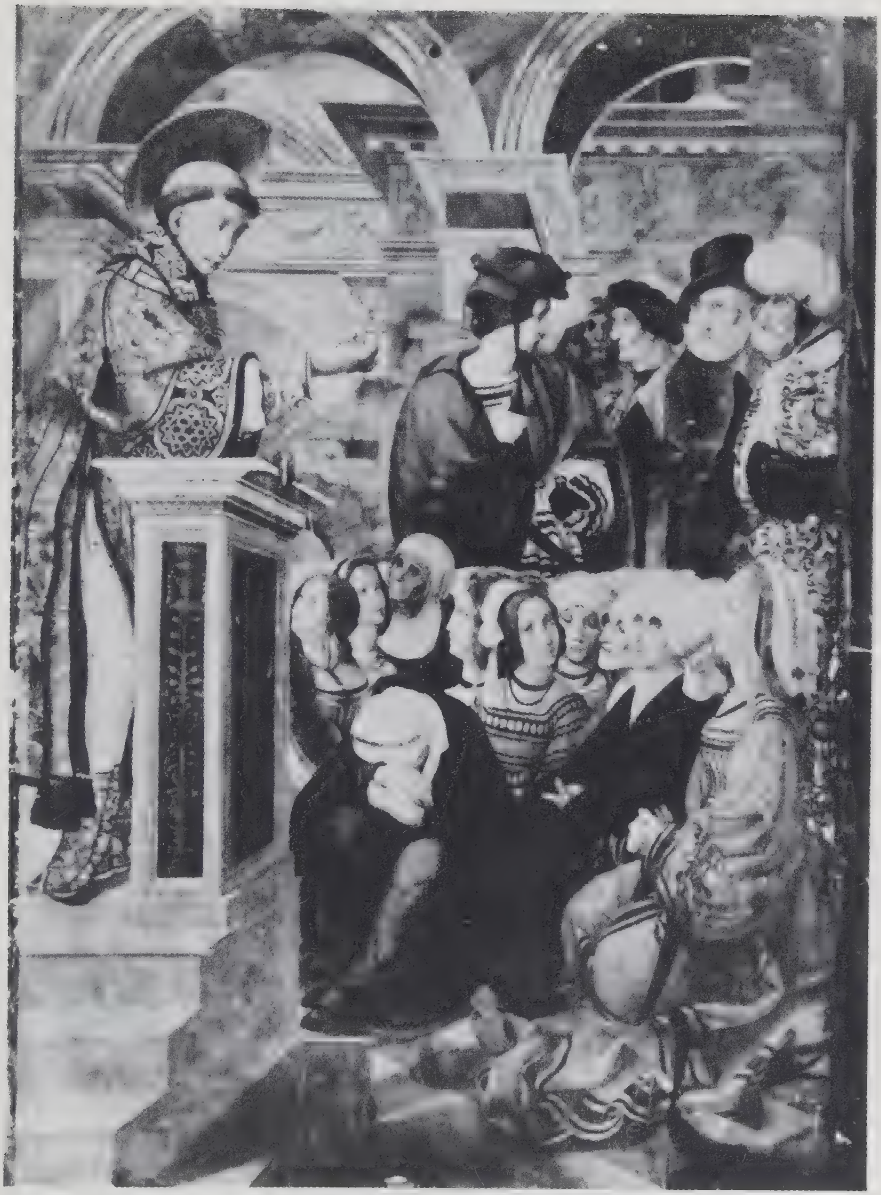

Fig. 33. THE ST. FELIX MASTER. ST. FELIX PREACHING, SECTION OF RETABLE. S. FÉLIX, GERONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

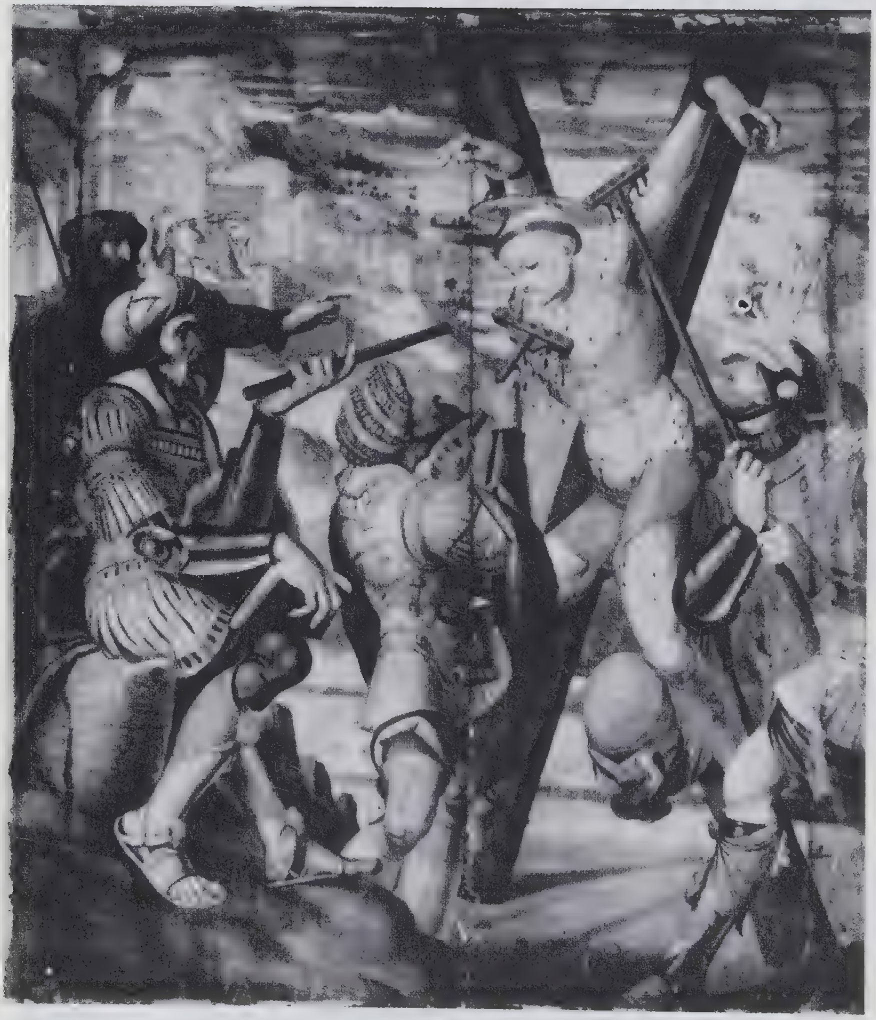

Fig. 34. THE ST. FELIX MASTER. TORTURE OF ST. FELIX ON THE *ECULEUS*, SECTION OF RETABLE. S. FÉLIX, GERONA (*Photo. Mas*)

with rods and then raised on the *eculeus*, possibly Felix, but, since in the cudgelling he is vested in a cope, perhaps, again with confusion of the two stories, Narcissus. Beneath the upper register that we have just described, a kind of large sculptured predella, in the ordonnance of the retable before the civil war, was constituted by figures of Christ and the Apostles, and under this there stretched a base made up of paintings, chiefly from the life of the Virgin, by Perris Fontaynes;[21] but because of the partial injuries suffered by the retable in the war at least the majority of its carved sections have now been removed to the Diocesan Museum, Gerona.

The fundamental fact about the St. Felix Master's art appears to be that he absorbed a German style like that of Michael Pacher (thus strongly implying, as we have seen, his identity with Joan de Burgunya) and that he carried it farther into the modes of the Renaissance. The affinities with Pacher are very tangible. Not only are the concern with the perspective of architecture, the nature of the landscapes, the manipulation of chiaroscuro, and even to some extent the human types similar, but it is hard to escape the conviction that he remembered some of Pacher's compositions. In the altarpiece at St. Wolfgang on the Abersee the scene of St. Wolfgang delivering a sermon despite demoniacal interruption by noise seems very definitely to have served as the model for the compartment of St. Felix's homily; and in Pacher's same altarpiece the aggregation of persons at the left in the Raising of Lazarus must almost surely have been in our painter's mind when he depicted the line of St. Andrew and the spectators in the Apostle's exorcism of the devilish dogs in the retable at Valencia. It is to be observed also that in this Valencian picture the architectural setting translates into the vocabulary of the Renaissance the background of the episode of St. Wolfgang forcing Satan to hold the missal for him on the outside of one of the wings of Pacher's altarpiece of the Fathers of the Church now in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich. The St. Felix Master even preserves at times the contorted violence of posture occasionally cropping out in Pacher's productions. Whether he followed Pacher's example and went to Italy, thus increasing his familiarity with the Renaissance, or whether he derived his Italianism from its spread to Spain and the rest of Europe, there are no means of determining. If he had the benefit of a period of residence in Italy, Florence at the opening of the

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[21] See above, p. 69.

Cinquecento would be the most likely spot for his studies, in the neighborhood of Granacci or particularly Ridolfo Ghirlandaio. In the background in the scene of the carding of St. Felix upon the *eculeus* there may be descried what were perhaps meant as the Colosseum and the buildings on the Palatine Hill, but, since he could have known these views in reproductions, they cannot be taken as indicative of an Italian sojourn.

With our scant, present information about another German painter, Anye Bru, whose employment in Catalonia is certified from 1504 to 1507,[22] I find it difficult to follow Angulo and Ainaud in discerning any vital effect of his works upon the St. Felix Master, nor do I think it possible that he should have been the channel by which our Master received Pacher's influence. Angulo seems to be right in claiming that in the compartment of St. Andrew's flagellation, a section of the Valencian retable now in a private collection at Barcelona, the figure of the Apostle was suggested by the St. Cucufas undergoing martyrdom in the panel of the Barcelona Museum that remains to us from Anye Bru's retable in the church of San Cugat del Vallés; but the taking of an idea from Bru means no more than the purloining of a few passages from Dürer's prints that it will eventually be our duty to notice in the St. Felix Master, and I fail to descry any such real *stylistic* affiliation between the two artists as between our Master and Pacher. It is conceivable that, if we knew more of Bru's craft than the pitifully small vestiges of the retable of San Cugat teach us, we should discover more relationships with the St. Felix Master, but I am sure that the relationships would turn out to be only casual since the two preserved sections of the retable embody a ponderous style different from the essential manner not only of Pacher but also of our painter. If Angulo correctly sees a connection between the panels of the martyrdom of St. Cucufas and of St. Andrew's flagellation in the Valencian altarpiece, Ainaud's chronology would perhaps be partially upset, for we should have to predicate that the St. Felix Master had already been in the region of Barcelona before his experiences in the old kingdom of Valencia.

Of any contact with French art, he has left us no tokens.

As I have said,[23] I find it hard to detect any unimpeachable evidence of a Valencian training. My eyes fail to descry sure traces of the influence of Fernando Yáñez de la Almedina who may have been one of his friends and who is singled out by Ainaud as contributing to his formation. The resemblances to the attainments of Vicente Juan Masip are more tangible, but I have already had occasion to doubt whether such a possible contact meant much to the St. Felix Master.

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[22] Vol. IX, p. 848.

[23] See above, p. 79.

His modes are rather surprisingly similar to those of his contemporary in Castile, Juan de Borgoña, but with a more definite manneristic trend than Juan attained even at the end of his days and with an apparently Germanic foundation that is lacking in the other painter. When the St. Felix Master uses serene, generalized types, they are not very different from those of his rival, though he punctuates them more frequently with incisively characterized individuals; the two artists' proportions for the human body are analogous; and both exhibit an intense concern with problems of architectural setting. We have seen in volume IX [24] that Juan de Borgoña must not be identified with Joan de Burgunya; and we cannot even guess whether the St. Felix Master at some place had enjoyed contact with Juan de Borgoña, thus moving farther than Pacher into the temper of the Renaissance, or whether independently he arrived at a somewhat analogous style, imbuing it with more of the tendencies of nascent mannerism.

Whatever his primary sources, it cannot be doubted that he modified them by familiarity with the Antwerp mannerists, whether through an actual visit to the Low Countries or merely through an admiration for the many examples of this phase of Flemish art imported into Spain. Beside his figures of a placid, idealized beauty, he is prone to introduce the haggard types cultivated in the school of Antwerp, as in all the actors in the scene of the punishment upon the *eculeus*. The soldier at the right who rakes the martyr's body is one of several instances of the twisted, disjointed, jerky postures for which the Antwerp mannerists provided him with models. The landscape in this compartment is similar to the ones that Alejo Fernández at Marchena derived from the same kind of Flemish precedent. It was probably from the Antwerp mannerists that the St. Felix Master likewise learned so perceptible a tendency to *sfumatezza* in certain of his countenances that it is one of the Morellian traits by which his brush may be recognized. He resorts to it particularly, though not solely, in girls' faces, and, since the faces are often rather fleshy, there results a curious resemblance to some of the heads painted by Romanino. Examples are the two maidens at the extreme left in the congregation to whom St. Felix preaches and several of the angels who visit him in prison and lift him from the waves.

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[24] P. 176.

We are in the presence of no mere provincial but of an artist of considerable stature. Although not an exciting composer, he is a very competent draughtsman. Except in the various representations of St. Felix and a few of the women who listen to the martyr's exhortation, he is not satisfied with tranquil, generalized types like those of Juan de Borgoña, but he powerfully characterizes the majority of his persons — for instance, all four of the prominent men in St. Felix's audience, the Moor, the corpulent figure (in an oddly modern hat) who is a kind of Falstaff appearing often in the Master's pictures, the profile who looks like a portrait of Dante, and the youth who might almost have been painted by Franciabigio. The same sort of fat man as in the audience can be seen in the rôle of one of Rufinus's councillors in the arraignment and of the jailer in the compartment of the angels' visit to the prison, and both of these panels contain further trenchant individualizations. In this respect he continues and heightens the distinction of the mediaeval Catalan school in the forceful picking out and differentiation of heads.

Although in his panels he is fond of a tonality strangely like that of Raphael's frescoes, he even retains much of the old affection of the Catalan school for brilliant decorative effects of gold, employing them still in the vestments and even in the architecture and the pavement, as in the scene of the arraignment. In general he aims at impressions of monumental magnificence, making the most of the sumptuous costumes of the age of Charles V and appreciating the resplendent value of stripes in fabrics. Outstanding examples are two of the women and the prominent youth in St. Felix's congregation. Angulo has stressed particularly his addiction to stuffs of Moorish nature. Like Melozzo and Raphael he enhances monumentality by settings of grandiose architecture. With his love of the gorgeous, he follows Melozzo in an addiction to opulently adorned edifices rather than to Raphael's more classical buildings, and in the materials of his structures he cultivates polychromy. By reason of his interest in architecture and in problems of perspective, he is prone in his edifices to depict a series of planes, one behind the other. In the compartment of the preaching, he simulates on an architectural mass in the second plane a frieze of sculpture or painting, but I fear that it was only the extravagant archaeological taste of the period that cajoled him, between the quite intact temple of the sermon and the actors, into inserting illogically a bit of a ruin. The background of the panel in which St. Felix is dragged by mules illustrates his proclivity in outdoor scenes for introducing a perspective of a series of buildings in a city. He manifests not only curiosity about architectural perspective, but with an Italianate academic velleity rare in Spain thus early in the Renaissance, he creates for himself a difficult problem of very peculiar foreshortening in one of the angels who rescue the martyr from the water.

A subordinate trait of his personality, yet not without its interest, is such a passion for dogs, as in the case of the Antwerp mannerists, that he often introduces them in his works as secondary or sometimes almost as principal figures, rendering them with considerably more understanding of their form and character than when he treats other animals. The small hound, like a whippet, in the scene of the arraignment, for instance, should be compared with the awkwardly realized horses of the magistrates in the episode of the dragging; and it is most often such a hound that he depicts, following particularly in this instance, as Angulo has shown, the Antwerp mannerists, who liked its nervous lines.

As a part of the important contribution made by Angulo[25] to our understanding of Catalan painting of the period through indicating its very extensive indebtedness to Dürer's prints, he has discovered in the St. Felix Master a free adaptation of details from the great German rather than the somewhat slavish plagiarism by certain of his rivals. In the retable of St. Felix the debt is so slight that we should scarcely have noticed it, if his knowledge of Dürer were not more clearly revealed in his other achievements. The general composition in the scene of the saint's arraignment may have been vaguely suggested by the print of Christ before Caiaphas in the engraved series of the Little Passion, and certainly from this source came such minutiae as the dispositions of the potentate's feet and of Felix's hands. Angulo has perceived also that the canopy of the magistrate in the episode of the angelic visit to Felix in prison is derived from the *baldacchino* in the representation of St. John Evangelist's ordeal of the boiling oil in the woodcuts of the Apocalypse.

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[25] *Archivo español de arte*, XVII (1944), 327–330. In this article slightly antedating his monographic treatment of the Master to which we have already often referred, Angulo describes him as "the supposed Porta."

There has now been consigned to the Provincial Museum at Gerona, as a relic of some undiscovered retable, a lone panel of the Crucifixion (Fig. 35), which constitutes the St. Felix Master's closest approximation, in its types, in their elongation and agitation, and in landscape to actual developed mannerism and to a mannerism very like that of Antwerp. The tendencies in mannerism to exaggeration take here an additional and curious form, a very inundation of the scene in blood. An even greater shower of gore falls from the Redeemer's body than in El Greco's version of the subject in the Prado, forming a pool to bathe the holy Mother's foot and then dividing into three rivulets flowing to the picture's edge. The blurring of lines in countenances, for example in one of his most characteristic types, the St. John, is carried further than in his other paintings. It is perhaps a false note to have allowed the same hound as in the St. Felix retable to constitute the sole balance in the lower right corner of the composition to the group of the Virgin and her companions at the left. In any case, the dog is once more better done than the horses behind him.

The outbreak of 1936 destroyed, except for a single panel, a most important monument of art in which both Angulo and I, working quite separately from each other, have discerned the St. Felix Master's authorship, a retable of St. Ursula that once decorated the chapel of this virgin martyr in the cathedral of Gerona but at least before the end of the seventeenth century was removed and eventually deposited over the high altar of the pilgrimage church [26] of Nuestra Señora de Olivas near a town just north of Gerona, San Esteban de Guialbes.[27] In the centre of the retable, the Master painted a standing effigy of St. Ursula, which, however, was at some time transferred to a wall of the church of Nuestra Señora de Olivas, giving place to a miniature temple containing a statue of Our Lady; and it is only the central panel by our artist that has survived, having now found a home in the Diocesan Museum at Gerona. The six narrative scenes from St. Ursula's life were retained at the sides of the retable, de-

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[26] *Santuario.*

[27] F. Monsalvatje y Fossas, *Nomenclator histórico de las iglesias parroquiales y rurales, santuarios y capillas de la provincia de Gerona,* Olot, 1908, pp. 98–100.

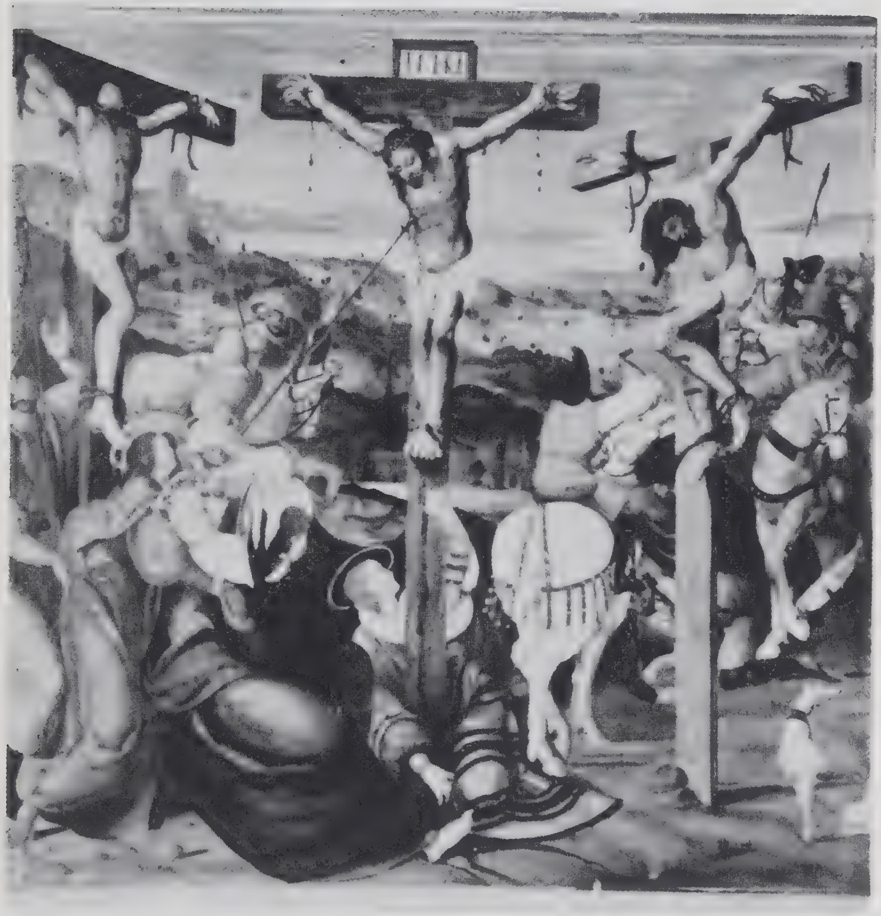

Fig. 35. THE ST. FELIX MASTER. CRUCIFIXION.
PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, GERONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

picting the king of England's embassy begging her hand for his son from her father, the king of Brittany, her dream of the future crown of martyrdom, the father's leave-taking of her and the now assembled maidens who were to be her companions, her meeting with her successful suitor, the English prince,[28] her benediction by the Pope Cyriacus, and, against the background of the wholesale martyrdom at Cologne, St. Ursula, before she herself is done to death, rejecting the advances of the leader of the murderous Huns. With the originality of mind that the St. Felix Master everywhere displays, the retable then expands further to the sides with subjects unusual at such spots in altarpieces, four compartments that are much larger than those of St. Ursula's story and contain each a seated figure of a worthy of the Old Testament (Fig. 36).

Angulo has singled out the main additional factors that the retable of Nuestra Señora de Olivas reveals in the Master's personality, principally a concern, in the four effigies from the elder dispensation, with more solemnly monumental forms than in the retable of St. Felix and the extension of this mood to soberer and more august classicism in their architectural settings. One gets the feeling that he might have been familiar with the more ornate representations of similar themes by Pedro Berruguete in the Fathers of the Church that constitute a part of the predella of the retable over the high altar of the cathedral at Avila or in the Prophets in the predella of the retable at Becerril de Campos, and we should thus be perhaps provided with further support for the hypothesis advanced on a former page that he had at some time in his life profited by a Castilian experience. The mood of comparative sedateness in the retable of St. Ursula affects even the edifices in the episodes from her legend, making them in general simpler and less gorgeous than in the altarpiece that gives the artist his pseudonym. The backgrounds of St. Ursula's farewell to her father, of her interview with the Pope, and of the scene of martyrdom afforded an opportunity for the same grandiose kind of marine landscape as the torture of St. Felix upon the *eculeus* and the Crucifixion of the Provincial Museum at Gerona. Angulo has also pointed out that the Master's interest in the graphic arts did not stop with Dürer but that he followed closely for the dreaming St. Ursula Marcantonio's (or a follower's?) print of St. Helen's vision, which served also Veronese for his representation,

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[28] I am not entirely certain of the theme of this compartment at the upper right.

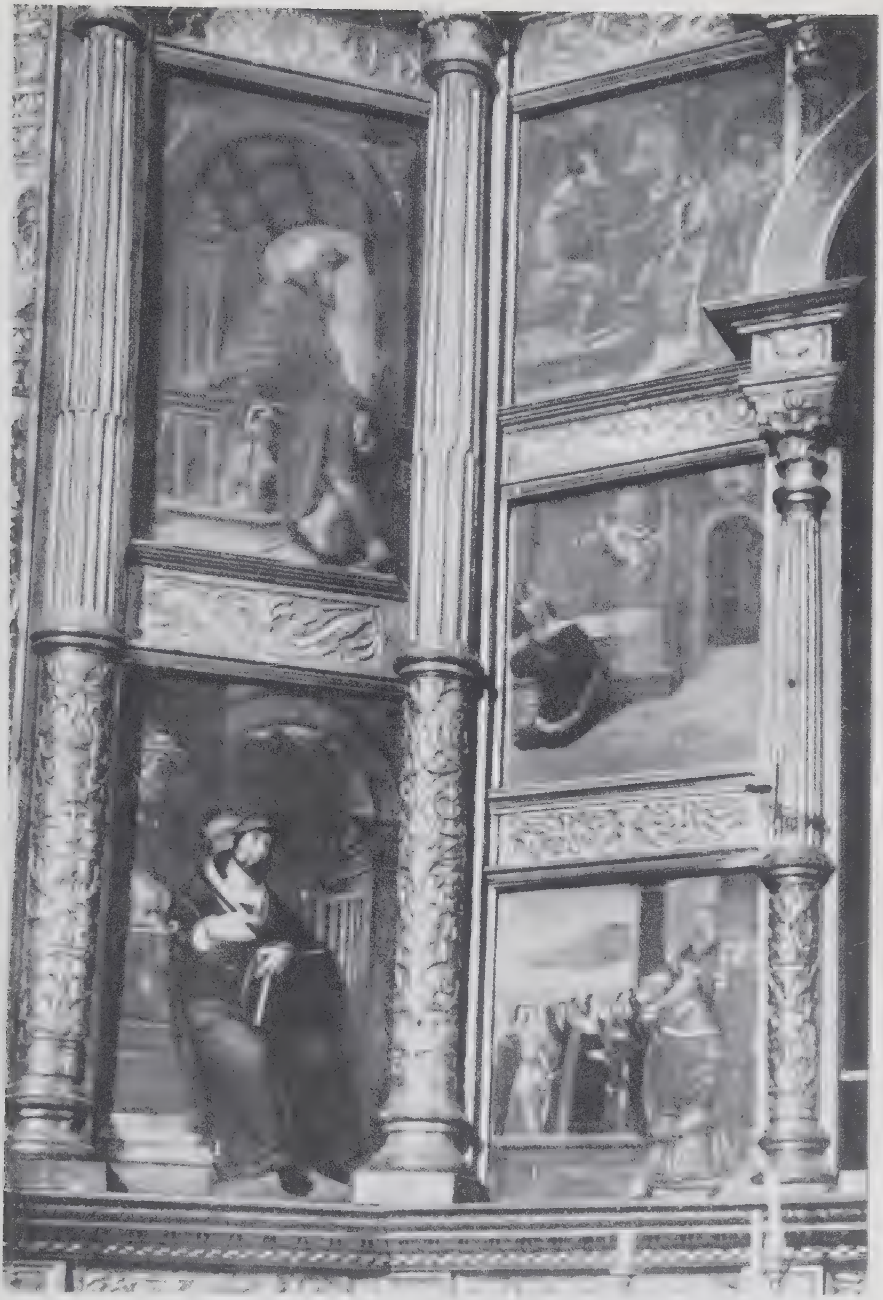

FIG. 36. THE ST. FELIX MASTER. LEFT SECTION OF RETABLE OF ST. URSULA. FORMERLY IN CHURCH OF NUESTRA SEÑORA DE OLIVAS, NEAR SAN ESTEBAN DE GUIALBES
(*Photo. Mas*)

in the National Gallery at London, of the latter theme. Unfortunately the painter was least successful in the one piece that remains to us, the central effigy, the reason being that his inventive temperament, attuned to the experimental alertness of the Renaissance, chafed beneath the mediaeval necessity, still imposed upon him, of treating the figure like a cult-image.

The St. Felix Master solves one of the puzzles of Spanish art by turning out to be the author of a cycle the attribution of which had long baffled critics, the six large panels of the story of St. Andrew in the meeting-hall in the hospital for poor priests attached to the church of Nuestra Señora del Milagro at Valencia. Since they are found in a Valencian institution, connoisseurs had actually sought their author in the local school. Bertaux[29] suggested a follower of Paolo da San Leocadio; Tormo[30] thought of some pupil of Fernando Yáñez de la Almedina; and Mayer[31] proposed the presumed son of Fernando de Llanos, Andrés, who, however, is still an unknown quantity.[32] As a matter of fact there is no niche in the Valencian school into which they really fit, and a study of the St. Felix Master's achievements revealed both to Gudiol Ricart[33] and to me separately and without collusion that only this painter could have executed the St. Andrew series. Angulo[34] has concurred in Gudiol's opinion. Bertaux indeed remarks that it is not certain that the panels were originally done for the church of the Milagro; and the recent emergence of two further compartments from the set in a private collection at Barcelona may imply that, like the rest of the St. Felix Master's works, the retable of St. Andrew was ordered for a Catalan church and that, when it had once been dismantled, six of its sections were presented by some pious donor in fairly modern times to the institution at Valencia. If the retable was not from the first in the Milagro, the hypothesis[35] of the Master's affiliation with Valencia is impaired.

As we shall perceive in the case of his follower, the Catalan Monogrammist, he sometimes found it difficult to discover enough events in the sacred stories to fill the multiple compartments that, with their love of narrative, the Spaniards of the time demanded in their retables, and so, in the first of the panels at Valencia, Pentecost is forced into service as an occasion in St. Andrew's life, although which of the figures of the Apostles should here be identified with him it is impossible to say. The other five of the Valencian set depict some of his highly sensational miracles, and the themes of all of the quintet had already been included in earlier retables in Catalonia and elsewhere in Spain.[36] Taking them in the order in which they are listed in the *Golden Legend*, we first see St. Andrew's young convert miraculously extinguishing the fire by which his parents had sought to burn the house where he and the Apostle were residing. Then, at Nicaea St. Andrew exorcises the seven dogs into whom devils had transformed themselves but whose demoniacal nature the painter has signified by giving them clawed feet (Fig. 37). There follows in the panels the immediately succeeding episode in the story, the Apostle's raising of a youth whom the dogs had killed. The even more stupendous miracle of resurrection comes next, the restoration to life of his forty would-be disciples drowned by a tempest of Satanic origin on their way to receive his instruction. The ship is foundering in the background, but only a part of the whole aggregation of forty can be coerced into the compartment, depicted beside St. Andrew on the seashore and two of them apparently conceived as still not raised from a prostrate position. The final piece at Valencia sets forth the tale of St. Andrew, disguised as a pilgrim, saving the virtue of the bishop from the wiles of the devil who has taken the shape of a beautiful woman: the Apostle at the door, after answering the three questions that had been put to him, is revealing the temptress's real character to the prelate's messenger, and in the dining room within she is in the act of vanishing above the table from the bishop's presence.

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[29] *Revue archéologique*, XI (1908), 19.

[30] *Levante*, 103.

[31] *Geschichte*, etc., edition of 1922, p. 121.

[32] See my vol. XI, pp. 99–101.

[33] *Spanish Painting*, Toledo, Ohio, 1941, p. 50.

[34] *Archivo español de arte*, XVII (1944), 348, and his *Pintura del Renacimiento*, Madrid, 1954, p. 59.

[35] See above, pp. 80 and 86.

The two compartments at Barcelona carry us to the end of St. Andrew's life, his refusal to comply with the command of Aegeas to commit idolatry and his flagellation prior to his martyrdom upon the cross (Fig. 38). It is not only the subjects that demonstrate them to have belonged to the retable of the series at Valencia. They em-

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[36] Vols. II, pp. 328 and 432, and IV, p. 260. For the attribution of the retable in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, to the Roussillon Master, see vol. VII, p. 777.

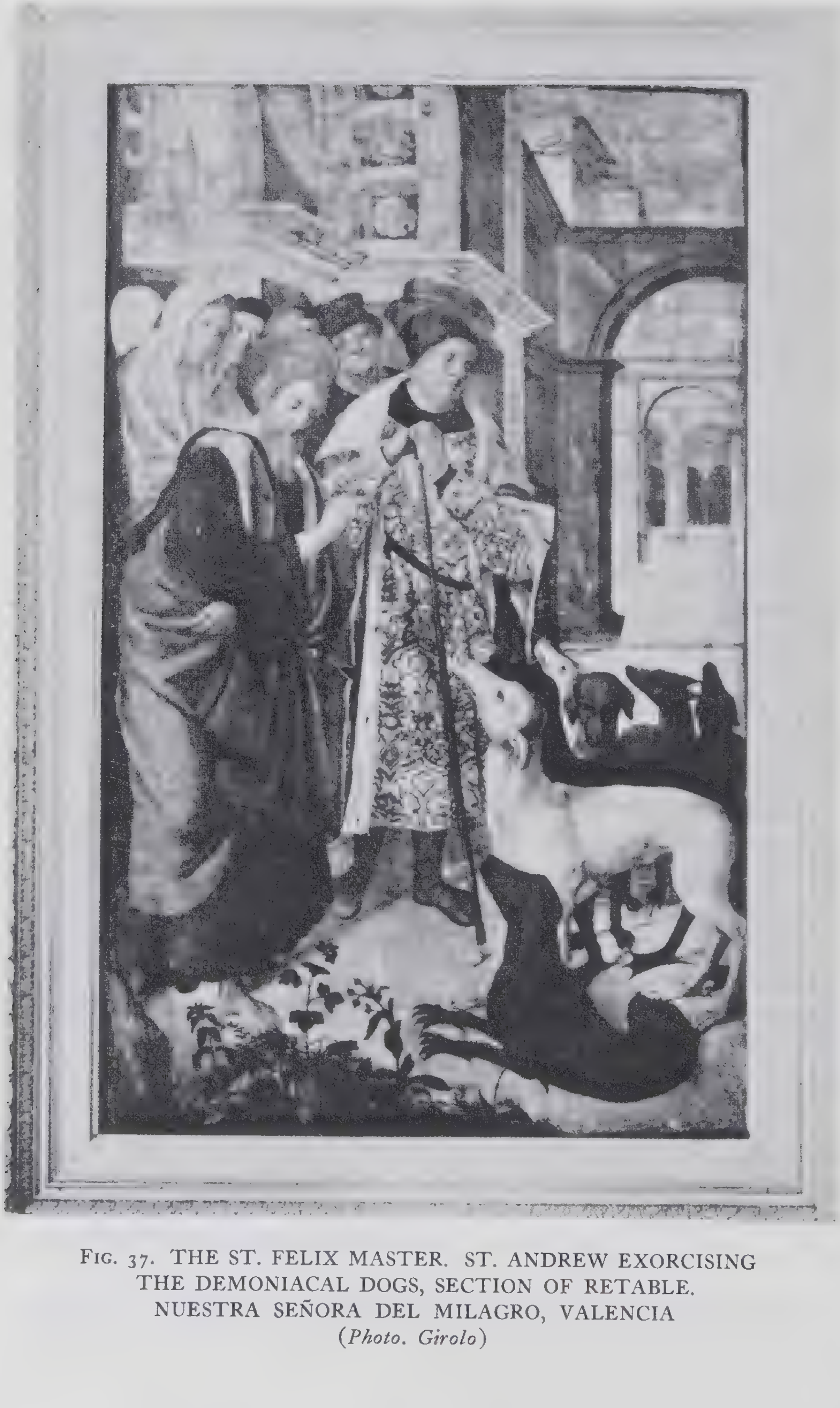

Fig. 37. THE ST. FELIX MASTER. ST. ANDREW EXORCISING THE DEMONIACAL DOGS, SECTION OF RETABLE. NUESTRA SEÑORA DEL MILAGRO, VALENCIA
(*Photo. Girolo*)

body precisely the same phase of the St. Felix Master's style; St. Andrew is the identical old man who is seen in the panels of the resurrection of the forty mariners and the bishop's temptation (even within the Valencian series itself being somewhat varied in the other compartments); and the paintings both at Barcelona and Valencia provide examples in which, like Juan and Pedro Gascó, the St. Felix Master has clung to the mediaeval Catalan school's practice of substituting brilliantly patterned gold backgrounds for the skies, employing for his retable of St. Andrew the formal design of an ostentatious but unembossed brocade.

When once the authorship of the St. Felix Master has been proposed, it would be an insult to the reader's own powers of perception to itemize what he can at once see for himself, the countless points of indissoluble contact between the panels of St. Andrew and the painter's other works. Everywhere there emerge the same types, often in the case of men inspired by mannerism, the same elaborate, richly colored, and even gold-accented architectural settings, the same occasional retention of the bright fabrics of the earlier school, and the same general methods. To select just two instances of absolute repetition of types, in the scene of the resurrection of the young man slain by dogs the victim himself duplicates the angel just above the jailer's keys in the angelic visit to St. Felix in prison, and the uppermost of the feminine spectators does not differ from the maiden who, second from the left, listens to St. Felix's sermon. Both of these faces in the Valencian panel, moreover, are treated with his typical *sfumatezza*, which is applied also to many other figures in the series. In the compartment of the exorcism of the dogs the painter indulges, perhaps on Pacher's precedent, in an even deeper succession of receding architectural planes than in the background of the edifice in which St. Felix delivers his exhortation; and the opulently dressed personage who here stands beside St. Andrew has the fleshy face that he so often affects. Perhaps because the dogs here and in the scene of the youth's resurrection were abnormal creatures, he has not done quite his best with them, but when, as so frequently in his other pictures, he introduces them gratuitously into the bishop's palace and the temple of the idol, he rises to his usual dexterity in their delineation. In the latter instance it is the same hound (the painter's own pet?) that intrudes into the tribunal of St. Felix's arraignment, and the beast of similar breed in the palace scans with

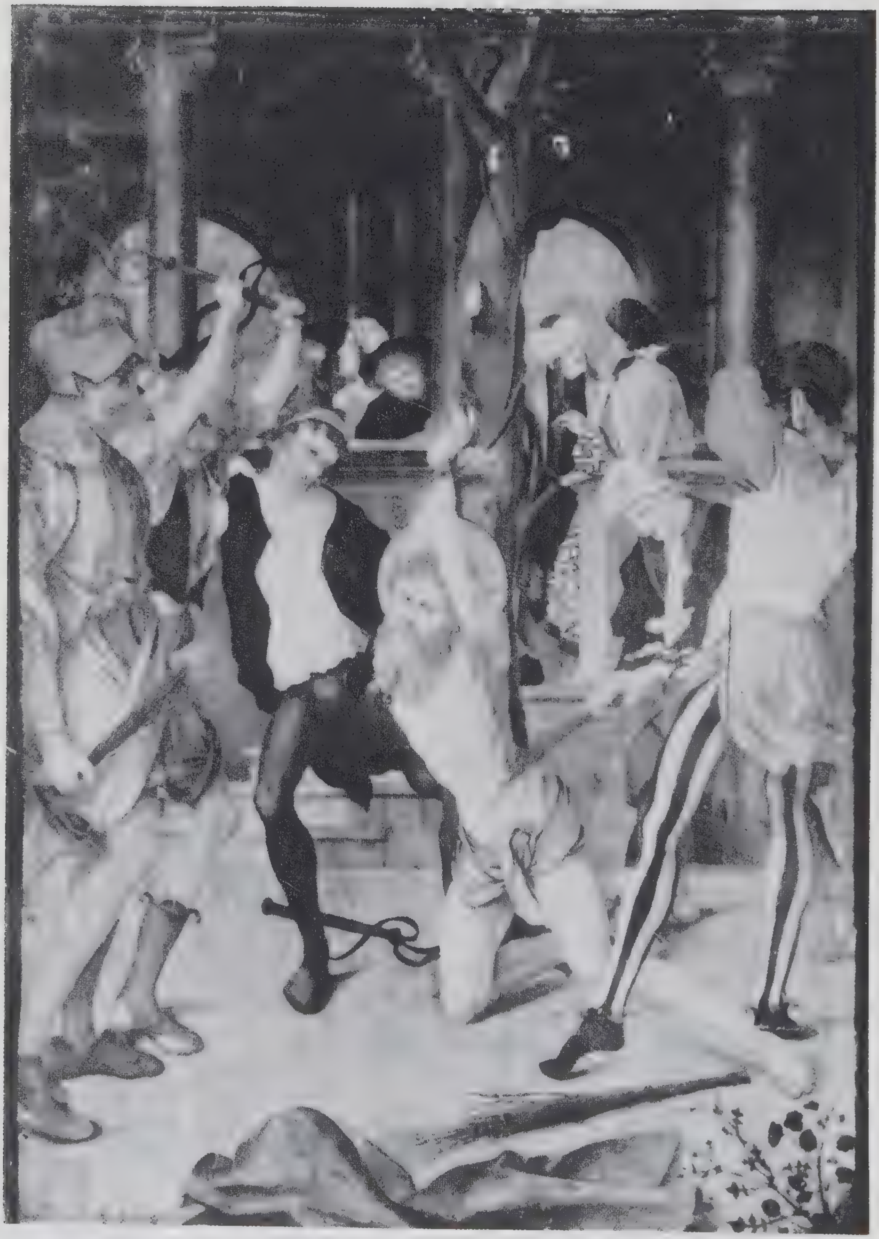

FIG. 38. THE ST. FELIX MASTER. FLAGELLATION OF ST. ANDREW, SECTION OF RETABLE. PRIVATE COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(*Photo. Mas*)

characteristic canine curiosity the animated conversation between St. Andrew and the messenger.

As customarily, the Master does not much concern himself with new or piquant schemes of composition. The scenes of the fire and of the bishop's rescue from evil have a certain interest, which, however, is largely imposed by the very themes. The lad converted by St. Andrew, with the Apostle beside him, pours the water on the conflagration from one of the elevated loggias so beloved by the Master, while his discomfited parents below at the right are balanced by a group of spectators at the left, one of whom is just climbing into visibility from a lower level. The composition of the bishop's delivery from the she-devil is thrown on the bias, so that the colloquy of St. Andrew and the episcopal messenger will not obscure what is taking place in the dining hall of the second plane. The series of panels are as spotted with manneristic forms as the St. Felix retable, for example the brightly garbed messenger of the bishop and practically all the actors in the flagellation. The agitation that mannerism carries with it is more apparent perhaps than in any of the Master's other creations. The nature of the subject partially demands it in the flagellation, but it is rather the temper of mannerism that provokes the approach to frenzy in the vanishing temptress and in the foremost pilgrim raised by St. Andrew from a watery grave. It is thus somewhat difficult to accept, despite the gold backgrounds, Ainaud's assignment of the retable to the Master's early period.

The compartment of the flagellation of the Apostle exhibits, as Angulo[37] has discerned, a dependence upon Dürer's print of St. John's ordeal of the boiling oil in the two scourgers at the left and in the introduction of a parapet into the setting, behind which the St. Felix Master has adopted from his German inspirer even a spectator in a high hat.

If we could conclusively affirm that the St. Felix Master was Joan de Burgunya, we might regard as partially documented another major work that internal evidence shows him to have executed, though perhaps with some aid from an assistant or collaborator, a retable of the Magdalene the parts of which are preserved in the Provincial Museum, Tarragona.[38] In other words the retable would be the one for the monastery of Santas Creus with which Joan de Burgunya was busied in 1510.[39] The panels of the retable belong to a group of paintings in the Museum known to come from the monasteries of Poblet and Santas Creus, but the first obstacle to regarding the retable as a documented achievement of Joan de Burgunya is that we cannot be absolutely sure that it was once not in the former institution but in the latter, the place to which the document takes us.[40] Moreover, as a second obstacle, the document does not specify the retable of 1510 as devoted to the Magdalene. Altars honoring her were so frequent that almost certainly one must have existed not only at Santas Creus but also at Poblet, and, as a matter of fact, there are now at Tarragona no less than two others of the early sixteenth century, both done for the cathedral.[41] Indeed, we are definitely informed of a retable of the Magdalene completed for Santas Creus by June, 1502, which, however, can scarcely be the example by the St. Felix Master. The information comes from a document[42] having to do with the settlement of a dispute between Masters Petit and Daniel in regard to their respective shares in the remuneration for an already finished retable of the Magdalene at Santas Creus, and we learn that the first name of Petit was Juan from a number of other notices of him to which we shall forthwith return. We are by no means thus enabled to

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[37] *Archivo español de arte*, XVII (1944), 329.

[38] I therefore have finally abandoned the attempt that I foreshadowed in vol. XI, p. 114, to attribute the retable to a separate but closely affiliated personality

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whom I then called the Master of the Trees, although the mere attempt strengthens my present hypothesis of some aid from an assistant.

[39] See above, p. 80.

[40] At my request the great scholar of Tarragona, Mossén Pedro Batlle Huguet, has recently, with his habitual kindness, examined what sparse data there are in regard to the provenience of the retable of the Magdalene, but without definitive results. The old Catalogue of the Provincial Museum, dated in 1894, is of no help; but he points to an early report of the Commission for the Historical and Artistic Monuments of the Province of Tarragona (published by Juan Serra Vilaró in his book, *La Comisión de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de la Provincia de Tarragona ante las ruínas del Monasterio de Poblet*, Tarragona, 1946, p. 144) in which there is mention of panels coming from Santas Creus, now in the Museum, and, since among them special reference is made to the processional painting that is supposed to be connected with a visit of Philip II to the monastery and will occupy us in a future volume (a work usually and wrongly supposed to come from Poblet), he assumes, but without conviction, that the series of the Magdalene might have been included in this lot. The early report, however, speaks of a half-dozen panels from Poblet which, although the probably not too expert writer of the report stigmatizes them, in his opinion, as valueless, are conceivably identical with the sections of the Magdalene's altarpiece from which six narrative compartments are preserved in addition to the Crucifixion and predella. Mossén Batlle himself writes me that he still deems the source of the Magdalene retable uncertain.

[41] See below, pp. 321 and 335.

[42] César Martinell, *El monestir de Santes Creus*, Barcelona, 1929, pp. 208–209.

jump at the hypothesis that Juan Petit or Master Daniel and not Joan de Burgunya was the St. Felix Master. In the first place, it is not ascertained that the provenience of the panels in the Tarragona Museum is Santas Creus instead of Poblet. A second difficulty is created by the date, 1502, since the style, already manneristic in spots, would naturally assign the retable to at least a decade later, more or less; and the only escape from the dilemma would be the perhaps not entirely incredible supposition that the partners precociously, through their own innate tendencies, anticipated slightly subsequent developments. Indeed, in certain respects we shall find the retable to be rather archaic. Neither Juan Petit nor Master Daniel, however, appears, from the archives, to have been so preëminent a figure in the artistic circles of the time, in contrast to Joan de Burgunya, as to have received the important commissions entrusted to the St. Felix Master.

Master Daniel, so far as I know, is not otherwise mentioned in the records of the time, but the name Juan Petit constantly emerges, although no securely documented achievement of his has been recognized. There are frequent entries of the offices held by a Juan Petit in the Barcelona guild of bridle-makers (where the painters were enrolled) from August, 1488, to August, 1512, and in all these notices he is described either simply as a painter or sometimes more specifically as a painter of tapestries,[43] the title that he is given also in his receipt for payment for an unascertained commission in 1508.[44] A notice of March 12, 1504,[45] which finds him engaged in punching and painting the leather cover of the high altar in the cathedral of Barcelona, refers to him both as a painter and as a worker for tapestries. The year 1499 affords a still broader idea of his versatility by revealing him in the rôle of an architect, since, denominated as a "master of houses," he then contracts, together with the sculptor Fray Jorge de Talavera, to do a door and three windows on the mansion of a citizen of Barcelona, Juan Llull,[46] but the fact is to be stressed that the document insists that the actual carving shall be handed over to Fray Jorge, suggesting that facility with the chisel was not among the talents of Juan Petit, who would have drawn only the designs.

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[43] See an article by J. M. Madurell in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, II, 2 (1944), 67–70.

[44] See in another article by Madurell in the same publication, II, 3 (1944), 50.

[45] See J. Mas in *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras*, Barcelona, VI (1911–1912), 309, 435, and 440.

[46] See still another article by Madurell in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, V, 3–4 (1947), 207.

As late as May 26, 1514, he is still recorded in an architectural capacity, as master of works in the cathedral of Tortosa.[47]

A perplexity might momentarily arise because in one of the documents referring to the transitory employment, *c.* 1516–1519, of the great and itinerant north-European sculptor, Jean Monet, at Barcelona, he is designated by the full appellation "Ioannem Petit Monet" instead of, as in the other instances, merely by the Latin or Catalan forms of the simpler Jean Monet; [48] but the painter and the sculptor cannot be one and the same person, inasmuch as the latter was not born until between 1485 and 1490 and the former was already active by 1488. We need not be surprised that they both bore the name Petit since it has always been a common appellation among the artists not only of France but even of the Low Countries and Germany and since we are informed of an embroiderer, Simón Petit, active in Barcelona at the beginning of the sixteenth century.[49]

Even if we could stretch our credulity to the point of connecting the preserved panels with the retable of 1502, we should still be involved in the problem of the nature of Juan Petit's and Daniel's collaboration and as to which was to be equated with the St. Felix Master. Unfortunately Martinell [50] does not reproduce but merely summarizes the document, loosely stating that in it Masters Petit and Daniel are called *pintors imaginaires* (painters, sculptors), whether he means that one was called a painter and the other a sculptor or that each had the double title. José F. Ráfols's *Diccionario biográfico de artistas de Cataluña*[51] describes Master Daniel as a carpenter and sculptor, but the book is not too trustworthy and probably doing no more than making its own interpretation of the document's words that I have quoted. More pertinent to our guesses is the fact that the financial dispute embodied in the document resulted in an equal division of the remuneration between the two litigants. Since the central compartment has been lost from the retable and might have been a statue instead of a painted effigy, did one of the twain do this and the other the painted panels? Recalling that Juan Petit may not have essayed sculpture,[52] may we suppose that the possible statue was Daniel's contribution? Or was the central effigy a painted figure in a somewhat diverse mode executed by the one of the partners who did not do the narrative sections, or could the task of this one of the partners have been only the architecture of the altarpiece and the carving of the frames? A conceivable but entirely indecisive argument for identifying the extant panels with the retable of 1502 would be the consideration that, amidst the general homogeneity of style, we may perhaps detect here and there the hand of an assistant, who would be one of the two partners that the document designates. If we only could persuade ourselves that the panels are those to which the document of 1502 refers, Juan Petit would be the more likely candidate to father them, because the mode of painting is more north-European than the general production of Catalonia or indeed of any other schools in the peninsula at the turn of the fifteenth into the sixteenth century, and we can hardly doubt that Juan Petit was a foreigner. His very name, Juan Petit, as in the case of the architect and sculptor active at Toledo in the opening years of the Renaissance who was called in the documents Peti Juan,[53] almost certainly implies a man of alien origin, whether or not the "Petit" should be interpreted as the French adjective *petit* and as signifying that the bearer of the appellation came from the French part of Belgium. It must be remembered also that Petit was one of the names of the great northern sculptor Jean Monet.[54]

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[47] José Matamoros, *La Catedral de Tortosa,* Tortosa, 1932, p. 69.

[48] For Monet's activity at Barcelona, see below, p. 171 (in connection with his statues for the retable of the guild of silversmiths, the paintings of which were executed by Pedro Nunyes) and an article by Madurell in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona,* VI, 3–4 (1948), 350; and, for Monet's career elsewhere, as well as in Spain, Josef Duverger, M. J. Onghena, and P. K. van Daalen, *Nieuwe gegevens aangaande XVI^de^ eeuwse beildhouwers in Brabant en Vlanderen,* in *Medelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van Belgie,* XV (1953), no. 2. Madurell, however, confuses the painter with the sculptor, as does also José F. Ráfols's *Diccionario biográfico de artistas de Cataluña,* Barcelona, II (1953), under the heading Hans Petit Monet.

[49] See Madurell in the Portuguese periodical, *Museu,* VI (1950), 134.

[50] See above, p. 100, n. 42.

[51] Barcelona, I (1953), under the entry Daniel.

All these little points in favor of Juan Petit, nevertheless, are outweighed by the strong considerations that I have enumerated against him, and, if we are to recognize the St. Felix Master in any painter whose name we know, Joan de Burgunya still seems to me the most likely choice. Nor can we resort to a subterfuge, the equation of Juan Petit with Joan de Burgunya, since in this case some of the documents would have added *Petit* to the latter's name or, *vice versa*, *de Burgunya* to Petit's. Indeed, we have observed that in one of the few Catalan documents about the sculptor Jean Monet *Petit* is joined to his appellation.

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[52] See above, p. 101.

[53] Vol. IX, p. 165.

[54] See above, p. 102.

After our long, wearisome, but necessary digression occasioned by the document of 1502, it is a relief to turn to the St. Felix Master's handsome retable itself. The sections preserved in the Museo Provincial at Tarragona consist in the pinnacle of the Crucifixion,[55] six lateral scenes from the Magdalene's life, and the predella. The shape of the six panels and the way in which some of them are still bound together reveal that the narrative strangely began at the lower left, read upward on this side, and then down at the right. The events chosen for representation are the Magdalene's washing of Christ's feet in Simon's house, the resurrection of her brother Lazarus (with their handmaid, St. Marcella,[56] beside St. Martha), the *Noli me tangere,* one of her colloquies, in the presence of Lazarus and Martha, with the prince of Provence and his wife, her levitation through the assistance of angels, and her last communion at the hands of St. Maximin (Fig. 39). She is also much featured in the Crucifixion. The predella marshals as half-lengths, against gold backgrounds daintily incised with a foliate *motif,* the Virgin, St. John, St. Andrew, and St. Bartholomew flanking Christ of the Passion between two angels.

Angulo [57] once held that the St. Felix Master executed the Crucifixion in the retable of the Magdalene and indeed probably the whole retable, although he was not absolutely unwilling to assign the entire assemblage except the Crucifixion to a follower of this artist, and subsequently [58] he perceived an intense participation of the shop or the presence of some assistant; but the echoing of exactly the same types, technique, and degree of attainment throughout the retable seems to me definitely to prove that it is all in a single style and that the Crucifixion cannot be divorced from the other panels as if by another hand, however much, in one or two passages of the altarpiece, we may perhaps discern the intrusion of an assistant to a more tangible degree than in most works by a master and his atelier. The Crucifixion is

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[55] Martinell (*op. cit.,* 210) wrongly suggests that there may have belonged to the retable a Crucifixion still at Santas Creus, which he illustrates on a plate opposite p. 269 but which we shall find to have been painted at a later date in the sixteenth century by Jaime Forner.

[56] See below, p. 141.

[57] *Archivo español de arte,* XVII (1944), 355–357.

[58] *Pintura del Renacimiento,* Madrid, 1954, p. 63 .

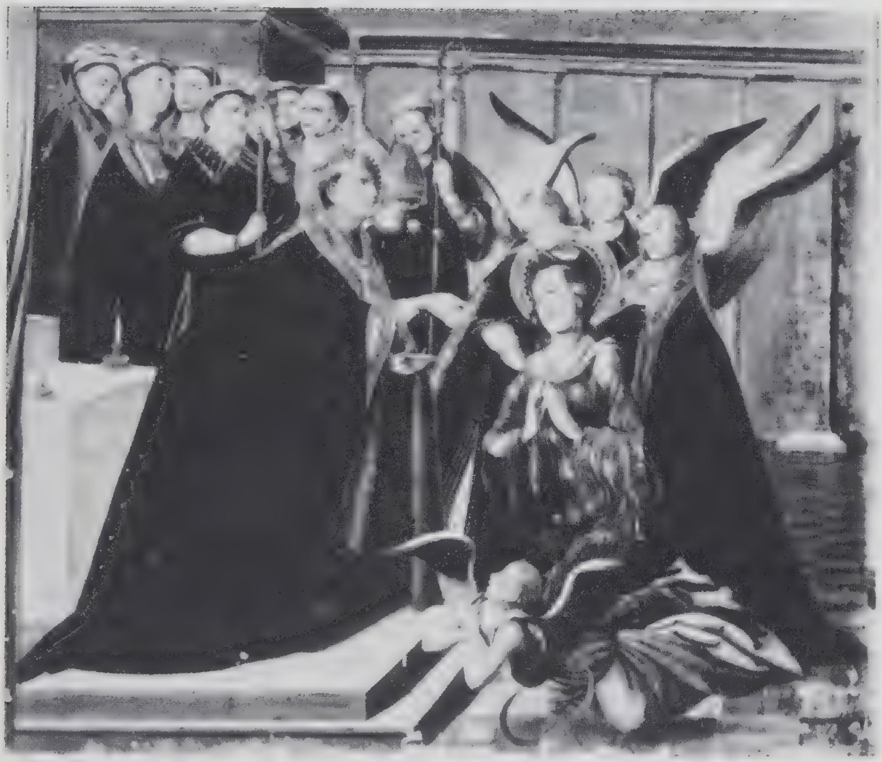

Fig. 39. THE ST. FELIX MASTER (AND AN ASSISTANT?). LAST COMMUNION OF THE MAGDALENE, SECTION OF RETABLE. PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, TARRAGONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

indeed astonishingly like the rendering by the St. Felix Master in the Provincial Museum, Gerona. Throughout the retable the variations from his norms in composition, landscape, and even types are slight. The Magdalene embracing the cross and the St. John are practically identical in countenances with recurrent youthful and angelic faces in the St. Felix Master's output, and these types are repeated throughout the sections of the Tarragona retable. In the group beneath the cross of the redeemed thief at the left there even emerges one of the St. Felix Master's highly individualized, corpulent specimens of humanity, and a similar, fleshy visage is used for the St. Lazarus behind the Magdalene in the scene of her interview with the lord of Provence.

Such comparisons could be multiplied, but I will not further tax the patience of the reader, already bored by the discussion of the problem of Juan Petit, since the attribution, fortified by Ainaud's acceptance, requires no more demonstration to anyone who has made himself familiar with the St. Felix Master's procedures.

The panels are characterized by a predilection, more pronounced than in his other works, for great sweeps of drapery as mere decorative constituents of the compositions, especially in the scene of the Magdalene's last communion, where the broad expanses of the copes of St. Maximin and the standing angels seem to embody a reversion to the modes of the Van Eycks; and we shall perhaps not err in seeing in this trait a touch of an assistant. The fluttering garments of the angels supporting the Magdalene in her levitation also look like the Flemish examples of the fifteenth rather than of the sixteenth century.

We might wish to ascribe such characteristics to a phase of the St. Felix Master himself earlier than that incorporated in his other extant productions, but in several aspects the retable is very advanced. Mannerism declares itself: in some of the very types, as in certain of the Apostles in the scene of the washing of Christ's feet; in a tendency to precious postures and gestures, as in the two actors in the *Noli me tangere*; in a frequent nervous agitation, as in practically all the participants in the Crucifixion; and in the disjointed articulation of the thieves who suffer with Christ. The uppermost of the soldiers who bicker for the seamless garment of the Saviour is thrown (though partly for the sake of a compact group) into an arbitrary posture that makes him look deformed. Even the two dogs that dispute a bone on the pavement of the room in Simon's house are given extravagantly affected shapes and attitudes.

The resemblances of the angels in the Magdalene's levitation to those of Filippino Lippi are not sufficiently tangible to compel a belief in an acquaintance with the Italian painter's productions; and indeed, although the St. Felix Master, as usual, exhibits in the Tarragona panels some knowledge of the architecture of the Renaissance, there are no Italian types or other elements in them that could not have been acquired through their north-European adaptations. The analogy of the Christ of the Passion in the predella to Antonello's representations of the theme is not so close that it might not have been fortuitous. The most Italianate factors in the retable are the Raphaelesque youths who serve the dinner in the house of Simon. The unnecessarily large crowd of clerics assisting St. Maximin as he communicates the Magdalene, many of them appearing only as heads, is perhaps a bit of homage to the older tradition of Catalan painting. With praiseworthy initiative, in the panel of the washing of Christ's feet the table is foreshortened inward and obliquely in anticipation of Tintoretto's compositions for the Last Supper; but the Master was not equipped with the scientific knowledge to solve the problem, nor has he made clear or convincing the relation of the very much featured tiling of the pavement to the figures seated at the feast.

It is once more in the realm of landscape that he rises almost to first rank. The Crucifixion, the resurrection of Lazarus, the *Noli me tangere*, and the levitation of the Magdalene, all of them, illustrate his method of setting the action, to a further degree than in his other works, on an elevation in the foreground so as to give us from this eminence some of the broadest, deepest, and most luminous vistas of plains, waters, and hills to be found anywhere in the range of the Fine Arts. It is not too much to say that in such achievements he vies with Conrad Chapman's great view of the Valley of Mexico. For the sake of lending the proper, smaller scale to the distance, in the Tarragona cycle, he, or mayhap his presumptive collaborator, likes to set trees at the edge of the elevation, and especially upon the palm trees in the levitation and the pine in the resurrection of Lazarus he bestows a feathery lightness that perhaps again could be interpreted as a north-European characteristic. The dendrological interests extend, in the resurrection of Lazarus, to the addition of a row of

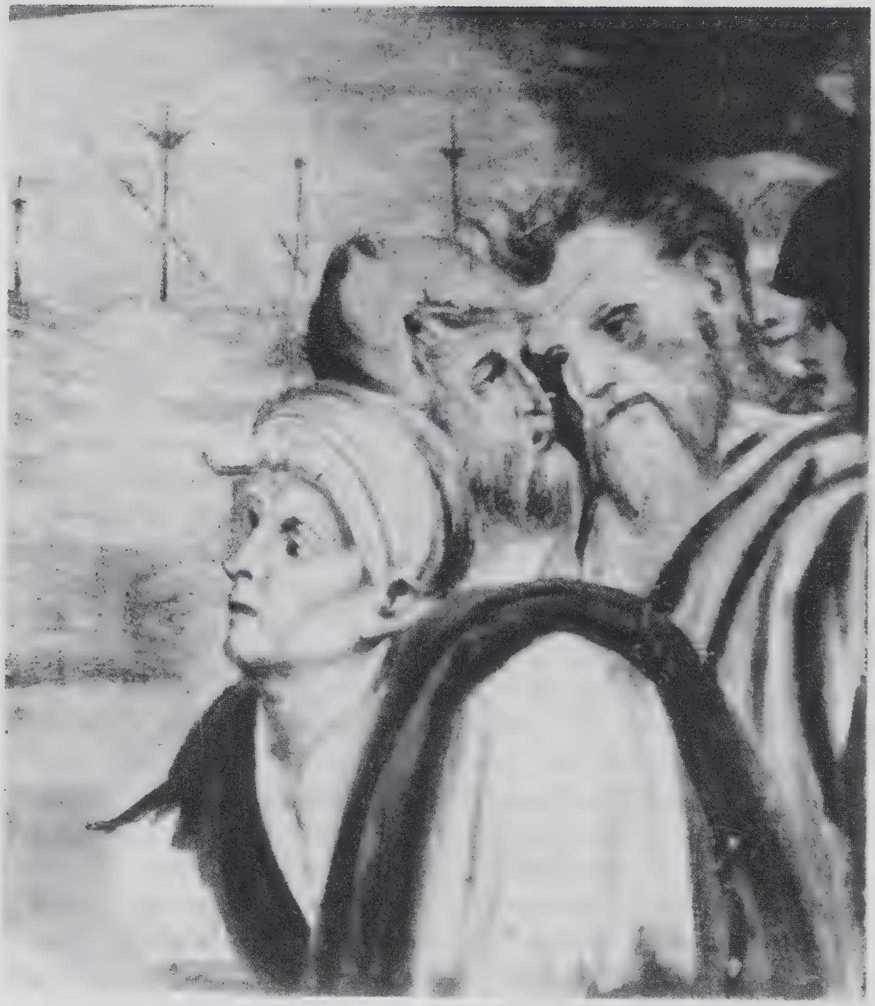

Fig. 40. THE ST. FELIX MASTER. FRAGMENT. CARRERAS CANDI COLLECTION, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

prettily schematized and formally spaced cypresses, patterned behind a wall, against the remote stretch of country.

The presence of the St. Felix Master's recurrent types fully justifies Angulo in ascribing to him a fragment of a panel in the Carreras y Candi Collection at Barcelona preserving only the upper bodies of a group of figures before the background of the seacoast (Fig. 40). I myself am pretty well persuaded that he was the author of two other small panels in the same Collection displaying standing figures of St. Francis receiving the stigmata and of St. Augustine carrying his frequent emblem, a small symbol of the Church of which he was one of the four Fathers (Fig. 41). Whether or not deriving from the same retable as the fragment recognized by Angulo, they agree with the Master's rather distinctive technical methods not only in general but in many details. St. Augustine and even to a certain extent St. Francis betray his addiction to squinting glances, and both indulge in mannered gesticulations highly characteristic of his methods. The upraised left hand of St. Francis is actually reproduced in the case of the magistrate in the scene of St. Felix's angelic visitation and again in the man pointing to the redeemed malefactor in the Crucifixion of the Provincial Museum, Gerona. For St. Augustine's right hand, counterparts are not far to seek, e.g., in a retainer directly above the magistrate in the just mentioned episode from St. Felix's life or in the excited member of the group rescued by St. Andrew from the sea in the retable at Valencia. Even the actual countenances are at least approximated in the Master's certified achievements, since St. Francis resembles the various representations of St. Felix and St. Augustine recalls the man with bended knee in the compartment of St. Felix's arraignment. The retention of the old auric backgrounds, incised with a brocaded pattern, has already attracted our notice in the altarpiece of St. Andrew.

We can set up very good arguments for provisionally assigning to the St. Felix Master also the panel of St. Barbara in the parish church of Oix that in volume VII [59] betrayed me into such fumbling for an attribution. The face and headdress of the virgin martyr conform to a feminine type often seen in the retable that gives him his name; both she and the incisively characterized donor display his mode of chiaroscuro; he employs similar haloes, as if of filigree, in the

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[59] P. 42 and fig. 12.

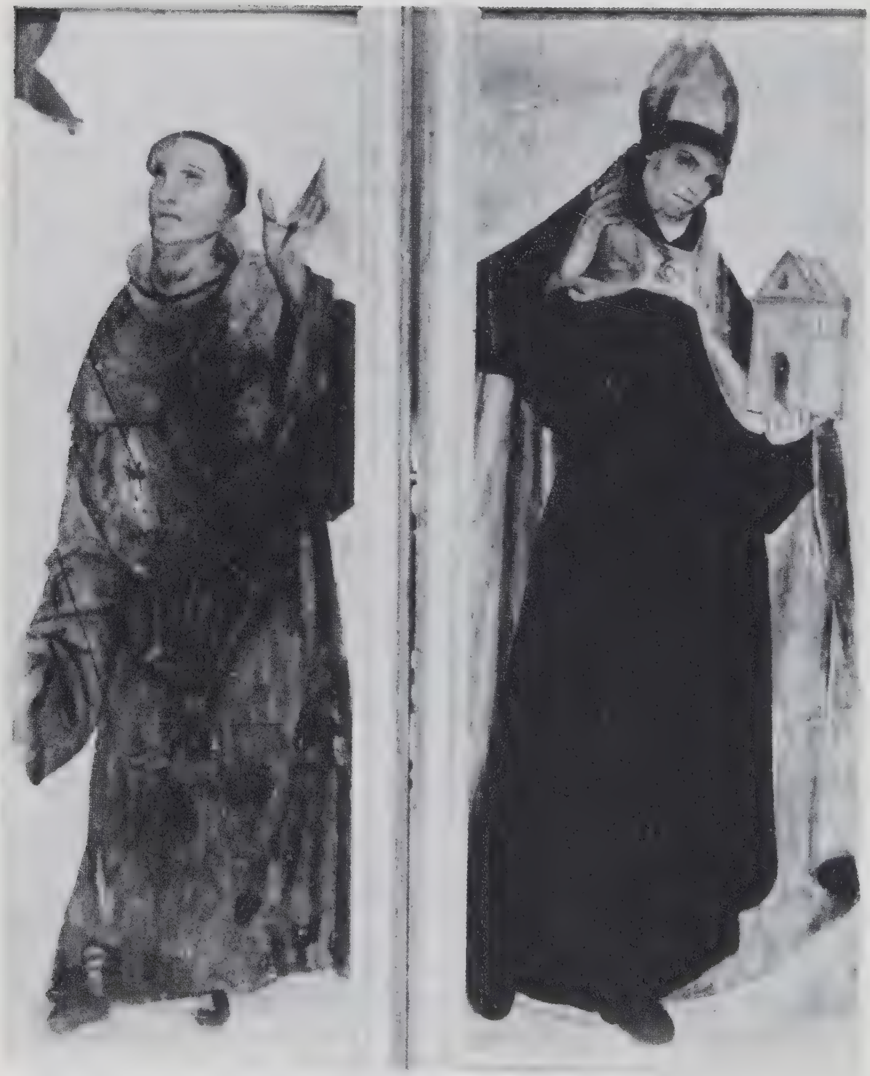

Fig. 41. THE ST. FELIX MASTER (?). STS. FRANCIS AND AUGUSTINE. CARRERAS CANDI COLLECTION, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

Tarragona retable; and the picture was made for a place in the province where he was so largely active, Gerona.

With still more equanimity one can champion his right to a panel of the Madonna of the Immaculate Conception in the Toreno Collection at Madrid (Fig. 42). He has depicted her as accompanied by a banderole inscribed with the verse from the Song of Songs, II, 2, which is so regularly a part of the iconography of the subject, "Sicut lilium inter spinas, sic amica mea inter filias," and in conformity the Child carries a cluster of thorns from which a lily emerges. Not only does she exhibit precisely the Master's treatment of the flesh, facial chiaroscuro, and glints of light upon the hair, but it seems impossible that any other than he could have painted an actual countenance so like those of two of the angels consoling St. Felix in prison or especially of the prominent maiden looking out at us from the congregation that hears the martyr's sermon. The Child also incorporates an infantile version of one of his characteristic human types and even of the distinctive glance that he gives to the eyes. As a matter of fact, a Morellian factor may be brought into play for fixing the attribution, the mode of delineating the hands, particularly of closely pressing groups of fingers together.

I wish that I could demonstrate that the St. Felix Master enjoyed the honor of patronage in the cathedral of Tarragona, as well as in a monastery in its province, by ascribing to him convincingly two works that I last saw in the old Salas Capitulares of the great church, large panels, evidently companion-pieces, depicting Sts. Stephen and Quiteria, the latter with a kneeling clerical donor and with a pair of mad dogs [60] as attributes instead of the more customary single hound (Fig. 43). Certainly we can exclude as candidates any of the other contemporary painters whom we know to have been employed in the edifice.[61] By reason of the subject of one of the pictures and because their style places them at the beginning of the Cinquecento, they might have been parts of the scheme of remodelling in the chapel of St. Stephen in the cathedral that was financed by the canon Juan Barceló in 1508.[62] Indeed, nothing prevents us from merely guessing that they were among the "Gothic" panels recorded

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[60] As in a painting by Juan de Borgoña: see vol. X, p. 403.

[61] See below, chapter XIII.

[62] S. Capdevila, *Tarragona, Guía histórico-arqueológica*, Tarragona, 1929, p. 137, and also his work, *La Seu de Tarragona*, supplement to *Analecta sacra tarraconensia* of 1934, pp. 45–46.

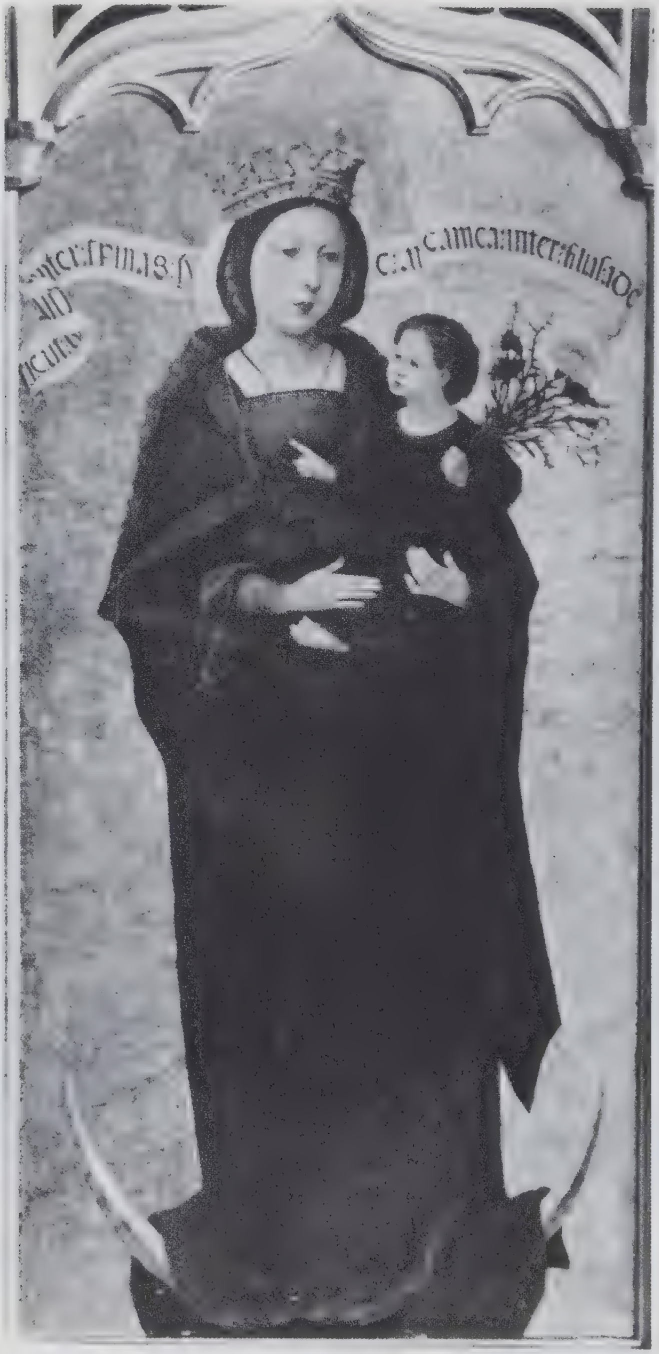

FIG. 42. THE ST. FELIX MASTER. MADONNA OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION. TORENO COLLECTION, MADRID
(*Photo. Mas*)

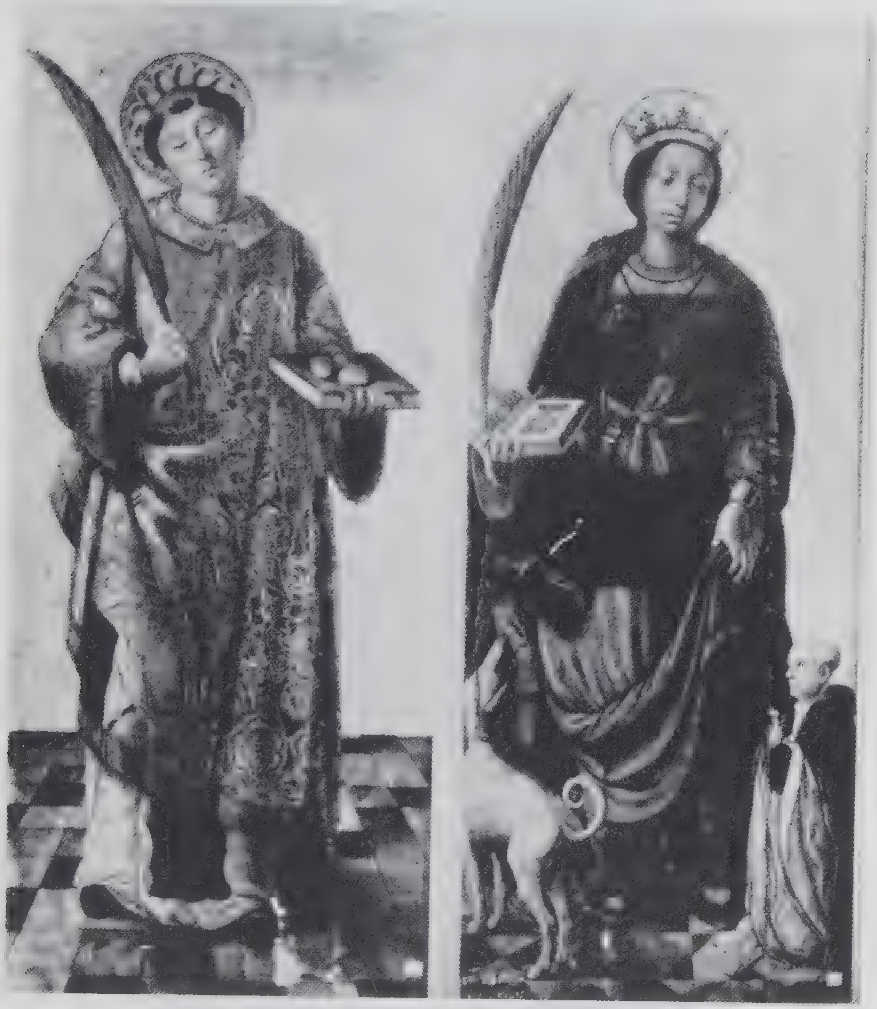

FIG. 43. THE ST. FELIX MASTER (?). STS. STEPHEN AND QUITERIA. CATHEDRAL, TARRAGONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

to have been removed from the chapel in the middle of the ninteenth century, since the word "Gothic" would at this time have loosely been applied to paintings of the early Renaissance. With our lack of information about the history of the chapel, however, it is hard to see why St. Quiteria should have been united with St. Stephen as a recipient of devotion, but, if the two panels do actually derive from the chapel, the donor kneeling at her feet would be Juan Barceló.

To try to authenticate the panels as creations of the St. Felix Master we have to rely upon stylistic analogies rather than upon any very specific resemblances in types. The most unescapable evidence is supplied by the figure of the donor in whose head the drawing, the modelling, and the way the paint is laid on can be exactly paralleled in no other artist's work. The readiest examples, in the Magdalene's retable, of this mode of rendering are found among the Apostles in the scene of her washing of Christ's feet and in the St. Maximin administering to her the last rites. Less determinative are the partial likeness of the head of the ecclesiastic at the extreme left in the group attendant upon St. Maximin to the St. Stephen and a certain similarity of the St. Quiteria to the St. Ursula of the Diocesan Museum, Gerona, a type that is not otherwise met in the St. Felix Master unless we are willing to assign to him the Oix St. Barbara. Strangely enough, it is the analogy of animals that is more persuasive, i.e., the dogs of St. Quiteria, who recall, among his representations of this beast, especially the foremost of the infernal hounds quelled by St. Andrew in the Valencian altarpiece. The garbs of both St. Quiteria and St. Stephen could be taken as reflecting the Master's fondness for rich brocades.

With possibly as much confidence we may tentatively claim for the St. Felix Master a panel in the Sala Capitular of the cathedral of Barcelona, representing St. Vincent the Martyr in converse with St. Vincent Ferrer and in all likelihood remaining to us as the principal compartment of an otherwise lost retable jointly dedicated to them (Fig. 44). I cannot find that there was ever in the cathedral a chapel coupling them in honor; but the present chapel of Nuestra Señora del Rosario was once under the invocation of St. Vincent the Martyr,[63] and such was perhaps the original location of the panel, in which the very popular St. Vincent Ferrer would have been associated with the Martyr at the demand of the donor on the precedent of the

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[63] J. Mas. *Guía-itinerario de la Catedral de Barcelona,* Barcelona, 1916, p. 71.

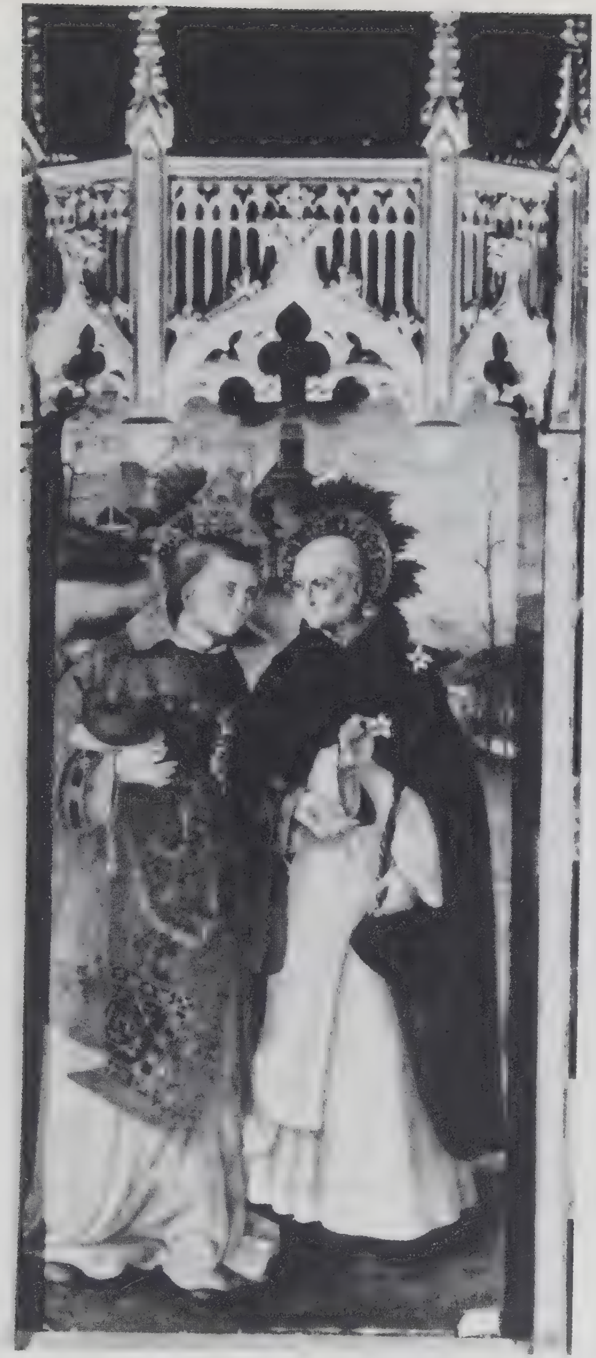

FIG. 44. THE ST. FELIX MASTER (?). ST. VINCENT THE MARTYR AND ST. VINCENT FERRER. CATHEDRAL, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

frequent union of the two St. Johns in altarpieces. Their names are inscribed above them as respectively Martyr and Confessor, and the former carries not only his usual attribute of the millstone but also, as a much rarer emblem,[64] a boat, probably symbolizing the vessel that carried his body from Valencia to Portugal. The old Spanish *motif* of two saints paired and rigidly facing us as cult-figures at the centre of a retable loses here its hieraticism and is transformed into the natural representation of the sacred personages discussing familiarly pious themes while out on a promenade.

The arguments for the authorship are manifold. The head of St. Vincent Ferrer is a prime example of the distinctive kind of modelling to which I have referred in describing the donor of the two panels in the cathedral of Tarragona, and the types of both St. Vincents are nearly repeated among the clerics behind St. Maximin in the scene of the Magdalene's last communion. The martyr's head is more or less approximated in the representations of St. Felix at Gerona — more in the case of the latter as he stands rescued by angels from the sea; and, a matter of still greater significance, the curious *mudéjar* patterns on the vestments of St. Felix find a not very different form on the orphreys of the martyr's sleeves. His dalmatic is caught up at the same oblique line and takes almost the same folds as that of the Tarragona St. Stephen. The haloes, resembling openwork in the manner of filigree, are duplicated throughout the Magdalene's altarpiece. Again the figures stand on an eminence in the foreground, as in this altarpiece, allowing us to look down upon and over a large tract of country at the right, and once more a slim and elegant tree, in this instance a dead one, is planted conspicuously on the edge of the height.

We perhaps ought to descry the collaborating hand of the presumptive Tarragona assistant in a handsome panel, once in the Homar Collection, Barcelona, depicting the Madonna standing between Sts. Nicholas and Gerard (Fig. 45). In the haloes of the two former sacred personages, their names are inscribed in Latin and in the vocative,[65] but the legend on the nimbus of St. Gerard is in Catalan, "Sant Girart (a form of the word unusual at the time in the language of the east coast), pregau (second person of the imperative in the

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[64] Maurice and Wilfred Drake, *Saints and their Emblems*, London, 1916, p. 133.

[65] The neck of the Virgin's dress is embellished with the beginning of the Magnificat, and a little further down are the words Mater Virgo; but I do not recognize what is written on the lowest border of the costume.

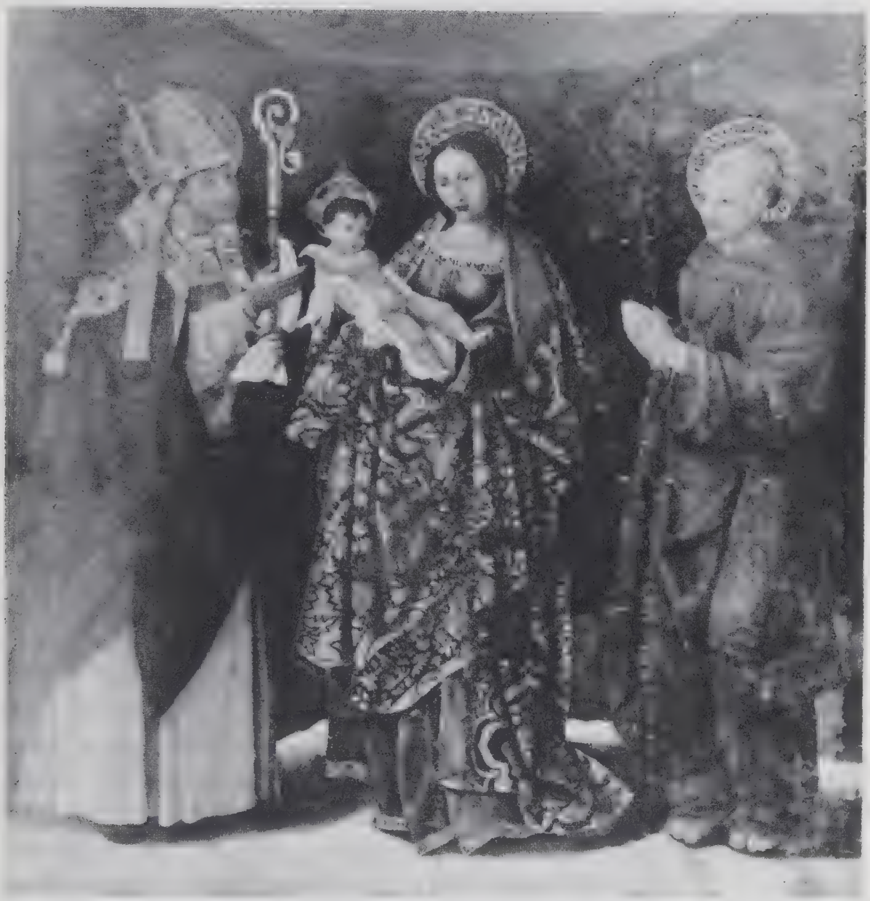

FIG. 45. THE ST. FELIX MASTER AND AN ASSISTANT (?). MADONNA BETWEEN STS. NICHOLAS AND GERARD. HOMAR COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(*Photo. Mas*)

honorific plural) per nos" (Saint Gerard, pray for us). As in other occurrences of this canonized figure in Spanish art of the period,[66] it seems impossible to determine which of the many Sts. Gerard was intended (if indeed the donor himself knew!): in the Homar panel he is clad merely in a nondescript monastic habit, and, if the painter meant him to be the brother of St. Bernard, he has been guilty of the same mistake as the Játiva Master [67] in not making this habit Cistercian.

The rights of the St. Felix Master to be taken at least into consideration to father the picture really need little more demonstration than the similarity of the St. Gerard to the St. Vincent Ferrer in the panel of the Barcelona cathedral. Not only is the actual physical type analogous, but there is a like aura of delicate spirituality, perhaps even more etherealized in the figure in the Homar painting. The donor with the St. Quiteria in the cathedral of Tarragona is accommodated to much the same class of humanity. An argument for bringing the Tarragona assistant into the question is provided by the St. Nicholas who is one of those curious forms, bending forward in great, bulky spreads of drapery, illustrated, in the retable of the Tarragona Museum, by the Magdalene in the *Noli me tangere* or the St. Maximin administering to her the last communion; and — a small but significant point — it is to be noted that the heads of St. Nicholas, the Magdalene, and St. Maximin are all pitched up at precisely the same angle. The Madonna's countenance is more than once reflected in the altarpiece at Gerona, and the Child should be compared with the Infant held by the Virgin in the Toreno Collection. I scarcely see how many doubts about the attribution could arise, but in any case they ought to be partially dispelled by the agreement of the picture's appurtenances with practices found in works surely or conditionally assigned to the Master, the haloes of simulated filigree and on the Virgin another example of the fondness for splendid brocades illustrated especially in the dalmatics of the Tarragona St. Stephen and the Barcelona St. Vincent the Martyr.

For an attribution to the St. Felix Master, the evidence is decidedly less concrete and conclusive in the case of a panel of St. John Evangelist that was once to be seen (possibly as a deposit in the civil war) and perhaps still graces the church of S. Félix, Gerona; but, nevertheless, the proposition is worth considering (Fig. 46). Indisputably the modelling of the flesh and of the draperies, as well as the arrangement of the folds, embodies the general, vivid style of the artist. More specifically, the head of the Evangelist closely conforms to a type, with dark hair straggling over the shoulders, that he likes for youths, as, in the Valencian retable, the convert of St. Andrew stemming the fire or the spectator in the left background of the scene of the Apostle outwitting the devil's female disguise. The tresses of St. John should be compared particularly with those of the Beloved Disciple in the Crucifixion of the Provincial Museum, Gerona, and his glance with that of the imprisoned St. Felix in the retable that gives the Master his name. The languid gesture of the Evangelist's right hand is often approximated in the painter's production, being most nearly reproduced in the character from the Old Testament in the compartment at the lower left in the altarpiece of St. Ursula. In the mode illustrated by the panel of St. John, he is fond also of depicting sprouts of plants at one side of the foreground, for instance in the episodes of the dragging of St. Felix or of St. Andrew's flagellation; and there are examples in his output of unostentatious haloes of a single ring such as the one that the Evangelist wears. It would take a painter of the St. Felix Master's conscious artistry to devise so studied a formal composition, in which the verticality of St. John's noble figure is counteracted by the horizontality not only of the huge eagle behind him, his emblem, whose upright claw matches the Evangelist's foot, but also of the extended, stylized foliage of the bush still farther in the rear. Moreover, it is to be remembered that we should have scarcely recognized immediately the single effigy of St. Ursula as the St. Felix Master's work, were it not that we were familiar with narrative panels which once accompanied it and more clearly revealed his manner.

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[66] Vol. IX, p. 434.
[67] Vol. VI, p. 348.

The potent authority of Ainaud, who follows[68] Angulo in bringing into connection with the St. Felix Master the Madonna and Child in an elaborate landscape belonging to the Museum of Catalan Art, Barcelona, a picture that in volume XI[69] I have ascribed to my Chinchilla Master, forces me to review the whole complicated question. Angulo does not believe the panel a work of the St. Felix Master himself, and I do not understand from Ainaud's words that

[68] Unpublished article.

[69] Pp. 110 ff.

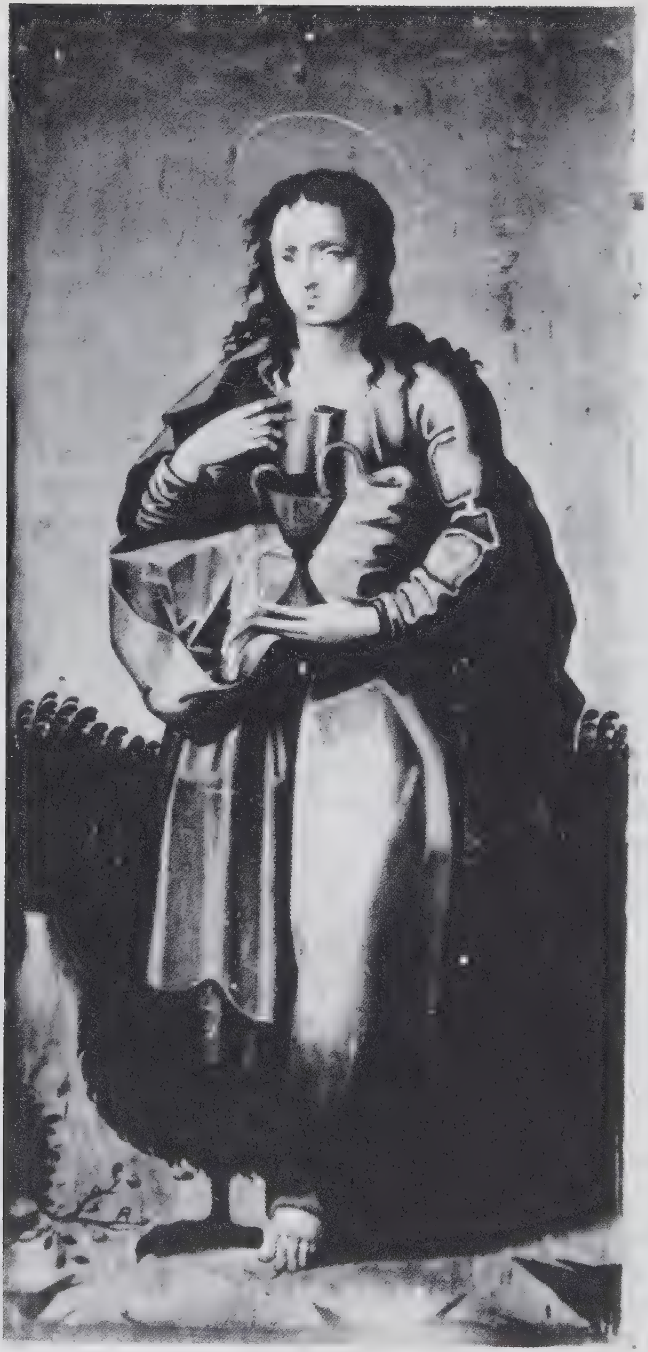

FIG. 46. THE ST. FELIX MASTER (?). ST. JOHN EVANGELIST. S. FÉLIX, GERONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

he would definitely venture this attribution; but my review inclines me more and more to accept it, although I still hesitate to make the ascription unqualified and should wish to place the picture in the large group of paintings of all schools that candid criticism ought, with our present knowledge, to leave as yet in an indeterminate class. In addition to the similarities to the St. Felix Master adduced by Angulo, the perception of Ainaud brings to bear upon the problem two other very significant links: in the representation of the Massacre of the Innocents in the background of the Barcelona picture, the horses of the riders and to some extent the riders themselves duplicate those in the compartment of the dragging of St. Felix by mules in the Gerona retable; and both to the left of the mansion at the right in the landscape behind the Barcelona Madonna and in the episode of tortures in the left background of the scene of St. Felix on the *eculeus* there are introduced figures of orientals. One artist, nevertheless, might have lifted such details from another, and I championed the idea of contacts between the Chinchilla and St. Felix Masters; but the greater likelihood would be that a single painter would repeat himself, and even I can increase the number of bonds that exist between the St. Felix Master and the Barcelona panel. The striped garments on the angels supporting the canopy above the Madonna are a commonplace with the St. Felix Master, as on the Magdalene in the Crucifixion of the Provincial Museum, Gerona, and as in the lateral scenes of the retable of St. Ursula; the small bushes in the distance of the landscape are spotted about in his characteristic fashion; and the St. Joseph in the Flight into Egypt enacted in the background has one of the hawk-like profiles that he is fond of using for older men. The type of the Madonna, the principal figure in the picture, is vaguely approximated here and there in the retable of St. Andrew, but the lack of her real conformity to the St. Felix Master's women is among the factors that give me pause in confidently assigning the Barcelona panel to him.

If we should dare to make this assignment, what are we to do with the other works that I had ascribed to the Chinchilla Master certainly or questionably? In the *Noli me tangere* at Chinchilla, the resemblance to the St. Felix Master in the landscape, its pieces of architecture, its subordinate incidents, and in the north-European flavor in the picture's style are of general nature, but there are few, if any, specific attachments, unless we wish to seize upon a kind of analogy of the Christ to the Saviour in the scene of the washing of the feet in the Tarragona retable. Chinchilla is not very far distant from Orihuela, where we first find Joan de Burgunya: could Joan, if he be the St. Felix Master, have painted in this way before he fully developed his modes? On such a supposition, we should have to dismiss the claims of Pedro Delgado to parity with the Chinchilla Master. The affiliations of the Nativity in the Wakefield-Mori Collection, Monte Carlo, with the St. Felix Master are no more concrete than in the case of the *Noli me tangere,* thus leaving us with the *possibility* that the Chinchilla Master was merely an artist moving in the orbit of the St. Felix Master and that he deserves the credit for the panel in the Barcelona Museum.

CHAPTER V

THE SCHOOL OF THE ST. FELIX MASTER

1. The Catalan Monogrammist (Pedro Mates?)

The circumlocution that I have chosen to designate this competent, fresh, agreeable, but too often uninspired follower of the St. Felix Master is derived from a monogram which he introduced in several of his altarpieces and of which I here reprint (Fig. 47) a number of examples from a plate included in a series of articles[1] by the distinguished scholar, Juan Sutrá y Viñas, to whose discernment we owe the discovery of the painter and the reconstruction of his achievement; but, since no one of the efforts to identify the monogram with the name of an artistic personality is absolutely conclusive, discretion requires the use of the sobriquet that I have set at the beginning of the chapter.

The letters TMAS are clearly woven into the monogram, and Sutrá therefore proposed as one possible elucidation the word *Tomas* (Catalan and Castilian for Thomas) as the Christian name or surname of the Master, especially because the monogram occurs on the halberd carried by an Apostle thought to be St. Thomas in his retable done for the town of Sagaró. Too much stress, however, cannot be laid upon the latter argument, since the halberd is an anomalous emblem for St. Thomas and the underlying inscription that names him, as in the case of the labels of the other Apostles in the Sagaró assemblage, may postdate the paintings. The Spanish scholar was even willing to descry the letter V in the centre of the M, giving TVMAS, in which the V, as not infrequently at the time, would stand for a U, so that we should have the spelling TUMAS for TOMAS. Inasmuch, moreover, as the presumed St. Thomas in the Sagaró altarpiece is a type that reappears in many of the artist's productions, Sutrá guessed that it might be a self-portrait.[2] J. M.

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[1] *Butlletí del Centre Excursionista de Catalunya*, XLVII (1937), August, October, November, and December.

[2] It seems to me highly questionable whether this recurrent type was intended as a portrait of himself by the Monogrammist, since, as in any artist's works, there are many other types repeated again and again.

Madurell[3] has proposed as a conceivable candidate for identification a painter, Juan Thomás, a citizen of Barcelona, who can be traced from 1508 until his death before 1541; and to the list of such aspirants Angulo[4] has added a T.Mas, known to have been active in the profession at Gerona in the first half of the Cinquecento.

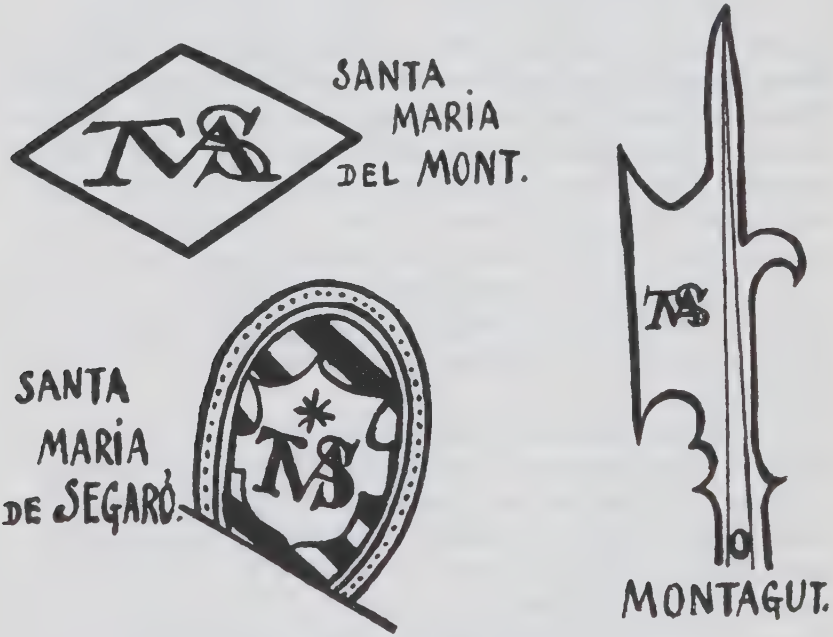
SANTA MARIA DEL MONT.
SANTA MARIA DE SEGARÓ.
MONTAGUT.

Fig. 47. EXAMPLES OF THE MONOGRAM OF THE CATALAN MONOGRAMMIST
(*From an article by Sutrá*)

Greater probability attaches to Sutrá's second interpretation of the monogram, which indeed has found favor with other Spanish scholars, i.e., that it enshrines the surname Matas or Mates. The central M in the monogram would be taken as the first letter; the T and S would end the word; the A would occupy the second place and could be understood as repeated before the final S, although the last supposition would not be absolutely necessary, since the common Catalan spelling was Mates and since the E or A might be surmised to have been omitted altogether; or the A could be conceived as in its proper spot at the end of MATAS, with the first A left out. The explanation as Matas or Mates would be much less intricate than in many other monograms. Furthermore, in the retable of Sagaró where the monogram twice manifests itself, the appearance also of the simple initial M on the halberd of one of the soldiers in the Resurrection supplies cogent evidence that M in the monogram was meant as the first letter of the concealed signature. St. Bartholomew, in the main panel of the retable dedicated to him once at Llorona, stood on a pavement one of the tiles of which contained the monogram, and in the compartment of this Apostle's exorcism of the princess the letter M was visible on another tile; but no strong argument can be based on the Llorona M, since it was followed by another character that looks like an N. A very persuasive reason for interpreting the name as Mates is that we know of a painter of Gerona, Pedro Mates, who is recorded [5] as having finished in 1532 the now lost retable for the high altar of the great monastery of San Pedro de Rodas in the city's province and who, according to unpublished notices in the Municipal Archives of Gerona adduced by Ainaud,[6] can be traced as resident in the town in the second quarter of the sixteenth century and even as late as 1567. The last dateable work of the Monogrammist is the Baptist's retable of 1536 in the Jover Collection, Barcelona. The Juan Mates who appears in 1577 as a painter originating in Gerona but active in Barcelona [7] and who will concern us in a subsequent volume falls in a period too tardy for identification with the Monogrammist, but he must have belonged to the artistic family of Gerona with this surname, from which Ainaud has unearthed two other members in the second half of the sixteenth century, Nicolás and Damián.[8] In sum, it must be reiterated that the evidence does not yet fully justify the designation of the artist who now concerns us by anything more definite than a pseudonym.

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[3] *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, I, 3 (1943), 39 and 47.

[4] *Pintura del Renacimiento*, Madrid, 1954, p. 64: vol. XII in the series *Ars Hispaniae.*

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[5] F. Monsalvatje y Fossas, *Los monasterios de la Diócesis Gerundense,* Olot, 1904, p. 48. This Pedro Mates cannot be identical with a homonym, also a painter, mentioned at La Seo de Urgel from 1522 until his death in 1530, two years before the activity of the other artist at San Pedro de Rodas: see J. M. Madurell in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona,* IV, 3–4 (1946), 362–368.

[6] Article on Catalan painting of the sixteenth century to which I have often had occasion to refer. The Gerona archives of 1568 and 1569 contain puzzling references to a painter and priest, Pedro Mates, whether or not our Master, who in the first instance refused to pay a debt and in the second is described as not present at some legal proceeding.

[7] See J. M. Madurell in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona,* I, 3 (1943), 47, and II, 3 (1944), 33.

[8] The well known Juan Mates of the early fifteenth century derived from a different part of Catalonia. See vols. IX, p. 750; X, p. 306; and XI, p. 377.

Of the productions securely authenticated by the monogram as a kind of signature, we begin naturally with the specimen that is both the most instructive in regard to the master's various characteristics and one of his most beautiful creations, the retable which from the high altar of the parish church at Montagut, northwest of Gerona, has now entered the Diocesan Museum in the latter place. At the time of my visit to Montagut in 1930, the paintings were built into a structure of the eighteenth century containing at the centre a baroque statue of St. Peter, to whom the church is dedicated, but subsequently, when Sutrá restored the panels, he removed the later settings and devised for the pictures suitable modern frames of the simplest sort. Twelve scenes from the life of St. Peter, some of rare occurrence, are comprised within the cycle. The first three are inspired by the New Testament, his walking over the water to Christ upon the Sea of Tiberias where the other Apostles are fishing, the delivery of the keys, and his great missionary sermon on the day of Pentecost. The fourth also has this source but constitutes the only example of the theme known to me in altarpieces of St. Peter — Ananias, with the help of two servants, spreading out a certain amount of money on a table, while the Apostle, anachronously depicted as already associated with St. Paul, denounces him for lying and secretly withholding the rest of the sum from the infant Church. In the fifth compartment St. Peter, again together with St. Paul, baptizes a noble lady, whom the artist and his patron probably thought to be Cornelia, since in some texts of the *Golden Legend* the feminine "Cornelia" stands, through scribal corruption, for the masculine, Cornelius, the centurion whose conversion by St. Peter is related in the tenth chapter of Acts. The next three scenes are episodes in the Apostle's discomfiture of Simon Magus in the presence of Nero, who is garbed like a Moorish caliph. First, he drives off, with blessed bread, the dogs that Simon had set upon both him and St. Paul (Fig. 48); he then raises a youth from the dead after the miracle could not be performed by Simon, who is depicted as leaving in humiliation the house of mourning; and finally he frustrates the sorcerer's attempt at supernatural flying. The last compartments have to do with his incarceration and death: his conversion, in prison, of his jailers, Processus and Martinianus; the "Quo vadis" incident; his martyrdom on the reversed cross; and

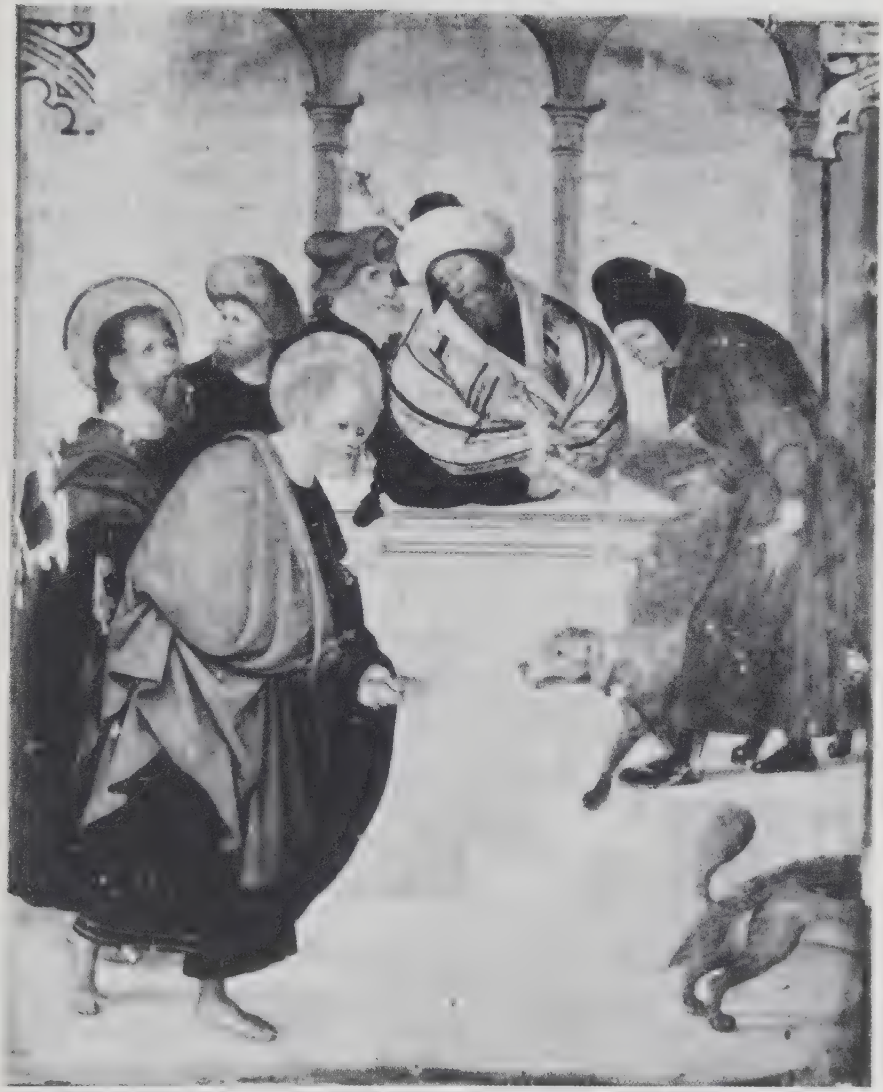

Fig. 48. THE CATALAN MONOGRAMMIST. ST. PETER REPELLING THE DOGS OF SIMON MAGUS, SECTION OF RETABLE FROM MONTAGUT. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, GERONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

(in a ruinous condition) his burial. There is also preserved the surmounting Crucifixion, in which the monogram is inscribed upon the halberd of the soldier at the right.

What the Catalan Monogrammist does is to take the St. Felix Master's style and simplify it with less pretentious and crowded compositions, with less agitated actors, with somewhat less complicated architectural settings, and with little or no leaning towards mannerism. This means that he is not so much of a cosmopolitan as his teacher, but the advantage of his relative provincialism is a greater freshness and a more perceptible tendency to translate his themes into the vivid and colloquial Spanish modes of sacred narrative. His comparative simplicity creates a more obvious resemblance to Juan de Borgoña even than in the case of the St. Felix Master. Within the more modest limits by which he was content to abide, he draws as well as his instructor, bequeathing to us many even memorable figures, such as the guard locking the Apostles' prison or Simon Magus letting loose his hounds. We shall often find him indeed, as in this representation of Simon, achieving quite unexpected realizations of dramatic postures. In the scene of St. Peter's Pentecostal sermon, the second man from the right in the audience illustrates the Monogrammist's custom of constantly introducing into the midst of his agreeable but stock types of humanity figures in whom individualization is carried almost to the point of caricature. The woman who has fallen asleep against St. Peter's pulpit, perhaps suggested by an analogous person in his teacher's representation of St. Felix's homily, constitutes the kind of note of *genre* in which his Spanish directness not infrequently expresses itself. In color he tends more than the St. Felix Master to retain the clear and brilliant tones of mediaeval Catalan painting, but on the other hand, curiously enough, he clings less, despite his provincialism, to the gold appurtenances of the elder generation. There is no extant instance of his substitution of gold, as in the St. Felix Master's retable of St. Andrew, for the heavens, and the limpid blue of his skies is always an entrancing factor in his appeal. He is less addicted to accents of gold in garments and architecture, and, when he does employ the precious material, as in the haloes, its inferior quality betrays that in the Renaissance it no longer interested him as a decorative vehicle.

He is less architecturally minded than the St. Felix Master, and yet he derived from him a very considerable preoccupation with magnificent settings to the narrative. St. Peter's sermon takes place in a stately hall of Renaissance architecture opening at the back into a sort of loggia topped by a coffered ceiling. Like Juan de Borgoña in the fresco of the Purification at Toledo, he places the baptism of Cornelia in a Gothic church in which he simulates a retable over an altar, but he projects right into the middle of the church a grandiose addition of the Renaissance in front of which St. Peter is emphasized by standing. He also makes much of the mediaeval city that is meant to represent Rome in the background of the episode of the "Quo vadis." Continuing the precedent of Bermejo, he is fond of inserting Hebrew inscriptions when there is any justification for them, as upon St. Peter's sarcophagus.[9] Angulo has demonstrated that he followed the St. Felix Master in borrowing details from Dürer, in the Crucifixion, for instance, taking the St. John from the German's engraving of the theme, Bartsch no. 24, and the swooning Virgin, with the holy woman who supports her, from the woodcut of Christ's farewell to His mother in the series of Mary's life. In the setting to the scenes of St. Peter's encounter with the dogs and of his martyrdom, the *motif* of the parapet, with accompanying figures, is derived either from the St. Felix Master or this Master's source in Dürer.[10]

Of the three other retables bearing the monogram, the panels of the small example in the shrine of Nuestra Señora del Mont (on the height above the town of Sagaró, not far from Montagut), which were almost all destroyed in the civil war, had been hung at the time of my visit in 1930 about the walls of the church,[11] but Sutrá has made a logical reconstruction of the altarpiece that, with one exception, I follow. The principal compartment was occupied by a cult-statue of the Madonna that survived the war and still decorates the altar, but the rest consisted of the Monogrammist's paintings. At the sides were the Annunciation, Birth of Christ, Epiphany (these two also having escaped the war's havoc), and Assumption, and above the sculptured effigy the Crucifixion (Fig. 49). The predella comprised half-lengths of sacred personages, St. Lawrence, a canonized bishop, St. Benedict (?), St. Christopher, and, in narrower panels, the mourning Virgin

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[9] See below, p. 141, n. 20.

[10] See above, p. 99.

[11] Sutrá in a letter kindly suggests to me that the panels may be the remains of a retable from the abandoned monastery of San Lorenzo del Mont at Sous, close to Sagaró, which Monsalvatje (*Noticias históricas*, XVII, 167) states to have been imported into the church of Nuestra Señora del Mont.

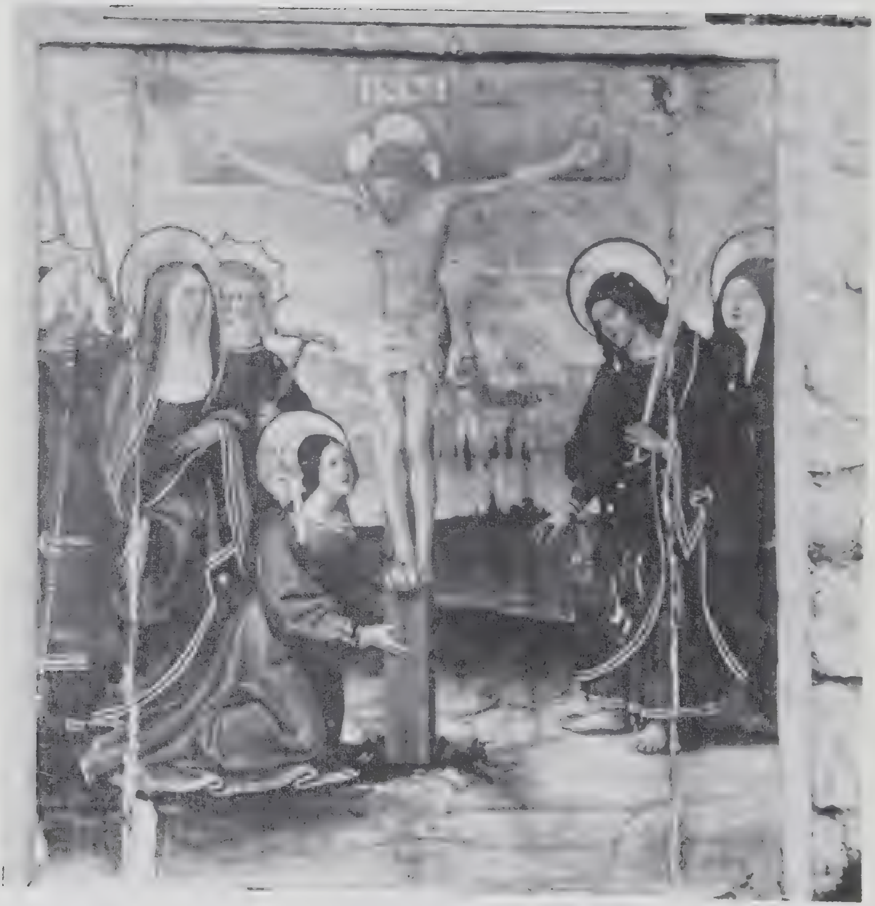

FIG. 49. THE CATALAN MONOGRAMMIST. CRUCIFIXION, SECTION OF RETABLE. NUESTRA SEÑORA DEL MONT, NEAR SAGARÓ

and St. John Evangelist who must originally have flanked the tabernacle which would have been decorated with a figure of the dead Christ. Sutrá describes the last two forms merely as a feminine saint and a masculine martyr, failing to realize that St. John Evangelist often carries the palm because of his acceptance of the martyrdom in oil from which he was rescued; and he places them at the ends of the predella. The monogram was introduced into tiles of the pavement both in the Annunciation and Epiphany.

The quality of the craft was not as high as in the Montagut altarpiece, suggesting that the Monogrammist refused to exert himself so much in an order for a little rural sanctuary or that he left largely to helpers the execution of his designs. He had less scope in the panels for the exercise of his architectural proclivities than at Montagut, but he did not refrain entirely from exhibiting them, as especially in the sections of the ruined edifice in the Nativity, where through an arch could be discerned one of those inner chambers that piqued the St. Felix Master's interest in problems of a space within a space. Possibly there was more from his own brush in the Nativity than elsewhere in the retable, for he would scarcely have left to an assistant the charming little accents of birds perched on the wall and fluttering in the sky. In the Crucifixion, probably at the request of his patron, he retained what must have been then antiquated elements in the iconography of the theme, the sun and moon.

Practically the same statements in regard to quality and to the extent of the Monogrammist's participation in the actual execution apply to the retable of the *parroquia* of Sta. María at Sagaró itself, the sections of which used to be scattered about the church and in the rector's house but, with the exception of panels of the Apostles all but two of which have disappeared from our ken, are now preserved in the Diocesan Museum at Gerona. The church at Sagaró still harbors the pair of Apostles that have survived, Sts. Thomas and Paul. All the narrative panels are of the same height, but two of them are broader than the others and may have been set in the centre of the structure as depicting the beginning and the end of the divine dispensation. The first displays the Eternal Father blessing His creation and seeing that "it was good." The details of the cosmos included in the picture are the sun, with its rays, prominently conventionalized into a geometric pattern in the middle of the background, the sea and the dry land, the trees and plants, a most varied menagerie of the beasts of the earth (in which the Monogrammist shows himself a better delineator of birds and reptiles than of quadrupeds), and finally Adam and Eve, anachronously wearing already their aprons of fig leaves. The second of the two larger compartments is the Last Judgment, in which there are no iconographic peculiarities except the contents of St. Michael's scales, a soul in one pan and a book (the record of his life?) in the other. Ordinarily the balances hold a redeemed and a damned soul, but Émile Mâle [12] stresses the latitude permitted in the scales and the frequent, odd departures from the norm. The narrower panels comprise eight, instead of the usual seven, Joys of Mary, the Annunciation, Nativity, Epiphany, Resurrection (Fig. 50), Ascension, Pentecost, Assumption, and Coronation (with the Virgin and Our Lord seated on as luxuriant a throne of the Renaissance as any cultivated by Pedro Berruguete). When the themes duplicate those of Nuestra Señora del Mont, the compositions are but slightly varied. From the assemblage there were known until recently also panels of the twelve Apostles, those of Sts. Peter, Paul, Andrew, and Thomas higher and less wide than the compartments of the eight others.

The monogram occurred on the halberd of St. Thomas and the shield of one of the soldiers in the Resurrection, but we have already [13] had occasion to note the significance of the fact that another soldier's halberd, lying on the ground, is marked simply with the letter M. Whereas the St. Felix Master and the Monogrammist usually take only details from Dürer, the whole composition of the Resurrection is here lifted from the version in the Large Passion, thus supplying the painter with the highly individualized and powerfully rendered, sleeping soldier at the right, whose halberd we have just mentioned and who punctuates the groups of generalized types in the Sagaró altarpiece, relieving the dull average with which in this assemblage the author contented himself.

The panels of the last of the retables showing the monogram were once distributed about the parish church at Llorona, in the same region of the province of Gerona as the other works by the master that we have studied, but they too constitute one of the many Catalan sacrifices to the civil strife of the late thirties of the present century. The saint honored in the retable was Bartholomew, and, although St.

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[12] *L'art religieux du XIII^e^ siècle en France*, chapter VI, part II.

[13] See above, p. 125.

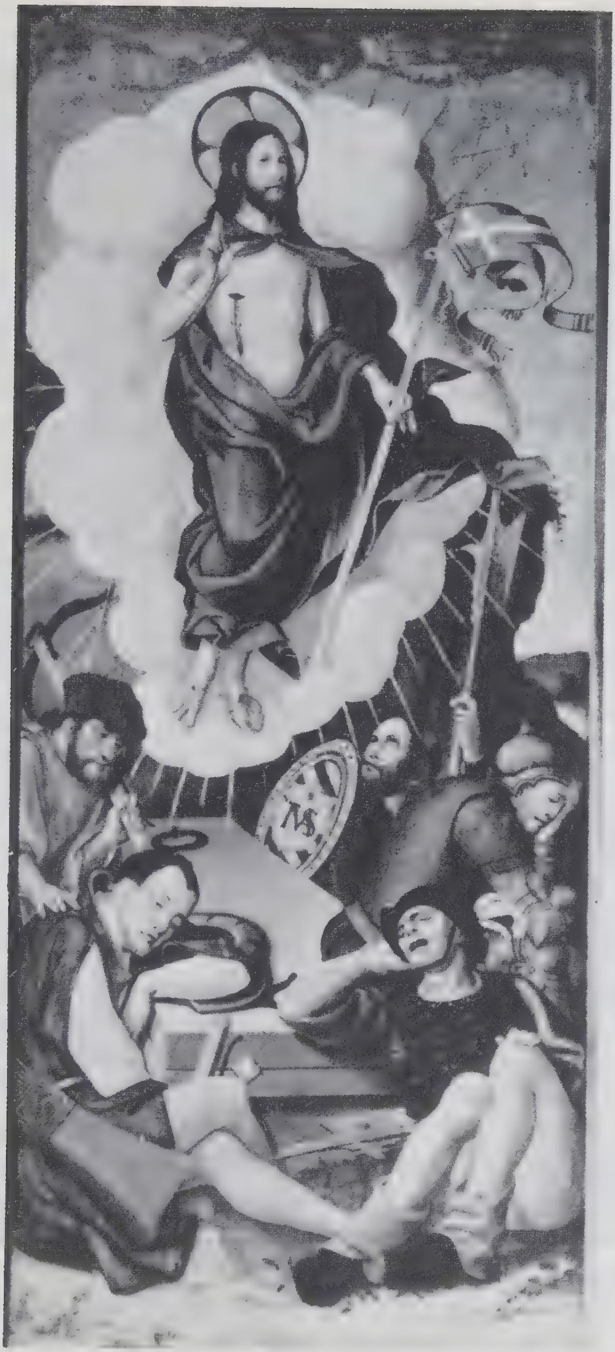

FIG. 50. THE CATALAN MONOGRAMMIST.
RESURRECTION, SECTION OF RETABLE
FROM SAGARÓ. DIOCESAN MUSEUM,
GERONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

Andrew is the patron of the parish, Sutrá [14] has found records of the fervid cult that St. Bartholomew enjoyed in the church and surrounding country from the Middle Ages onward and of his altar in the edifice that was an object of great devotion. In accordance with the demands of this cult a confraternity of St. Bartholomew was established at Llorona on July 29, 1562, too late a date, however, for the style of the retable which must have been already in place. The compartments from the body of the retable were all preserved until 1936. The effigy of St. Bartholomew in the principal compartment stood against one of the formal, brocaded plaques of the mediaeval school, and it was in the pavement beneath him that the painter set the monogram. The central pinnacle contained its customary theme, the Crucifixion, reduced to the figures of Christ, the Virgin, and St. John. The four lateral, narrative compartments depicted: St. Bartholomew effecting his cures in the temple of the god Astaroth (Fig. 51); his exorcism of King Polemius's daughter (with the letter M, followed by another character, set into one of the tiles of the pavement [15]); a very mild version of the flaying in comparison with the usual drastic Spanish treatments of the revolting theme; but, as if to make up for this restraint, a most violent and sanguinary conception of the Apostle's ultimate decapitation. The Llorona retable, although a quite acceptable piece of craft, provided yet another instance either of the Monogrammist's failure to put forth his best efforts and real capabilities for an inconspicuous undertaking or of his consignment of much of the execution to assistants.

There next fall within our survey the works in which, though not marked by the monogram, Sutrá has rightly recognized the Monogrammist's hand. To the same class of rather mediocre productions as the assemblages of Nuestra Señora del Mont, Sagaró, and Llorona belonged a monument of painting that was one of the most serious losses suffered by Spanish art in the holocausts of 1936, the retable over the high altar of the church at Molló, in the mountains above Camprodón in the extreme northwestern part of the province of Gerona, close to the French border. Fortunately photographs of the retable had previously been made — of the whole by the Mas Archive and of two details of the predella by Sutrá (Fig. 52); and both he and I had enjoyed the privilege of visiting the church before the con-

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[14] *Op. cit.*, December, 1937, pp. 279–281.

[15] See above, p. 125.

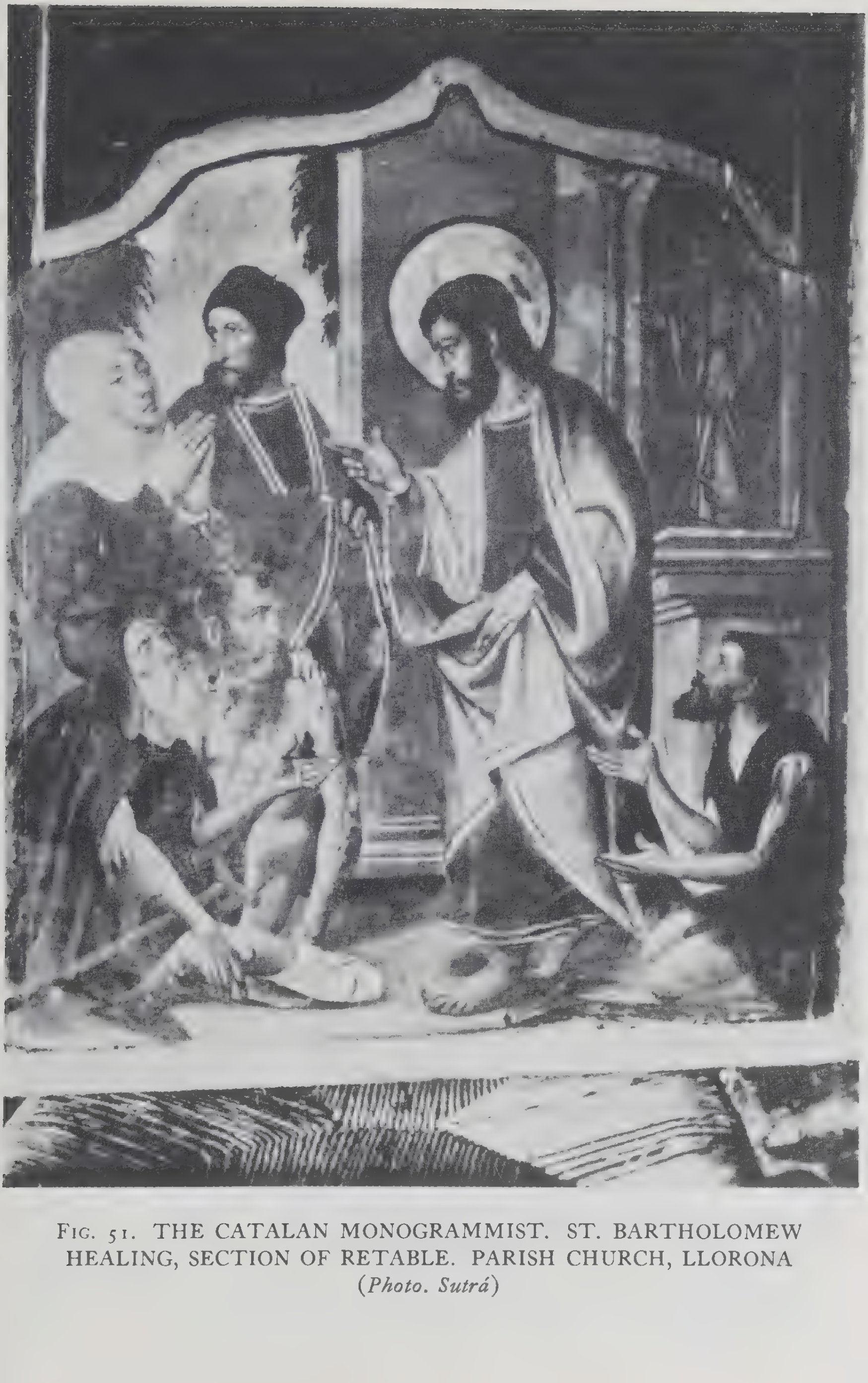

Fig. 51. THE CATALAN MONOGRAMMIST. ST. BARTHOLOMEW HEALING, SECTION OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, LLORONA
(*Photo. Sutrá*)

flagration. Nevertheless, the monument had not survived even until 1936 quite unaltered. Probably at the date set at the top, 1727, additions were made to the retable at the extreme outer sides, or at least older parts at these points were repainted; and the sections by the Monogrammist remaining in their pristine condition and with their original Plateresque frames were, first, the twelve lateral compartments *immediately* adjoining the structure's centre, representing scenes from the story of St. Cecilia, to whom the church is dedicated, and, secondly, five half-lengths of saints in the predella, the sixth piece having been burned early in the present century during an Easter service. In the Crucifixion, set above the more modern statue of St. Cecilia at the retable's centre and constituting a simplified version of the example from Montagut, the Monogrammist's hand can easily be discerned under a total repainting.

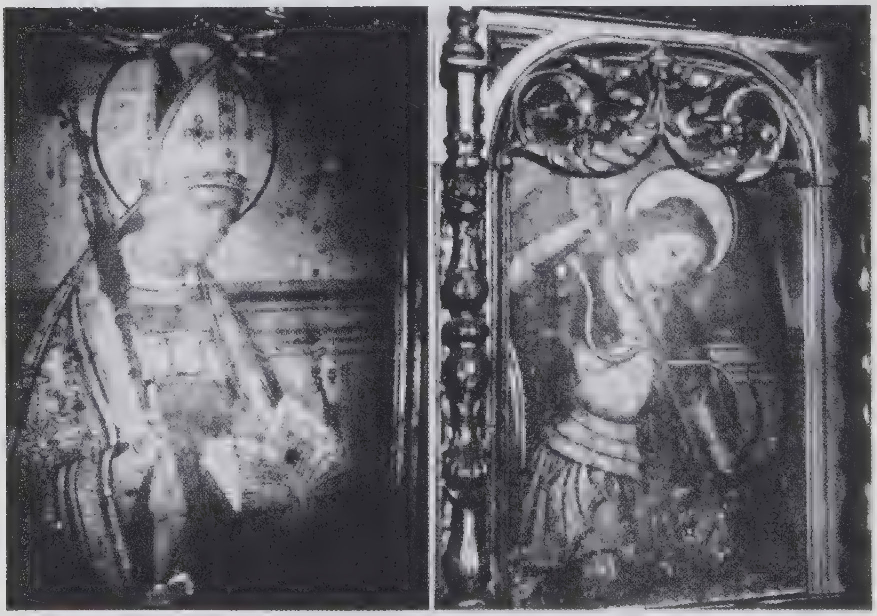

FIG. 52. THE CATALAN MONOGRAMMIST. CANONIZED BISHOP AND ST. MICHAEL, SECTIONS OF PREDELLA OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, MOLLÓ
(*Photo. Sutrá*)

Sutrá [16] has correctly designated the themes from the life of St.

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[16] *Op. cit.*, December, 1937, pp. 282–284.

Cecilia, which, as so often in the Monogrammist's output by reason of the rarity of the subjects that he depicts, added iconographical interest to his intrinsic merits. The four vertical divisions of three compartments each could scarcely have come down to us in their original arrangement, for the narrative began at the right of the middle section, then passed to a pair of strips at the left, and finally returned to the extreme right. First, St. Cecilia on her wedding night was depicted as telling her spouse, St. Valerian, of her companion, the angel, who, though he was introduced into the panel, must have been considered, according to the letter of the story, as still invisible to her husband. Next, St. Valerian, in the presence of the pope, St. Urban, was converted by the apparition of an old man holding a book inscribed with the verses from Ephesians IV, 5–6, setting forth the unity of the Christian faith; he was baptized; and his wife and he received from the angel the two floral crowns. Tiburtius, St. Valerian's brother, was then seen as converted by the young married couple (with a slight departure from the ordinary form of the story in that the colloquy was conceived as occurring, not in the chamber where they had been crowned, but in a dining room); he also was next represented as being christened; in company with St. Valerian and his sister-in-law he likewise enjoyed the angelic visitations; the two brothers distributed their possessions to the poor; they were arraigned before the Roman prefect, Almachius; in prison they received comfort from St. Cecilia just before their execution; and their decapitation was treated in quite as gruesome a fashion as that of St. Bartholomew at Llorona. The final scene in the narrative was the ineffectual attempt to destroy St. Cecilia in boiling water. The five original saints preserved in the predella were a canonized bishop, Catherine of Alexandria, Michael, Barbara, and Roch; and it was in the compartment nearest the tabernacle at the right that a modern St. Joseph was substituted for the piece destroyed at Easter. I am ashamed that at my stay in Molló I failed to see the likewise now destroyed Coronation of the Virgin in the sacristy which Sutrá records as a repainted achievement of our master's brush.

A higher degree of artistic attainment, equal or superior to that which the Monogrammist exhibited at Montagut, is incorporated in eleven panels from a retable of St. John Baptist the original location of which has not been discovered but which, once in the Estruch Collection at Barcelona, were eventually found by Sutrá in the Collection of Don José Jover in the same city. In addition to the Crucifixion, which surmounted the retable and is practically a replica of the rendering at Montagut, there are preserved ten scenes from the Baptist's story. The beginning of the cycle, the annunciation to Zacharias, at once reveals the more careful craftsmanship; and the architectural studies that we have observed at Montagut are paralleled not only in the grandiose altar at which Zacharias kneels before the handsome angel but also in the introduction of arcading in the right background as if a part of the Temple. Similar but more complicated arcading occurs in the St. Felix Master's representation of St. Andrew exorcising the dogs. It is in the tabernacle above the altar that the date 1536 is inscribed.[17] Then follow the regular constituents of the Baptist's cycle, the visitation, nativity of St. John (with the Virgin as usual holding the newborn child), the declaration of his son's name by Zacharias, the baptism of Christ, and St. John denouncing Herod's marriage in the presence of the sinning royal couple (again with an extended architectural perspective). We note in this and in the Monogrammist's other retables that he was hard pressed to find enough events in the sacred stories to fill the numerous compartments of the sort of structures demanded of him; and in the Jover assemblage he inserts an episode not commonly represented, two of the Baptist's disciples (here depicted as haloed) reporting to him in prison on the great and good deeds of the Saviour. The final scenes are the decapitation (as bloody as the master's other treatments of such martyrdoms), Salome's presentation of the head, and — the only occurrence of the theme in art that I can recall — the burning of the Baptist's bones at the order of Julian the Apostate (Fig. 53).

Sutrá[18] attributes to the Monogrammist the panels of a retable dedicated to the Magdalene that once adorned her altar (now called the altar of the Merced) in the cathedral of Gerona but have long been known as consigned to the Salas Capitulares of the church, and yet he is so troubled by the different and better quality, in comparison with the artist's other works, that he is not quite satisfied by interpreting the style "as a culminating phase in the production of our painter" but wonders if we are not in the presence of a colleague.

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[17] See above, p. 125.

[18] *Op. cit.*, November, 1937, pp. 249–251.

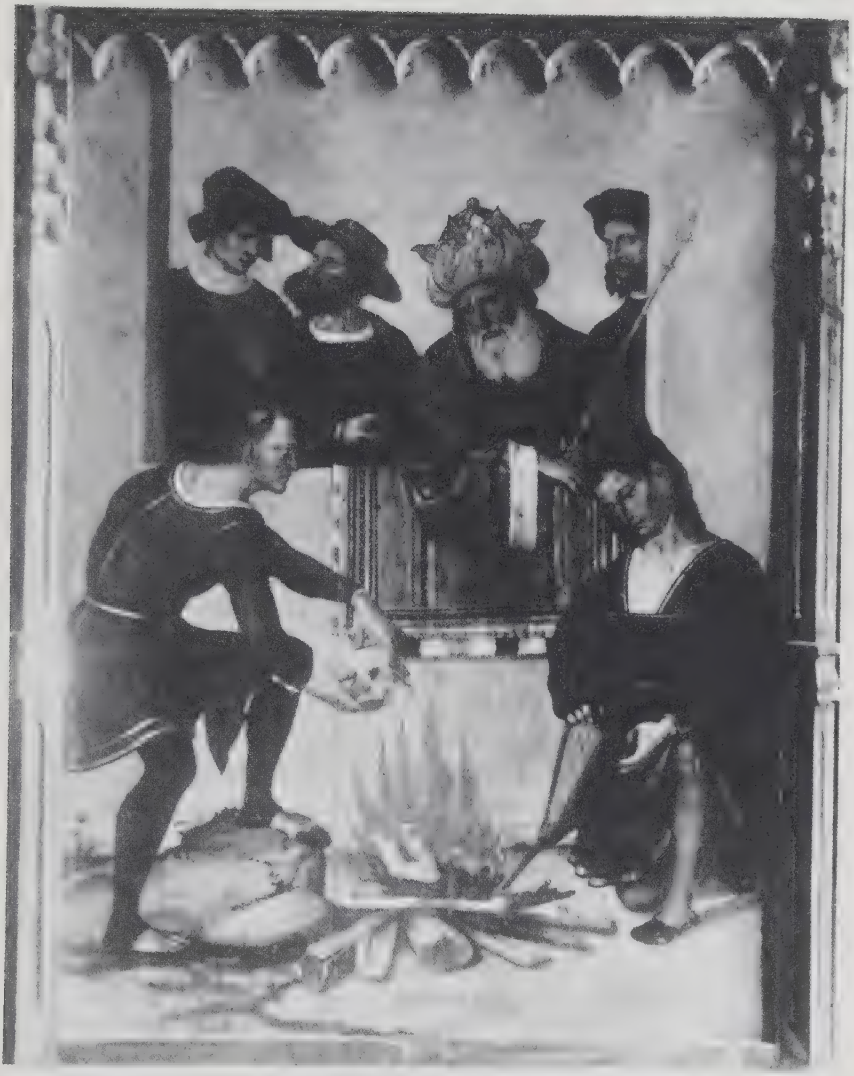

Fig. 53. THE CATALAN MONOGRAMMIST. THE BURNING OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST'S BONES, SECTION OF RETABLE. JOVER COLLECTION, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Vidal*)

I myself have been so struck by the superiority of the retable that I used to ponder the question whether it might not have been one of the St. Felix Master's commissions in which he was liberally assisted by the Monogrammist, but I have finally convinced myself that its simpler modes, particularly the compositions and the absence of mannered agitation, proclaim it a work of the latter artist, in which he put forth his best effort or benefited in certain passages by the St. Felix Master's aid. We shall find that the retable twice bears the date 1526.

Whether its centre was occupied by a sculptured or painted effigy of the Magdalene, it has been lost, and, besides the Crucifixion, only eight narrative panels are left to us. The subject of the first is rather perplexing, but Sutrá is surely right in describing it as a mere crystallization of the fact that the Magdalene listened to sermons of the Redeemer, i.e., a representation of the sentence in the *Golden Legend*, "And when our Lord Jesus Christ preached there (at Magdalum) and in other places, she was inspired with the Holy Ghost." Christ delivers his exhortation from an elevated throne at the right, with the Apostles just behind Him and with a group of listening Jews at the left to the rear of a parapet, among them one with a Hebrew inscription on his hat probably in order to designate a Pharisee.[19] The Magdalene herself emerges prominently in a galaxy of seated ladies in the left foreground, without a halo as not yet entirely converted and with her worldliness signified by one of the Master's brilliantly striped dresses and by a fan like that of Titian's Lavinia at Dresden. Beside her sits a haloed woman who must be her sister St. Martha and who appears in like, plain garb in other panels in the series, but her introduction at this point in the story should probably be ascribed to the artist's or his patron's invention, since I can find no hagiological authority for St. Martha's coöperation in the Magdalene's regeneration. The next two scenes, the Magdalene washing Our Lord's feet in the house of Simon (Fig. 54) and the resurrection of Lazarus, are entirely original in composition, as if the artist had seen no previous representations of the themes. The locality in Simon's house is not the customary palatial hall but a dining room in a residence of the middle class, and it is on the fireplace in the room that the date 1526 is inscribed. The tomb from which Lazarus issues also bears this date, as well as one of the Hebrew inscriptions much affected by the Catalan Monogrammist.[20]

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[19] See above, p. 129, and also the note on the sentence at the end of the present paragraph.

The other five panels relate the Magdalene's experiences in Provence. The prince of the country (clad as a Moor) and his consort listen to her Christian homilies immediately upon her arrival at Marseilles in a scene in which, with the Master's tendency to follow the letter of the sacred tales, she is accompanied by all the personages mentioned in the *Golden Legend*, Martha, Marcella (the serving-woman of the sisters), Lazarus, Maximin (already vested as the bishop of Marseilles), and Cedonius (who had been restored to sight by Christ and is here depicted as a Raphaelesque youth). Next she makes the sign of the cross over the ruler and his wife as they set forth on the voyage to Rome to find whether her preaching agrees with the doctrine of St. Peter (or perhaps she is blessing them on their return), while in small scale in the background is enacted a subordinate episode in the story, the young child, who had been left to die with his deceased mother, the princess, upon a rocky island, running away in fear from the mariners of the ship of his father, who, on his way back from the long Roman pilgrimage, discovers that his son miraculously has been preserved and his wife resuscitated through the efficacy of the Magdalene's intercession. We probably ought to describe as merely fortuitous the resemblances in this compartment to Carpaccio's cycle of St. Ursula — the vessels upon the sea and the brightly decked, gondola-like boat waiting with its dapper punter and guard and with its already embarked pilgrims to receive the sovereign and his lady. The last three scenes are those regularly included in cycles from the Magdalene's life, the hermit's vision of her levitation in the arms of angels, her last communion at the hands of St. Maximin, and her interment. At the ends of the compartments of the Magdalene's sermon at Marseilles and of her burial are preserved bits of an Entombment of Christ, the figures of Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathaea in the former instance and of two sorrowing holy women in the latter, so that between the pair of events

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[20] The eminent Hebrew scholar, Professor H. A. Wolfson of Harvard, has kindly examined for me this and the Catalan Monogrammist's other Semitic inscriptions. On the lower line of the one on Lazarus's tomb he believes that the words, "sacred sarcophagus" might be read; but he makes nothing certain of the upper line or of the examples in the master's other works, which are muddled through the inscriber's ignorance or through "restoration," and, if Professor Wolfson is unable to decipher them, I am sure that no one else can.

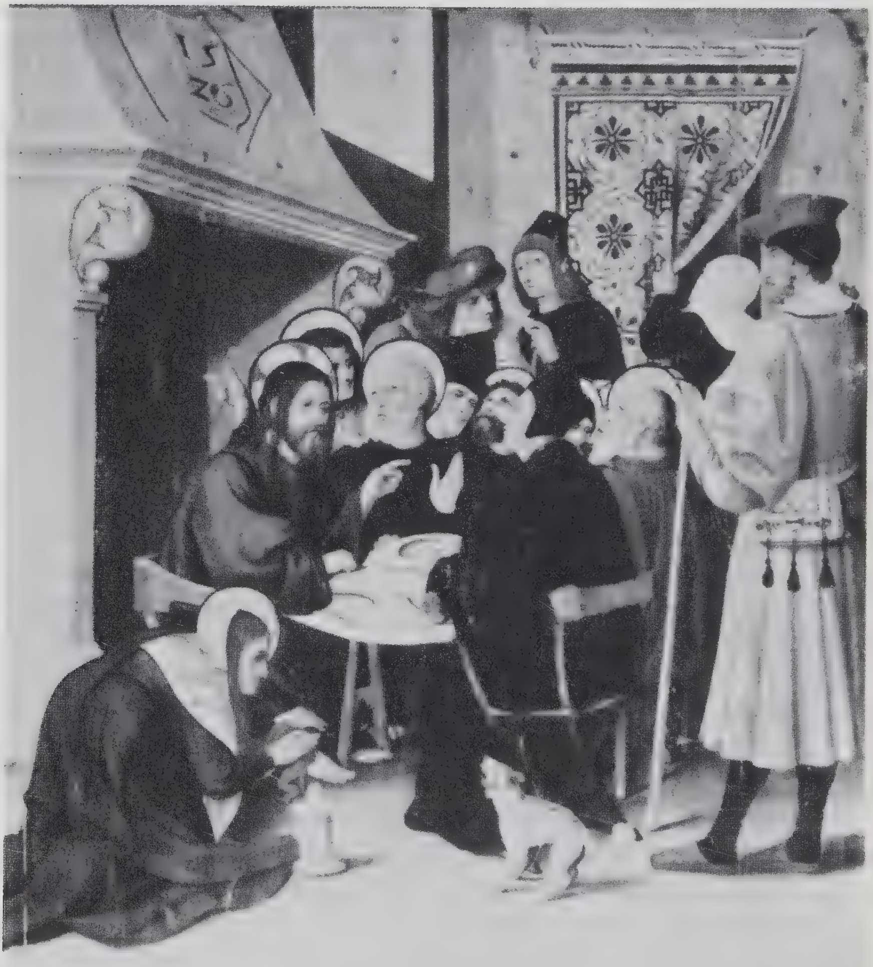

Fig. 54. THE CATALAN MONOGRAMMIST. THE MAGDALENE WASHING CHRIST'S FEET. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, GERONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

from her story the Entombment must have intervened in a kind of predella.

Generally speaking, the compositions fall within the dullness of the Monogrammist's routine. Such, for instance, are the scenes of the Magdalene listening to Christ's exhortations and the resurrection of Lazarus, in the mode of the older Catalan school with a mere alignment of the Apostles and onlookers like a Greek chorus behind the principal actors. In the background of the former compartment, however, the elaboration in the study of the urban street accords rather with the St. Felix Master's initiative than with the Monogrammist's conservatism; and in the latter case, in agreement with the St. Felix Master's habit of bringing in as many details of a story as possible, the Lord's command, "Loose him, and let him go," is materialized in the representation of Sts. Peter and John intent upon unbinding the grave clothes. The only composition of any real interest in its arrangement occurs in the panel of the Magdalene washing the Saviour's feet, which, furthermore, is so advanced in general character as to suggest the possibility of the St. Felix Master's collaboration at this point. The Magdalene herself displays one of this Master's facial types treated with a *sfumatezza* that suggests Romanino, and the spectator carrying a staff at the right is marked by a sharp manneristic profile. The scene includes a striking piece of *genre*, a woman (Simon's wife?) lifting a brilliant curtain at the back of the room to peer into a cupboard in search of some article of food or drink, and this curtain comprises in its patterns stars of Moorish design like those upon the orphreys of St. Felix's dalmatic and like the examples that the Monogrammist sometimes employs in costumes. The charm and skill with which Simon's little dog is rendered cannot be paralleled in the Monogrammist's ordinary output but constitute, as we have seen above, one of the St. Felix Master's distinctive qualities.

The interment of the Magdalene provides a further, very tangible instance in which the forms have progressed towards a greater modernism than the Monogrammist usually attained. Particularly impressive from this standpoint are the deacons assisting St. Maximin in the obsequies, and, again with a touch like that of Romanino, the young acolyte at the extreme right. The deacon who holds the lower end of the shroud is an arrestingly naturalistic figure, even prophetic of Velázquez, and the Magdalene's body is so disposed as, already in the spirit of the Spanish seventeenth century, to permit a realistic study of the soles of her feet. Another finely executed cleric of this class, now with much of the inner fervor of the seventeenth century, bows in adoration beside St. Maximin in the scene of the Magdalene's last communion. Both the burial and the communion are conceived as taking place in the same church, decorated with a simulated triptych of the Passion. Naturalistic detail in the funeral is carried to the point of inscribing the liturgical book from which St. Maximin reads with two very legible collects of the Magdalene's feast and a hymn in her honor.[21] In the representation of young persons and angels the Monogrammist often successfully cultivated an ideal beauty, but he never painted lovelier creatures than those who uplift the Magdalene in her ecstasy.

In the scene of the Magdalene listening to the Saviour's discourse, Angulo [22] has again discovered minor elements lifted from Dürer, the parapet in the background, with spectators standing behind and lolling upon it, derived from the woodcut of St. John's boiling in oil in the Apocalyptic series, and the so-called Pharisee in the midst of this crowd copied, even in the Hebrew inscription upon his hat, from one of the onlookers in the engraving of 1513 representing Sts. Peter and John healing the cripple.

The sections of still another retable in which the Catalan Monogrammist closely approximates the achievement of the St. Felix Master, in this case especially in a partial adoption of mannerism, were all to be seen, before the civil war, in the chapel of Don Domingo de Gomar, Marqués de Millás, in his estate just east of Gerona at Millás, near Madremaña, but they are now divided between this chapel and the Diocesan Museum at Gerona. The recipients of sacred honor are the Cordovan martyrs who enjoyed such extraordinary popularity in Catalonia, St. Acisclus and his sister, St. Victoria, so that very probably the retable was originally done for the chapel, which is dedicated to them.[23] The panels in the Gerona Museum

[21] They are not collects in the modern missal or breviary for her day, and I have not found their source nor that of the hymn. The first collect begins, "Omnipotens sempiterne Deus qui hodierna (*sic*) die beatam Magdalenam de carnis ergastulo eduxisti," and the second, "Deus qui beatae Mariae Magdalenae penitentias." The verses of the hymn commence with the word, "Gaude," and give the reasons why she should rejoice.

[22] *Archivo español de arte,* XVII (1944), 328.

[23] For the bibliography of their stories and their Catalan cult, see my volumes IV, p. 503, VI, p. 491, and VII, p. 178. I take it that it is to these paintings that Angulo refers when registering a retable of "Sts. Sebastian and Christina" by our Master in the Diocesan Museum of Gerona (*Archivo español de arte,* XVII, 1944,

comprise: the principal compartment, in which the paired effigies still stand, as in the mediaeval school, against the rigid and formal expanse of a gorgeous fabric, that here seems to be a hanging rug; and the capping Crucifixion, very like several other versions of the theme by the Monogrammist. The Marqués de Millás possesses the four, lateral narrative scenes, all horizontal compartments like some of those in the retable of the Magdalene and originally flanking the central effigies in two tiers that were separated from each other by frames of which only the spaces now remain. The panel at the upper left depicts the denunciation of the worship of idols by St. Victoria accompanied by her brother, but the three other compartments are devoted to their sufferings, which were so horribly long and varied that our artist was able to select different ones from those depicted in the Franco-Gothic antependium in the Soler y March Collection at Barcelona.[24] At the lower left, St. Acisclus is flogged, and by his side St. Victoria endures the excruciating torture of the soles of her feet that is definitely specified in the accounts of their martyrdom. The panel at the upper right shows her breasts being amputated by an atrocious device operated through cords, while an angel comforts her brother in prison (Fig. 55). Finally, at the lower right, in accordance with a velleity for the sanguinary equal to that which we have already stigmatized in the St. Felix Master, Victoria, displaying the gushing wounds on her bosom, is slain by arrows as she looks at the decapitated trunk of Acisclus and his severed head uplifted by the executioner, with both these parts of his body spurting and dripping gore. If there were once other panels at the sides of the Crucifixion, which exhibits a height only a little less than the compartment of the coupled effigies, and if the structure possessed the usual predella, these sections have not been preserved.

The more mannered phase of the painter's production is signalized by such a figure as the guard keeping watch upon Acisclus in prison. In the guard's dog, he does not appear to have exerted the proficiency that this animal stimulated the St. Felix Master to manifest. The martyr's persecutor, Dion, as generally in his and his teacher's repre-

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p. 329, n. 1). The tireless investigations of Don Juan Sutrá have discovered that the pieces at Gerona and Millás once constituted a single *ensemble*, and with his habitual kindness he shared with me the results of this research before he published his illuminating article on the retable, with further information about the Catalan cult of the two martyrs, in the *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, 1950, pp. 183–190.

[24] Vol. IV, pp. 503–504.

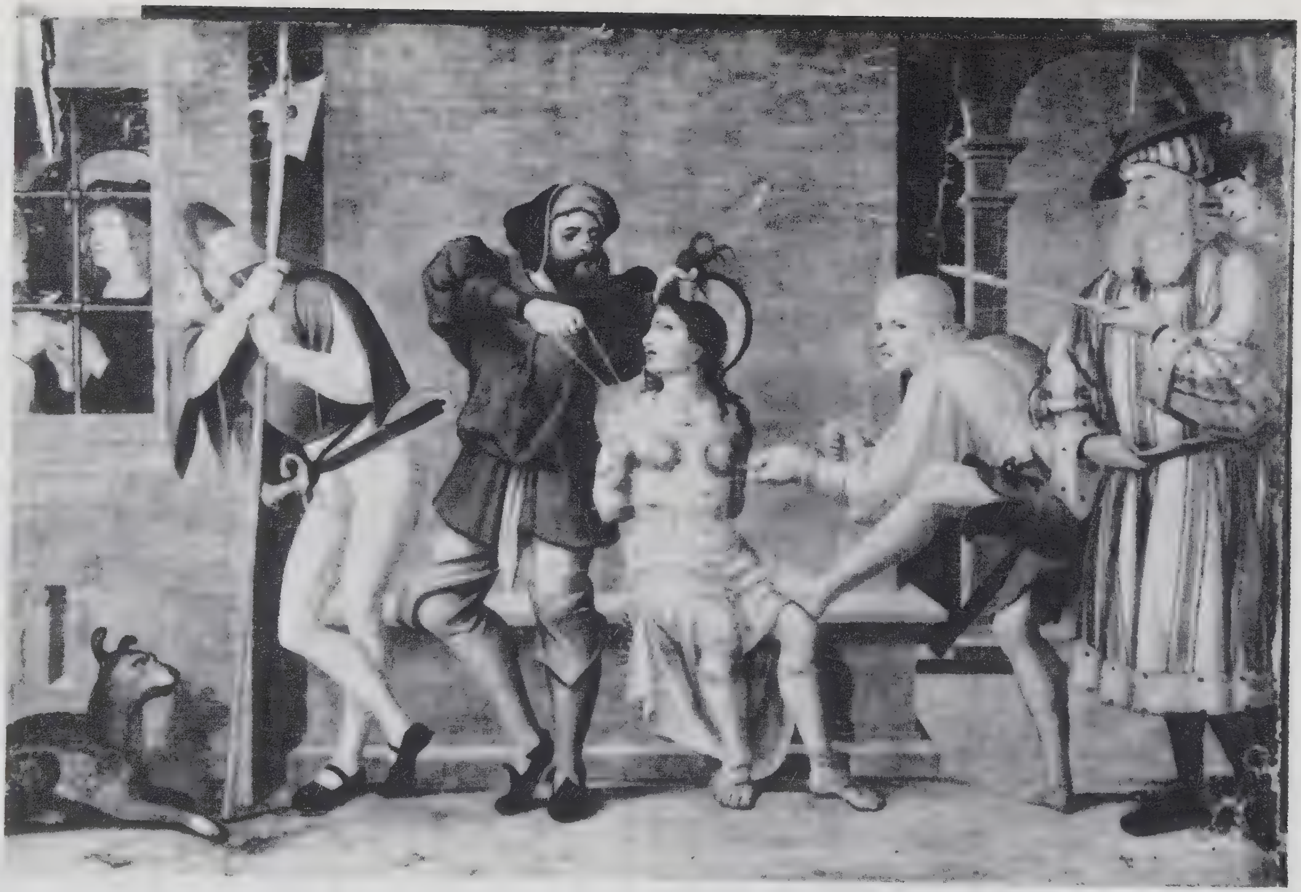

Fig. 55. THE CATALAN MONOGRAMMIST. THE AMPUTATION OF ST. VICTORIA'S BREASTS, SECTION OF RETABLE. COLLECTION OF THE MARQUÉS DE MILLÁS AT MILLÁS
(*Photo. Mas*)

sentations of pagan potentates, is conceived as a Moor, and he wears one of the brilliantly striped costumes that both artists affected. With his habitual acumen, Ainaud [25] has recognized that the young man with a staff at the extreme right in the scene of the denunciation of the idol is taken over from the similarly placed figure in Anye Bru's martyrdom of St. Cucufas, thus witnessing, as does the Monogrammist's instructor,[26] to the tremendous stir that the German's retable at San Cugat del Vallés made in the aesthetic atmosphere of Catalonia.

In 1937 [27] Sutrá mentioned a retable of St. Peter as once but no longer in the parish church dedicated to this Apostle at Lligordá, near Sagaró, in the region where the Catalan Monogrammist was so much patronized, and, although he had never seen the retable, he guessed, from what information he could gather in regard to the paintings, that they were stylistically very similar to the Sagaró series. Subsequently, as he has informed me in letters with his usual generosity, he found that the retable had passed into the possession of the Marqués de Montsolís to decorate the chapel in his house at San Hilario de Sacalm (also in the province of Gerona) but that it there perished in the revolutionary disturbances of 1936, leaving no trace except a photograph, taken long ago by the Mas Archive, of a panel of St. Michael which constituted one of the doors at the side of the altar, balanced on the other side by a no longer extant St. Paul. The deductions of Sutrá, however, in regard to the authorship are confirmed by the photograph, in which Angulo [28] also rightly detected the Catalan Monogrammist's hand. The figure of the archangel, indeed, resembles closely the representations of St. Michael in the Sagaró Last Judgment and in the Molló predella.

Recently it has been generally and justly recognized that the Monogrammist was responsible for a run-of-the-mine work in the church of S. Esteban, Bañolas, a large [29] Pietà between the standing effigies of St. Gregory the Great and St. Baudelius, beneath whom kneels a clerical donor (Fig. 56). Like the version by Bermejo in the cathedral of Barcelona, the painting constitutes by itself a whole altarpiece except for a *remate* of St. Veronica spreading forth the cloth with the face of Christ, flanked by two representations of an unknown escutcheon, and except for the possibility of a no longer attached predella. The lateral *guardapolvos* are embellished only with pure design. St. Gregory has his regular emblems of the papal tiara and, as sacred doctor, the rays illuminating a miniature ecclesiastical edifice, but there is the further specification of an inscription of his name on the ground under him; and St. Baudelius of Nîmes, who enjoyed a cult in certain regions of Catalonia and was sometimes, as in the picture, conceived to have been a bishop,[30] is also designated beneath by one of the Catalan forms of his appellation, San Baldiri. Sutrá in a letter kindly informs me that the left half of the escutcheon, with the white cross, might be that of the San Martí family, who were prominent in the annals of the diocese of Gerona. The donor, whoever he may be, the only essay at portraiture in the Master's extant production, does not rise above his customary attainments.

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[25] *Op. cit.*

[26] See above, p. 86.

[27] *Butlletí del Centre Excursionista de Catalunya,* XLVII, 176–177.

[28] *Archivo español de arte,* XVII (1944), 329, n. 1.

[29] The dimensions are 1.195 metres in width by 1.065 in height.

From the Casa Misión at Bañolas attached to the church of S. Esteban, there have entered the Diocesan Museum, Gerona, four pictures that look as if they might come from a predella which possibly belonged to the retable of the Pietà, since they are small enough to have been aligned within its breadth. Depicted in half length, they consist of vertical panels of Sts. Eutropius[31] and Ferreolus[32] and of horizontal representations of the Via Dolorosa and St. Barbara in a landscape. A Christ (of the Mass of St. Gregory) with which the Valls Collection has provided the Museum might originally have been comprised in the set as a centre, in case it could be found to have had the same ultimate provenience. If a single predella included all these paintings by the Monogrammist, it would have contained, as sometimes happens, sections directed both upwards and sideways. The hypothesis of the predella's connection with the retable of the Pietà is seriously damaged by the existence, in the Museum, of a large[33] panel stated to derive also from the Casa Misión, Bañolas, but surely not a part of a predella and perhaps once a section of a *guardapolvo*, whereas the retable already possesses its own pieces of this sort. The sub-

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[30] A. V. Domenec, *Historia general de los santos y varones ilustres en santidad del principado de Cataluña*, Gerona, 1630, p. 109.

[31] Accompanied by the inscription of his name in the Catalan form, *Itrop*. Of the several canonized personages thus called, he is probably the Spanish monk of the sixth century who eventually became bishop of Valencia and by whom two epistles are preserved.

[32] In Catalan, Ferreol, a martyred Roman tribune honored in Catalonia: see A. V. Domenec, *op. cit.*, 178.

[33] The height is 1.35 metres.

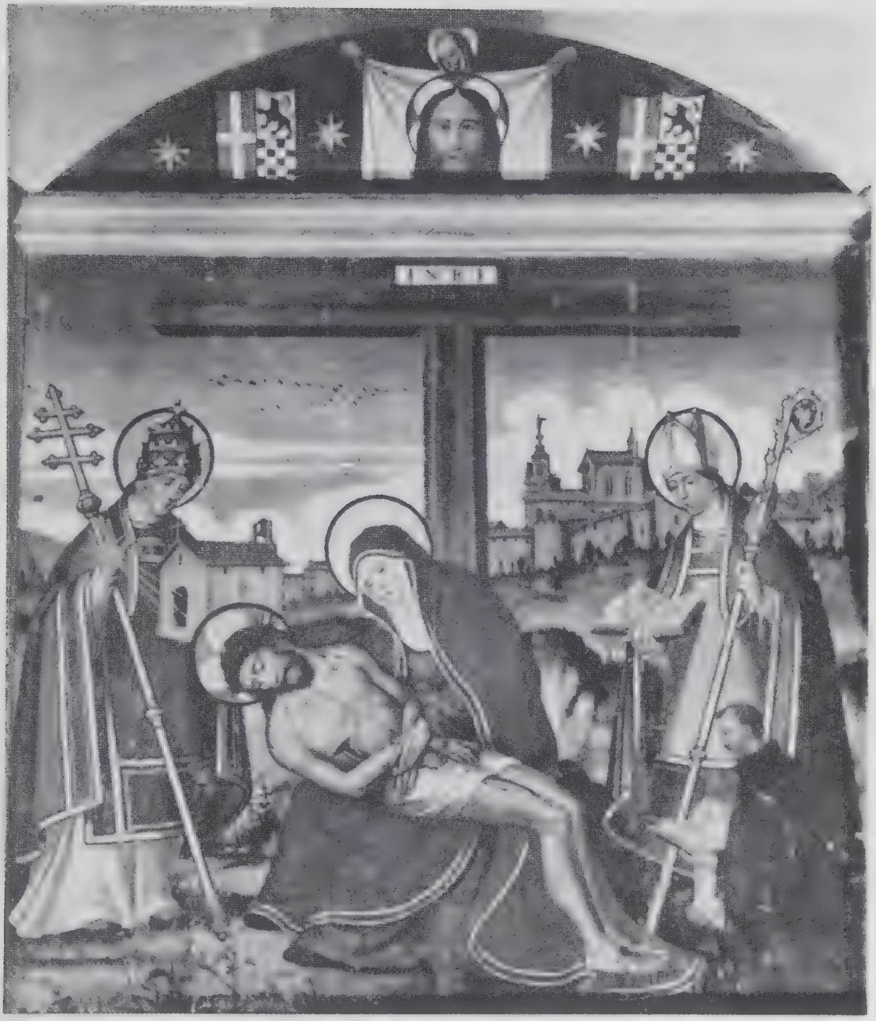

Fig. 56. THE CATALAN MONOGRAMMIST. RETABLE OF THE PIETÀ.
S. ESTEBAN, BAÑOLAS
(*Photo. Mas*)

ject is a saintly nun whom the absence of a distinctive emblem prevents me from recognizing (Fig. 57). The landscape behind St. Barbara, like that of the Magdalene's levitation in the Monogrammist's retable dedicated to her in the Diocesan Museum, Gerona, displays a palm tree, reminding us of the St. Felix Master's arboreal predilection.[34]

Among the many debts that I owe to Don Juan Sutrá's unflagging courtesy is the knowledge of the existence, until the civil outbreak in 1936, of a series of panels of the early sixteenth century built into a retable of 1734 [35] in the sanctuary of Nuestra Señora de les Aguges close to the village of Sadernes, northeast of Olot; and the photograph of the whole altarpiece that he has likewise sent me (Fig. 58), despite the fact that he made no detailed reproductions of the separate compartments, is sufficient to show that he was right in his statement to me that the panels "had notable points of contact with the works" of the painter whom I call the Catalan Monogrammist. Remembering that Sadernes is near Montagut and the other places in this region where the Monogrammist was extensively employed, I am willing to go beyond Sutrá's scholarly caution and to assign the series to our Master with a high degree of probability. The original retable, like the later structure that subsequently enclosed the panels, must have been dedicated to Our Lady, the patroness of the church. The lateral spaces of this structure contained four compartments from the altarpiece of the presumptive Monogrammist depicting the Annunciation, Nativity, Epiphany, and Resurrection; the pinnacle of the Crucifixion was inserted beneath the central statue of the Madonna; and three sections of the predella changed places with the pinnacle and were transferred to its pristine location at the top of the retable, displaying half-lengths of Christ (of the Mass of St. Gregory), the mourning Virgin, and a male martyr. The Sts. Peter and Paul, painted on the doors at the altar's sides, were creations probably of the time when the new setting was made.

The only form that the photograph reveals with anything approaching clarity is the Virgin of the original predella, who, so far as she can be made out, agrees with the Monogrammist's representations of the sorrowing Mother, but the Christ in this part of the retable, in general appearance and in background, is like the Saviour of

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[34] See above, p. 107.

[35] The date inscribed on the lower gradine above the altar.

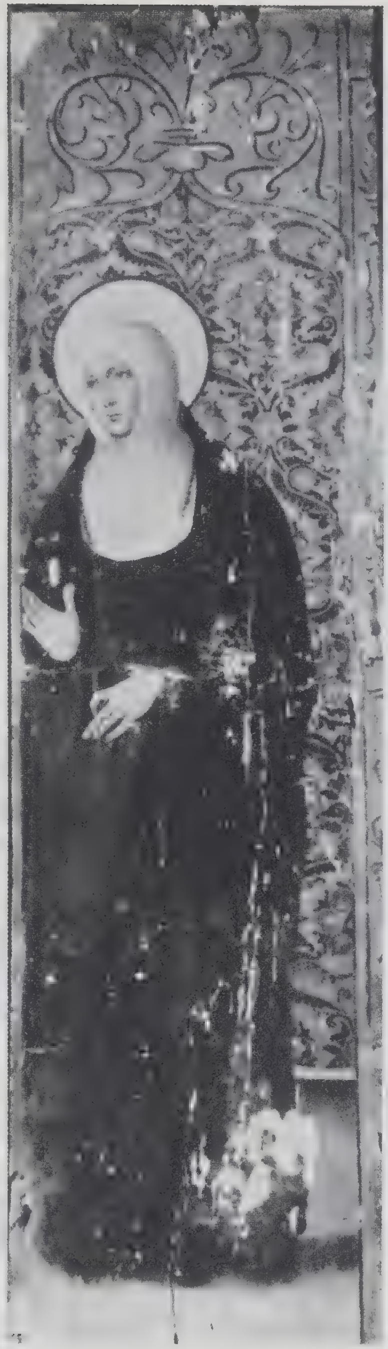

FIG. 57. THE CATALAN MONOGRAMMIST. SAINTED NUN. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, GERONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

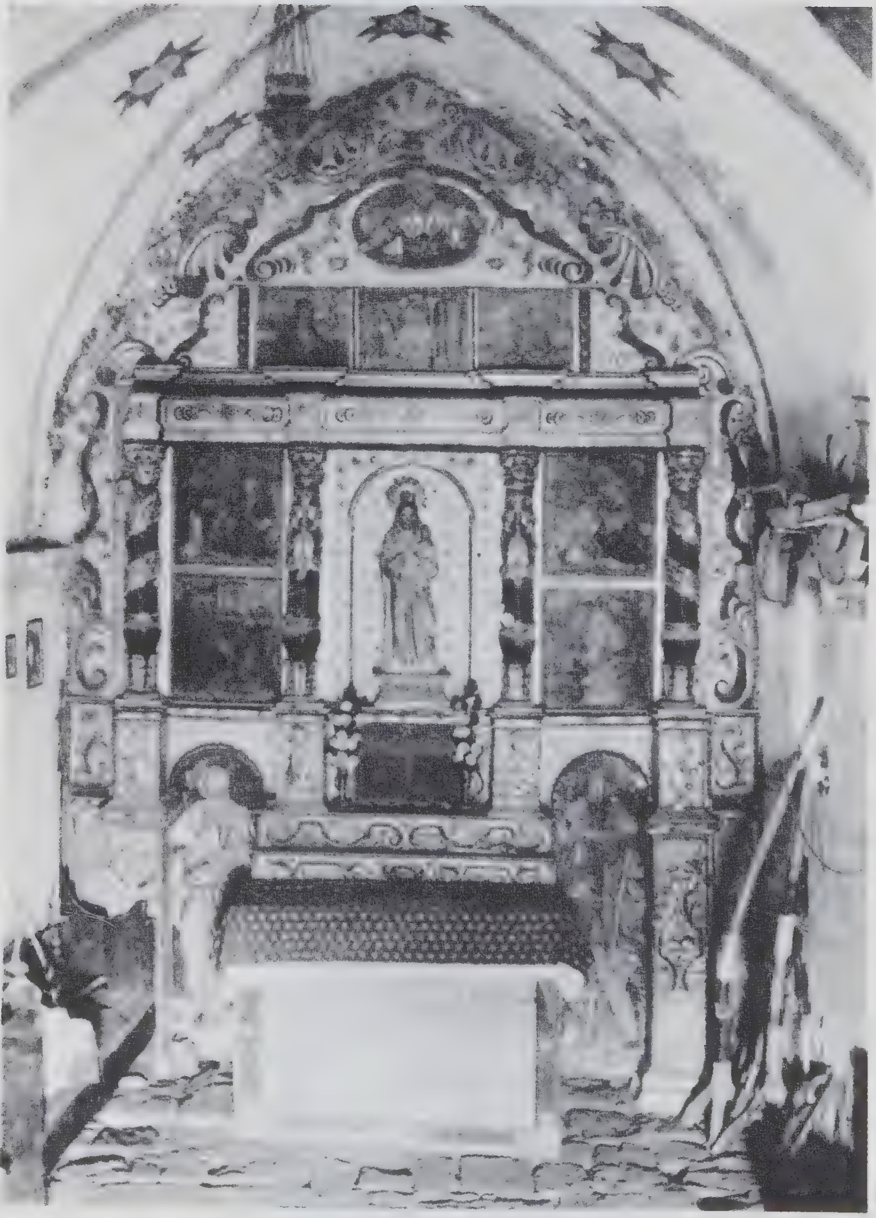

Fig. 58. THE CATALAN MONOGRAMMIST (?). RETABLE OF THE VIRGIN. NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LES AGUGES, NEAR SADERNES
(*Photo. Sutrá*)

the Passion in the panel from the Valls Collection in the Diocesan Museum, Gerona. For further evidence we have to rely merely upon the similarity of the compositions to his treatments of the same themes. The Annunciation has counterparts in the retables of Nuestra Señora del Mont and especially Sagaró, exhibiting even the same disposition of the angel's drapery and banderole as in the latter instance; the Nativity in the assemblage of Nuestra Señora del Mont was nearly duplicated at Sadernes, not only in the arrangement of the actors but also in the lines of the edifice in the setting; for the composition of the Epiphany, we look again to Sagaró; and the constituents of the Crucifixion can be found in the renderings of Montagut and Llorona. It should be observed, furthermore, that the Monogrammist's habitual, simple design for the haloes seems to be visible in the photograph. The discussion of the retable of Nuestra Señora de les Aguges, which has disappeared and is known to us only in a small reproduction, may strike the reader as a useless academic exercise; but, if it was indeed painted by the Catalan Monogrammist, it illustrated his rather commercial tendency to the less demanding repetition of his achievements, and there is also the chance that it was not completely destroyed and that pieces of it may sometime come to light.

While my book is just beginning to go through the Press, Sutrá has brought to a climax his generosity in sharing with me his knowledge of the Monogrammist by informing me of his discovery of four more of the artist's panels and by sending me a copy of the manuscript of the article that he will publish in volume XI of the *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses* recording his find and including a comprehensive and admirable survey of all of the painter's works and achievements. The four panels, reported to come from the former Augustinian monastery, now the parish church, at San Pedro Cercada, near the town of Santa Coloma de Farnés (south of Gerona), were acquired in 1924 by Don José María Pérez-Xifra of Gerona and built into the altar of the chapel of his mansion, now occupied by his widow. The subjects are the Resurrection, Ascension, Assumption (Fig. 59), and Pentecost, of which the first three are merely variants of the Monogrammist's other versions of the themes and the fourth a duller treatment than the rendering in the Sagaró retable. Their chief interest is perhaps that they afford further examples of his curious addiction to Hebrew inscriptions, on a stele in

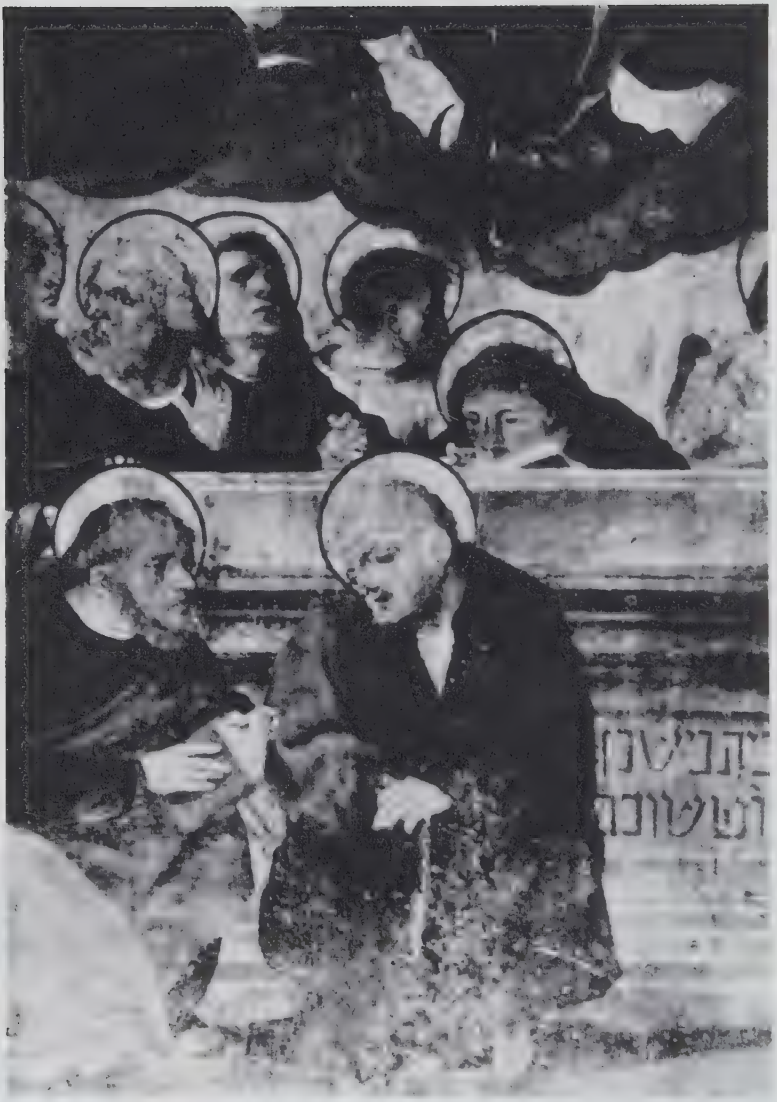

Fig. 59. THE CATALAN MONOGRAMMIST. DETAIL OF ASSUMPTION, SECTION OF RETABLE. PÉREZ-XIFRA COLLECTION, GERONA
(*Courtesy of Don Juan Sutrá*)

the Resurrection and on the Virgin's sarcophagus in the Assumption, which we laymen in Semitic studies must give up, since once again they perplex my kind mentor, so outstanding a specialist in the field as Professor Wolfson.[36]

To Sutrá's and Angulo's lists of the Monogrammist's works, I have little to contribute. A panel in the Collection of Don Rafael Masó at Gerona was very obviously executed by our artist (Fig. 60),[37] and, if, as can hardly be doubted, it depicts the marriage of Sts. Cecilia and Valerian, it might conceivably have been a further part of the retable at Molló, for the subject was not included in the Master's compartments until 1936 in place and there may have been originally further sections by him at the extreme right and left of the altarpiece where before the fire of 1936 we could see accretions or repaintings of the eighteenth century.[38] One of the Monogrammist's least inspired compositions, it adds nothing to our understanding of him or to our appreciation of his potentialities.

Nor do we learn anything more from a fragment in the Carreras Candi Collection at Barcelona (Fig. 61), which, though better executed, preserves only a bit of one of his compositions, the figure of a seated, elderly man who repeats a frequent type in the artist's production and displays sleeves striped in the way that he liked to depict in costumes.

In 1930 I saw in the house of the restorer, Monsieur Louis Rollin, at Barcelona an Assumption which was reported to come from the province of Gerona[39] and seemed to me, in the short time that I could devote to its examination, a relic from one of the Monogrammist's altarpieces. The upper part of the picture was a ruin, but the well preserved Apostles in the lower section struck me as plainly impregnated with his fashions.

2. Other Works of the St. Felix Master's Circle

The great impression made in the province of Gerona by the activity of this artist is witnessed even in the later sixteenth century by the

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[36] See above, p. 141, n. 20.

[37] Subsequently to my writing of these lines Sutrá, in a letter to me, does not quite dare to accept the picture as a creation of the Monogrammist.

[38] See above, p. 136. Señora Masó told Sutrá that her husband acquired the picture from a country house near La Bisbal (east of Gerona), but this might have been merely a stop on its way from Molló.

[39] It cannot be the Assumption of the series in the Pérez-Xifa collection at Gerona which had already been acquired by 1924: see above, p. 153.

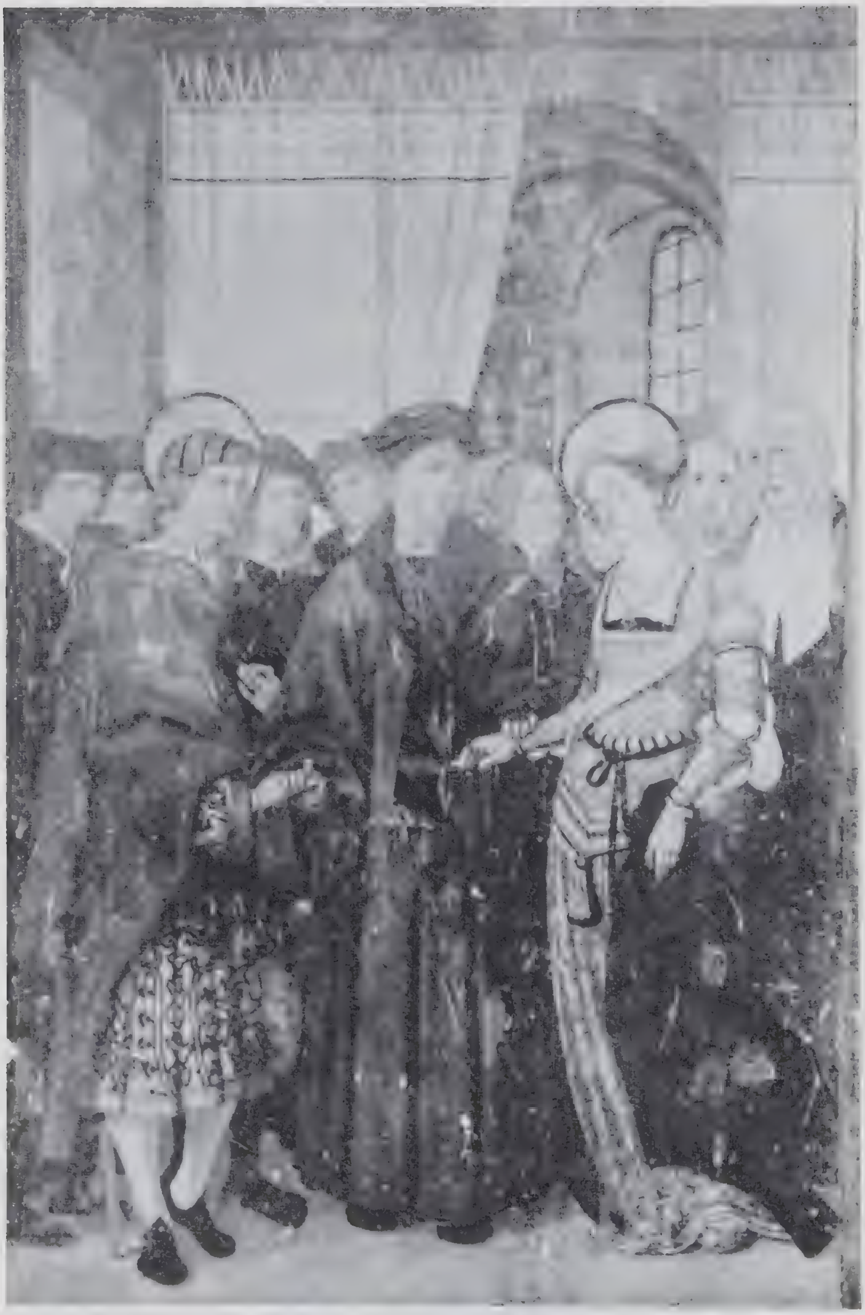

Fig. 60. THE CATALAN MONOGRAMMIST. MARRIAGE OF ST. CECILIA. MASÓ COLLECTION, GERONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

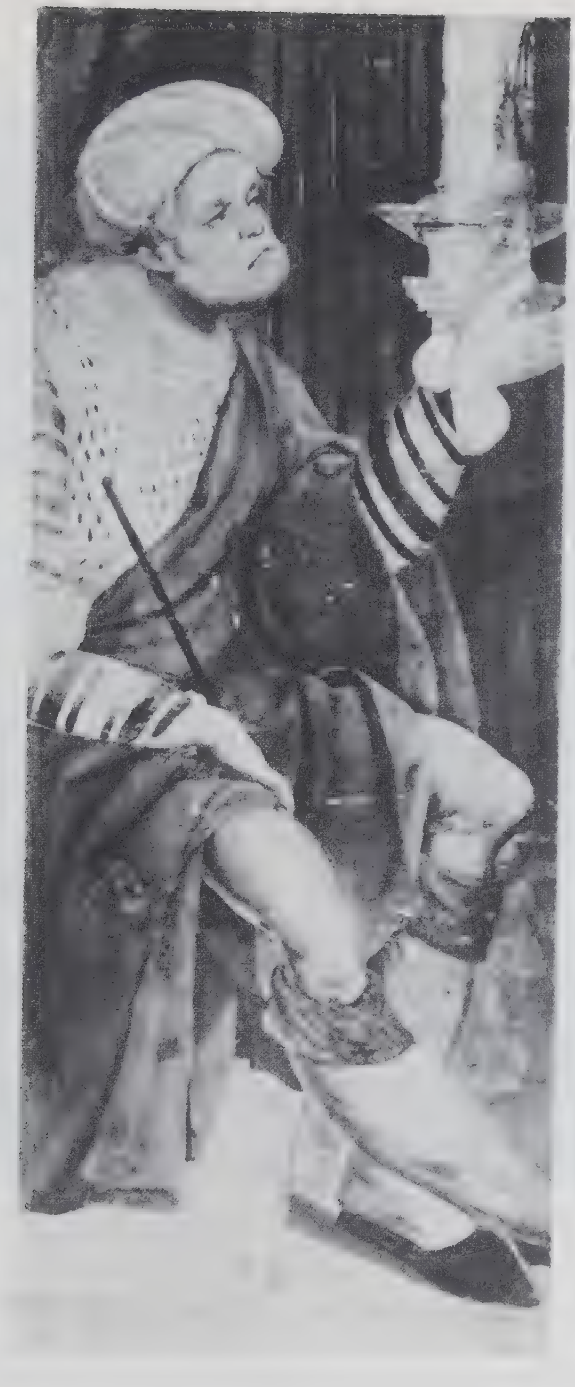

FIG. 61. THE CATALAN MONOGRAMMIST.
FRAGMENT. CARRERAS CANDI
COLLECTION, BARCELONA

retable over the high altar of the church of the sanctuary of Nuestra Señora dels Arcs, near Santa Pau, a work which still shows a dependence upon him and which, having fragmentarily survived the civil war, will concern us in a subsequent volume; but we now have the real pleasure of contemplating and studying a retable of St. Helen, dated 1521, in a chapel of the cathedral of Gerona, endowed by a canon of the period, Narciso Simón,[40] because it reveals to us a painter who was strongly influenced by the St. Felix Master but who, though his contemporary, advanced farther into the ways of the High Renaissance, nay, in certain respects, anticipated the aesthetics of the seventeenth century. Since, to say the least, he was as highly endowed as the St. Felix Master, it is a pity that we have no data justifying even guesses as to what his name was, nor, having oddly discovered no other work by his hand despite his obvious talents, will I coin for him a pseudonym.

The altarpiece, one of the most notable monuments of the Catalan Renaissance, displays elaborate frames extravagantly Plateresque in their taste. Of the paintings, the principal compartment is occupied by an effigy of St. Helen standing against a landscape, and above is the usual Crucifixion. The six lateral compartments are consigned to events in her life and to the subsequent vicissitudes of the Holy Cross. First, she extorts from the Jew Judas the secret of the Cross's hiding-place; witnesses its excavation; kneels in adoring faith at the miracle of resurrection proving its distinction from the gibbets of the thieves; and amidst the ministrations of the clergy, she expires on her bed, while a pair of *putti* receive her soul in the ancient Catalan aspect of an elongated, glistering emanation of ectoplasm. The other two divisions at the sides depict the commonly represented, later episodes in the story of the Cross, Heraclius foiled by an angel (again in the form of one of the *putti* so beloved of the Renaissance) in his attempt to carry it through the gate of Jerusalem in pomp, and the Emperor finally compelled to assume the garb of humility to achieve entrance (Fig. 62).[41] In the predella, about a half-length of the Man of Sorrows, an iconographic unity has been sought in four compartments of saints in the wilds, Francis (receiving the stigmata), John Baptist (?), Jerome, and the local canonized Dominican of

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[40] See the entries from the notarial archives of Gerona summarized by Ainaud, n. 29, in his unpublished article to which I have so often referred.

[41] For the majority of these scenes, see my vol. VIII, p. 92.

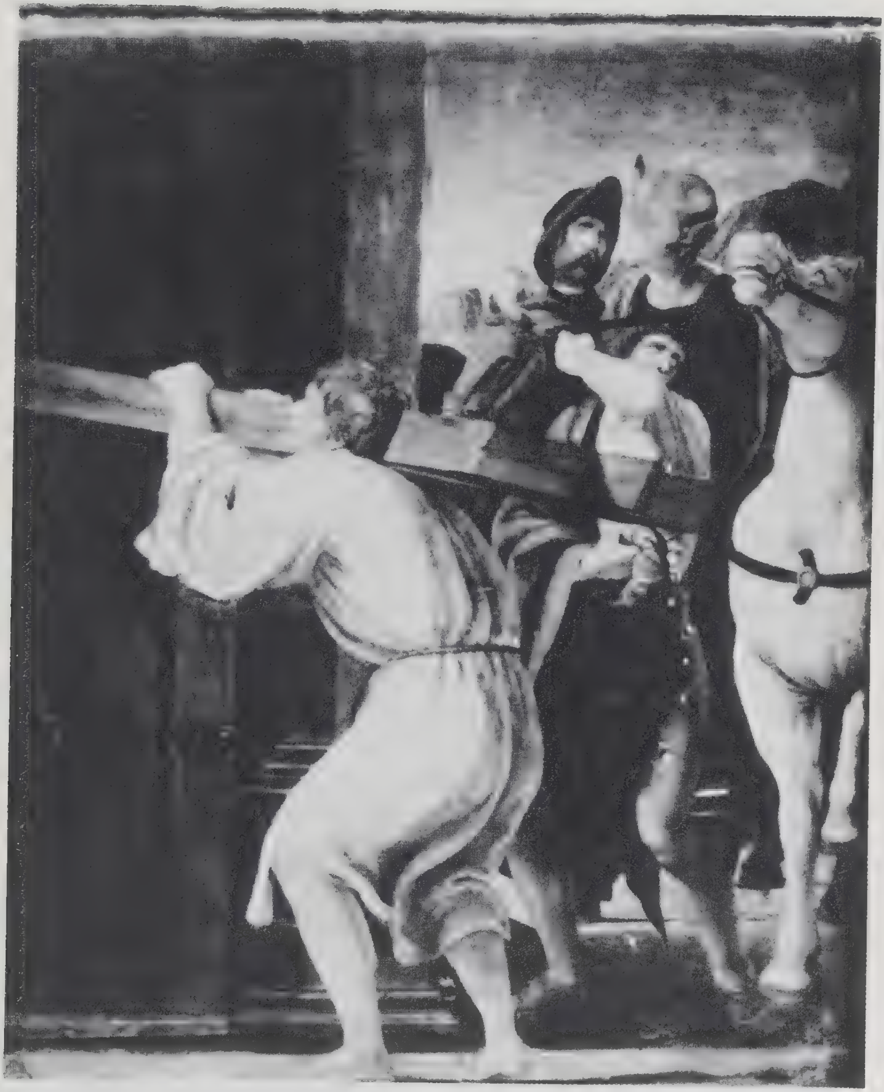

Fig. 62. SCHOOL OF THE ST. FELIX MASTER. HERACLIUS CARRYING THE CROSS IN HUMILITY, SECTION OF RETABLE. CATHEDRAL, GERONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

Gerona, the learned ascetic of the first half of the fourteenth century, Dalmacio Moner, who spent a part of his life as a hermit and whose emblem, as here, is the angel with whom he often conversed.[42] The lunette beneath the surmounting arch at the top of the retable shows us the Virgin of Mercy protecting under her outspread mantle a group of votaries, perhaps the donor and his family. The paintings extend at the sides, beyond the narrative themes, to figures of St. Simon and St. Narcissus ensconced in very ornate passages of simulated architecture and sculpture. The niches in which the two sacred personages are conceived as standing find supports in painted atlantes suggested by Italian arabesques, which constitute the source also of the *motifs* that fill the rest of the spaces. The choice of Narcissus for honor would be explicable enough since he was a patron of Gerona,[43] but the incongruous juxtaposition with Simon, who is rarely represented separately from the other Apostles, is, of course, to be elucidated by the combination of both saints in the donor's full appellation. Of the simulated bases of all this decorative scheme, the one beneath St. Narcissus is inscribed with the year 1521 and the other with even the month of May (in Catalan), probably the dates of the retable's completion or consecration, although no words grant us the at least as significant information about the name of the painter.

The stylistic connection with the St. Felix Master is obvious, and, since the traits that he shares with the author of the retable of St. Helen are an essential part of the St. Felix Master's but not of the other's modes, the influence must have flowed from the St. Felix Master to the artist who now concerns us. The types of the two painters are sometimes fairly analogous, as particularly in the case of haggard old men. The upper right corner of the scene in which Heraclius in humble guise bears the Cross into Jerusalem is filled with heads and technical modes so like those of the St. Felix Master, as, for instance, in the right background of the episode of the dragging of St. Felix by mules, that we could almost believe this Master to have collaborated in a few spots — a supposition, however, for which there is no real justification, inasmuch as artists often so exactly reproduce each other's performances. Fundamentally the two men are different in temper and in execution. The St. Helen painter is more sedate, less given to manneristic distortions, gestures, or violence of expression, carrying farther the phase of the St. Felix Master embodied in the retable of Nuestra Señora de Olivas. Indulging less in *sfumatezza,* he outlines his forms more firmly; he is not so much interested in extended landscapes or in peopling them; and in accord with his comparative sobriety, the architectural backgrounds of the Renaissance in his narratives, despite the capricious arabesques in the outermost sections containing the figures of Sts. Narcissus and Simon, are less rich and less complicated in perspective. Correspondingly he abandons the decorative brilliancy of costume that had lived on in this Master's productions; and the actual nature of his human types has passed into greater agreement with the classic standards of the High Renaissance.

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[42] Guérin, *Les petits Bollandistes,* under the saint's day, September 24, and A. V. Domenec, *Historia general de los santos y varones ilustres en santidad del principado de Cataluña,* Gerona, 1630, p. 285. He was not formally canonized until 1721, and I owe his identification, as so much else, to the tireless efforts of Don Juan Sutrá in my behalf and to the hagiological proficiency of the canon-archivist of the cathedral of Gerona, Dr. Jaime Marqués Casanovas.

[43] See above, p. 82.

Whereas the compositions themselves in the St. Felix Master's works are not particularly arresting, the author of St. Helen's retable creates more than once original and naturalistic treatments of his themes that foretell the similar innovations of Caravaggio and his circle. While the two already excavated crosses are cast aside into a grove of trees, a pair of sturdy peasant youths, on their knees and bent double, are tugging in the foreground to lift the True Cross from its pit, making the focal point of the picture and set at an extraordinary angle, the one at the front projecting his buttocks toward us. No less new and striking is the composition for the miracle of resurrection wrought by the Cross. The elevated emblem of our salvation and the Herculean fellow who, again unusually turning his back upon us, upholds it constitute majestically the powerful centre of the panel, both purposely exaggerated to an inordinate size, and the man who has been raised from the dead is not represented, as commonly, in the guise of a youngling but in old age, throwing up his arms in a successfully rendered posture of fused amazement and adoration like another Lazarus.

Not only the compositions but separate figures, as occasionally in the works of even the ordinarily more conservative member of the same subdivision of the Catalan school, the Monogrammist, are naturalistically a century ahead of their time. With a Caravaggesque proclivity for making persons of the people the subjects of art, the St. Helen painter seems to have been especially fond of the type of untutored young peasant that he used for the diggers in search of the Cross. Quite in Caravaggio's mood, he transformed into this class of humanity Judas, undergoing St. Helen's interrogation, and even the Emperor Heraclius bearing in self-abasement the Cross's weight. His technical proficiency, so superior to the Catalan average of the period, enabled him, in the difficult task of representing such figures, to convince us completely. Another astounding piece of naturalism is embodied in the man (a physician ?) who, holding a candle, leans over the moribund St. Helen as if to capture the moment of her last breath. Indeed, our master is so astoundingly prophetic of the artistic future that there is much in the actual delineation of the participants in this picturing of the saint's death which might almost deceive us into thinking that we were looking at a work of the early nineteenth century. So, likewise, the man resuscitated by the virtue of the Cross surprisingly raises in our minds recollections of forms by Jacques Louis David.

Uninstructed in regard to the painter's training, except for his participation in the general manner of the St. Felix Master and except for the surmise that he had been in Italy, we can reasonably postulate that he owed his naturalism to his Spanish blood or environment and that his precocity in this quality as in other things was a manifestation, also, of his own, personal, keen initiative.

CHAPTER VI

NICOLÁS DE CREDENSA

A member of the numerous foreign colony of artists at Barcelona in the Renaissance, Nicolás de Credensa is often described in the records as having immigrated from Naples, and he enjoyed in Catalonia a vogue for which it is hard for us to account, at least from the very little that we know of his attainments in his profession. Our acquaintance with him stretches over the long period from February 10, 1498, when, as we shall see, he was remunerated for painting two retables in the church of Santos Justo y Pastor at Barcelona, to September 18, 1554, when he acknowledged payment for ornamenting in gold and black seven pieces of leather to embellish the Royal Treasury in the city;[1] but it will appear below that he very possibly survived until 1558. Since in the document relating to the retables in Santos Justo y Pastor he is designated a Neapolitan "now dwelling in Barcelona" and only in later notices is distinguished by the title of a citizen of the town, he had probably arrived shortly before 1498, and he must have been young at the time of his change of residence if we remember that he was still active in 1554 and that no record of him at Naples has been uncovered. If we leave out of account for the moment the productions that he did in collaboration with others, the date of his one documented work from which any part is surely preserved, a retable for the high altar of the parish church at Sitges, is 1499.[2] By 1509 he had already begun to exercise for the rest of his life the honorable office of painter to the city of Barcelona,[3] and we may surmise that he died just before November

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[1] See J. M. Madurell in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, I, 3 (1943), 22.

[2] José Carbonell (in *L'Amic de les arts*, Sitges, April 30 and May 31, 1927) publishes the contract without having discovered its exact date, but Madurell (*Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, I, 3 (1943), 24, n. 21) has found a receipt of Credensa for payment on the retable in 1499. The subjects are not named in the receipt, which, however, must refer to the retable that now concerns us, since this document has to do with *the* retable of the church and since the themes of the preserved compartment are Sts. Thecla and Batholomew, the patrons of the parish.

[3] Sanpere, *Los cuatrocentistas*, II, 47 and 212.

22, 1558, when this post was assumed by Antonio Sabater.[4] We shall often have occasion to mention Credensa as an evaluator and expertiser of others' works as well as a partner of Pedro Nunyes, Enrique Fernandes, and Jaime Forner, and it may be guessed that he was chiefly a general manager of artistic undertakings and that his actual handicraft may have been largely confined to such minor arts as polychromy, designing of stained glass, leatherwork, and other similar decorative tasks. The archives indeed show that he received commissions for examples of the major art of painting, i.e., for many retables, but the probability is that he was usually no more than the superintendent of these orders and consigned the execution, at least in greater part, to others.[5] In several publications [6] Madurell has inserted a long list of Credensa's varied and uninterrupted employments in Catalonia, from which it is not germane to our investigation to specify any of the many items except that he was four times from 1538 to 1553 master of the guild of bridle-makers in which at Barcelona the painters were still enrolled. I cannot find, however, included by Madurell the notice that Credensa's shop assumed in 1510 the task of gilding Joan de Burgunya's retable for Santas Creus.[7]

The painter Nicolás de Credensa who is recorded as active in Catalonia from 1575 to 1589 and who made his will in 1591 was a son of an Onofre Aragonés and seems therefore to have been a relative of the painter Juan Aragonés who married Beatriz, the daughter of the elder Nicolás de Credensa.[8] It may be that he, with pretensions also as a poet,[9] took the name of his distant connection by marriage, Nicolás de Credensa I, in order to enhance his reputation and attract patronage.

We derive little aesthetic or even purely archaeological satisfaction from the one extant painting soundly authenticated as by Nicolás de Credensa the elder working alone, a large [10] panel of the paired Sts. Thecla and Bartholomew now in the church of pilgrimage, Sta. María del Vinyet, near Sitges (Fig. 63), the central compartment of the otherwise lost retable that he is documented [11] to have done in 1499 for the high altar of the parish church at Sitges itself, which is dedicated to these two members of the heavenly host. Belonging to the very beginning of his career in Catalonia, it exhibits him at least at this moment in his development as merely having adopted on his arrival from Naples the modes of Huguet and the Vergós family and as not even a highly gifted continuer of their tradition. In particular, he appears to be indebted to Huguet for the type of St. Thecla. The ringed, raised haloes are like many of those used by his Catalan predecessors, and the gold background is still embossed with a foliate pattern not very different from the ones by Huguet which are drawn free-hand and not stereotyped. It is hard to follow Ezio Levi [12] in discerning a connection with the painting of Sicily in the later Quattrocento or in supposing a relationship of the name Credensa with that of the mist-enveloped Sicilian painter, Antonello Crescenzio. Nicolás, so far as we know him, has become thoroughly Catalan, and fails to exhibit traces of his origins in Naples or indeed of Italian art in general. He reveals no consciousness of the Renaissance, and, if he eventually indeed evolved a later manner, the panel fails to provide stylistic data enabling us to recognize his hand confidently in any anonymous work or in collaboration with others in preserved monuments.

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[4] See J. Puiggarí in *Memorias de la Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona,* III (1880), 299.

[5] See also below, pp. 175 and 215.

[6] *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona,* I, 3 (1943), 19 ff., II, 2 (1944), 71–72, IV, 1–2 (1946), 131, and V, 3–4 (1947), 222, 231, 243, 244, and 251.

[7] See above, p. 80, and *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona,* I, 1 (1941), 44.

[8] See J. Mas in *Boletín de la Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona,* VI (1911–1912), 315 and 320, and Madurell in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona,* I, 3 (1943), 27.

[9] See Ezio Levi in *Atti della Reale Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti,* Naples (Nuova serie), XII (1931–1932), 198.

No further or significant understanding of Credensa is afforded by two more fragments which, if really painted by him, would be even earlier works, panels in the Diocesan Museum, Barcelona, thought to represent a bishop of the city in the fourth century, St. Pacianus, and one of his successors in the see, St. Severus [13] (Fig. 64). The grounds for ascribing them to him are that, having been found in the archives of the church of Santos Justo y Pastor at Barcelona, they are reasonably considered to derive from a retable of Sts. Pacianus, Severus, and Lawrence which in the sixteenth century is known to have existed in

[10] The dimensions are 2.02 metres high by 1.72 wide.

[11] See above, p. 163.

[12] *Op. cit.*, 191.

[13] Vol. V, p. 84. The subsequently added inscriptions at the tops of the panels embody the mere conjecture in regard to their identity.

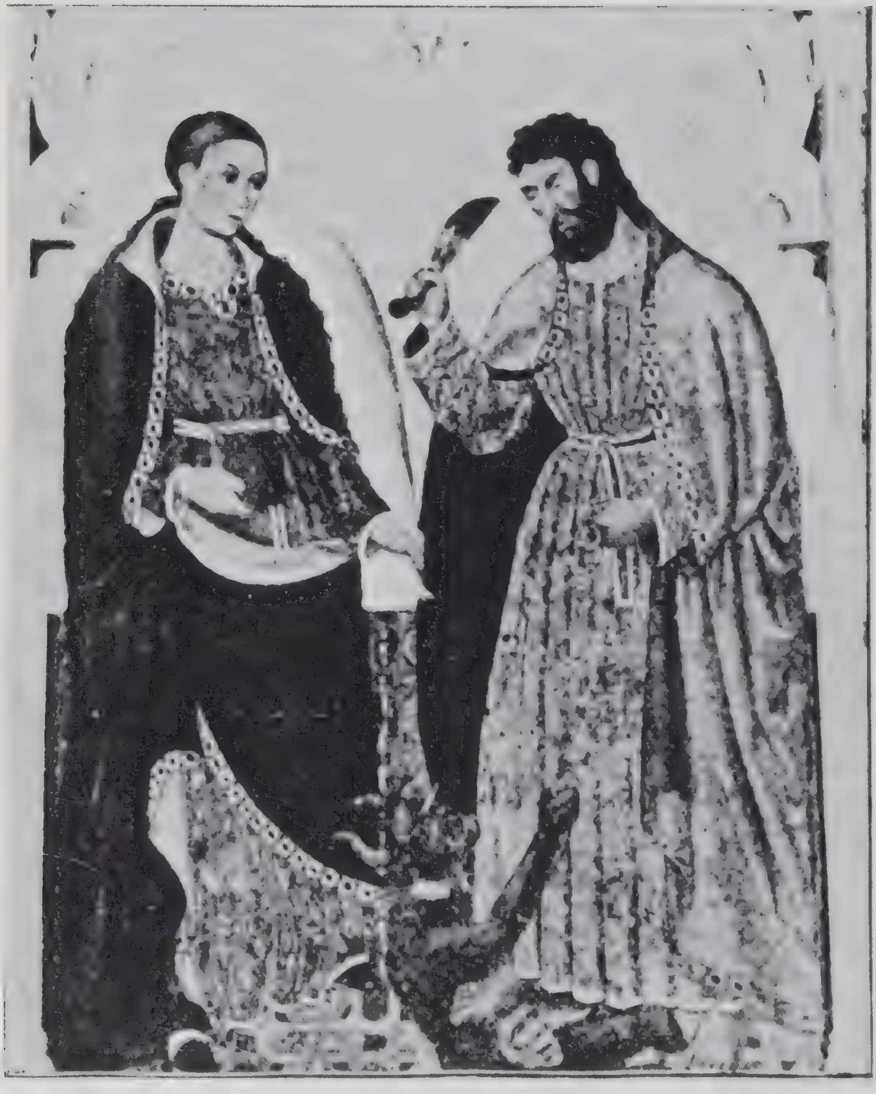

Fig. 63. NICOLÁS DE CREDENSA. STS. THECLA AND BARTHOLOMEW. CHURCH OF STA. MARÍA DEL VINYET, SITGES

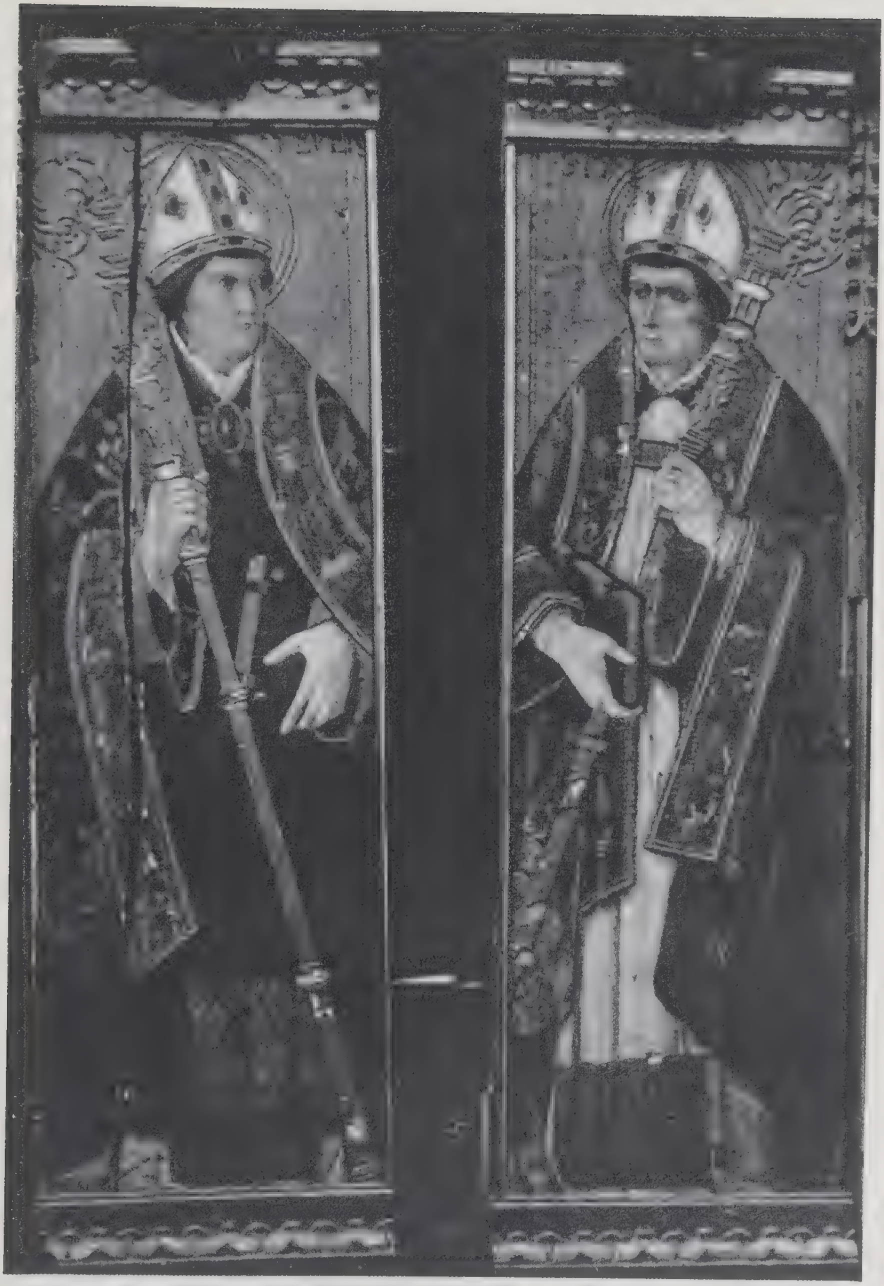

FIG. 64. NICOLÁS DE CREDENSA (?). STS. SEVERUS AND PACIANUS.
DIOCESAN MUSEUM, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre in the church [14] and that on February 10, 1498, Credensa acknowledged payment for a retable of unspecified subjects that he had done in this chapel, as well as for another of Sts. Stephen and Olive in the chapel dedicated to them in the edifice.[15] The hitches, however slight, in the way of attributing the panels categorically to Credensa are that we are not *absolutely* certain that they come from his retable, which just conceivably might have been a second retable in the chapel not honoring Pacianus, Severus, and Lawrence, and that the sum which he received, eighteen Barcelona pounds, was so little for executing a retable that he could be supposed only to have done the polychromy of a sculptured altarpiece. Sometimes at the period painters were allowed no more than about thirty pounds for retables, as in the case of Credensa's other retable of Sts. Stephen and Olive in the church of Santos Justo y Pastor; and the explanation of the eighteen pounds may be that his retable in the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre was a small affair, perhaps consisting only of the effigies of the three saints, or that the amount was merely an installment on the whole price. Such possibilities may account also for the still pettier sum of sixteen pounds that as late as 1551 he obtained for a retable of St. Sebastian in the church of Sta. María del Mar at Barcelona.[16] The actual style and details of the two panels in the Diocesan Museum, which hamper judgment by repaint, would neither contradict nor confirm an attribution to the hand that did the Sts. Thecla and Bartholomew at Sitges; but, still abiding by the same general and essentially late mediaeval manner as in these two figures, they agree with the date of Credensa's activity in Santos Justo y Pastor.

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[14] See Durán y Sanpere in *Vida cristiana*, XVI (1928–1929), 388; and above, p. 163.

[15] See Madurell in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, I, 3 (1943), 23, and V, 3–4 (1947), 244.

[16] Madurell, *Anales y Boletín le los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, I, 3 (1943), 25. The still primitive manner of the panels of Sts. Pacianus and Severus proves that Joaquim Guiu (*Vida cristiana*, XIX, 1931–1932, p. 199) is entirely wrong in believing that they are a part of the work done by the painter Ramón Puig on the sculptured high altar of the church as late as 1571–1572; and I cannot even be sure that the language of the documents justifies the opinion of the authors of the volumes on *La Ciudad de Barcelona* in the *Catálogo monumental de España*, (pp. 157–158) that this retable comprised paintings by Ramón Puig or anything else than his polychromy of the carvings.

CHAPTER VII

PEDRO NUNYES AND ENRIQUE FERNANDES

1.

The admirable thoroughness of J. M. Madurell's researches [1] among the Catalan archives enables us for the first time to attempt a sound and intelligent study of these two partners who were outstanding but foreign-born exponents of painting in Catalonia during the early Renaissance. Be it said, however, at the beginning that fate has not been kind enough to preserve for us any of the works done separately by Enrique Fernandes except a fresco insufficient for distinguishing in him an individual manner; but on account of various considerations that I shall subsequently adduce, especially because in works in which no real grounds exist for believing that Fernandes collaborated there emerges precisely the same style as in commissions which Nunyes and he carried out in common, with much confidence we may attach for all practical purposes the name of Nunyes alone to the paintings in which Fernandes was joined with him, and we may predicate that Nunyes was not only a greater and more creative artist but also the dominant personality in the partnership. Indeed the likelihood is that Fernandes, even when laboring on tasks of his own, constituted little more than a reflection of his companion's modes.

2. Biographies of the Two Masters

Both men were natives of Portugal, being several times so denominated in the records, and they would thus be successors of the Portuguese artistic colony in Catalonia during the fifteenth century,[2] following an established tradition of emigration of members of their profession from the extreme west to the extreme east of the peninsula. The first appearance of Nunyes in history is in 1513 when he drew a design for a window of the cathedral at Barcelona,[3] and Madurell [4] justly conjectures that his arrival in the city must have been subsequent to January 2, 1508, since his name is not found in the list of the painters of Barcelona all of whom on that date were assessed for contributions to defray the expenses of a retable in the church of Nuestra Señora de la Merced dedicated to their patron, St. Luke. The interested reader will find in Madurell's articles a detailed account and documentation of the long and full activity of Nunyes as author of retables, as expertiser of others' productions, and as officer in the guild of painters; but we need to recapitulate only, first, the commissions that either have to do with extant or until recently extant works or possess some significance apposite to our purposes and, second, the events in his life germane to the definition of his artistic character.

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[1] Articles in the *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, from I, 3 (1943) to II, 3 (1944), and in the Portuguese periodical, *Museu*, VI (1950), 131–150.

[2] See my vol. V, pp. 99–100.

[3] Madurell's first article, *Anales y Boletín*, etc., I, 3 (1943), 15.

[4] *Ibid.*, 37–38.

He worked during almost all his career in partnership with others according to what was evidently a regular custom at the time among painters of the peninsula, making it difficult for us to arrive at the personal style of any single master. As early as January 8, 1517, he entered into an association with the painter of Neapolitan origin, Nicolás de Credensa, which lasted at least until 1524,[5] and we shall later see how again in 1532 he took Credensa into an artistic firm that he had constituted.

Since on November 13, 1518,[6] he signed a receipt for repairing eighteen "images" in the refectory of the building of the charitable institution at Barcelona called the Pía Almoyna and thus had affiliations at least of some sort with the ornamentation of the edifice, the question might arise as to whether he actually did any of the frescoes that once decorated the room where he is recorded to have labored. The remains of the building no longer exist as such and are incorporated in the cloister of the cathedral, but the four walls of the refectory [7] were probably all then embellished with mural paintings, one of which was preserved late enough into the nineteenth century to have been the subject of what looks like a fairly exact copy in water color [8] by the Catalan artist, Jaime Serra y Gisbert. Somewhat similar in theme to the panel by the San Francisco Master in the cathedral of Palma [9] and depicting a group of the indigent being fed at a long table from the funds of the institution, it was obviously a work of the early sixteenth century, but, so far as can be judged by the copy, it revealed no ties with the style of Pedro Nunyes. Indeed, the word "images" would suggest, though not conclusively prove, that the objects repaired by him in the refectory were statues, and in any case no entry in the archives as yet discovered bridges the gap between his reconditioning of certain works in the Pía Almoyna, whether paintings or not, and his execution of original frescoes in the place.

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[5] Madurell, first article, 19.

[6] *Ibid.*, 77. At the same time he was paid for a retable, but there is no reason to believe, with Madurell and the authors of the *Catálogo monumental, Ciudad de Barcelona,* 309, that it was made for the Pía Almoyna rather than for somewhere else in the premises of the cathedral.

[7] See my vol. X, p. 307.

[8] Reproduced by P. de Madrazo, *Museo español de antigüedades*, V, 93, and by Sanpere, *Los cuatrocentistas catalanes*, II, 190.

On January 3, 1526, he contracted for his first extant, documented work, the paintings on the wooden shutters, now in the Museum of Catalan Art, Barcelona, for a lost sculptured retable in the chapel of the guild of silversmiths in the church of Nuestra Señora de la Merced in the city, the attribution of which was conclusively proved by Madurell's fulfilment, in 1950, [10] of his promise to publish the records in the case. The altarpiece had been planned as early as 1510 when the carpenter and sculptor, Pedro Torrent, with whom Nunyes collaborated also on another occasion, agreed to do the carved frames, finishing the job in 1513; and the images that constituted the retable itself, statues of St. Eloy, the patron of all goldsmiths and silversmiths, and, flanking him, of Sts. Andrew and John Baptist were made between 1516 and 1517 by the north-European sculptor Jean Monet. An additional member of the Portuguese colony at Barcelona, the sculptor Diego Peris, was engaged on June 19, 1521, to undertake some task for the guild, but, since the major part of the document has not been found, we are uninformed in regard to the nature of his employment, whether some further carving on the retable or other decoration of their chapel. In the contract of 1526 Nunyes assumed responsibility for the polychromy of the sculptured retable and for the painting of the two shutters that enclosed it. The subjects of the interiors of the shutters are left to the decision of the guild's authorities, but naturally they turned out to be scenes from the life of St. Eloy, six in number, i.e., three on each wing. The theme of the exteriors, however, is definitely specified, the Annunciation, to be executed in the grisaille so frequently used for this and other representations on the outsides of shutters, and, as a matter of fact, in the preserved pieces, each of the two participants in the Annunciation stretches over the whole reverse of a triad from the story of St. Eloy.

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[9] See my vol. VI, p. 484. F. P. Verrié (*Guía artística de Mallorca*, Barcelona, 1948, p. 43) suggests that the picture at Palma may commemorate the founding of the Pía Almoyna in this city.

[10] In the Portuguese periodical, *Museu*, VI (1950), 131–150.

All these data would seem to establish securely Nunyes's authorship of the panels without a shadow of a doubt, and yet there is a slight shadow which, however, I think, can be cleared away. According to the widely spread practice of one artist farming out contracts to another, Nunyes is twice given explicit permission in the contract of 1526 to consign the execution of the polychromy and paintings to someone else, but that he did not so do and that the commissioners did not really expect him to hand over the task to a colleague can be strongly argued from a number of considerations. In the first place, he himself is required in the contract to paint a trial-piece that must receive the approbation of the guild's authorities before he is allowed to proceed with the entire undertaking. Second, in the only record that we have of any of the series of payments, he alone on March 4, 1529, was the recipient of one of these periodic remunerations. Finally, the panels fully accord in style with the other work that he carried out by himself, the retable in the church of Santos Justo y Pastor at Barcelona, and with the further paintings that on internal evidence are to be ascribed to his brush.

Until the time in 1936 when so many important Catalan works of art were destroyed by the revolutionary outbreaks, there existed over the high altar of the parish church at San Ginés de Vilasar, north of Barcelona (also called Vilasar de Dalt), a vast retable documented as a joint work of Pedro Nunyes and Enrique Fernandes. In a manner of speaking it is still preserved as a basis for investigating the style, since before its conflagration it had been partially, though inadequately, photographed by the Mas Archive; and I myself had the privilege of examining it on the spot in the summer of 1930. Our first notice of the undertaking is on January 9, 1520, when Pedro Torrent, whom we have found to have been occupied, together with Nunyes, on the altarpiece of the silversmiths, arranged to do the carved framework and the statues of the Virgin and St. Genesius at the centre.[11] The contract with the two painters has not been unearthed, but they had finished sections of the enterprise by January 13, 1527, when a curious document [12] incorporates the fact that a sculptor Master Martín (in all probability, the celebrated Martín Díaz de Liatzasolo), having been asked to give his expert opinion on what they had already done, found defects in a panel of St. Michael by Enrique Fernandes but approved two compartments of unspecified themes by Nunyes. Reference is made in the document also to other contributions to the retable by the partners which Master Martín had not seen. In 1532, Nunyes rented a house at Vilasar, stating that it was to be leased by him until he should conclude the execution of the retable,[13] but he had brought to a conclusion the predella by July 27, 1533, at which date the painters Jaime Forner and Nicolás de Credensa inspected this section of the altarpiece and pointed out in it a few minor shortcomings.[14] Although Nunyes is definitely denominated the predella's creator, the words "los dits pintors" employed in the document when there is allusion to a change demanded by the experts in the scene of the Betrayal reveal that Enrique Fernandes was still collaborating. The final payments to the two associates were distributed through the years 1534 and 1536.[15]

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[11] Madurell, third article in the Barcelona *Boletín*, 32.

[12] *Ibid.*, 38.

On December 3, 1525, Pedro Nunyes promised to complete the long since lost retable over the high altar of the church of Sta. María del Pino at Barcelona, which had been largely carried out by the painter Joan de Burgunya by the time of his death in this year,[16] and on April 9, 1527, he contracted [17] to do the extant retable over the high altar of the church at Capella in Aragon, directly east of Huesca, another work for which Joan de Burgunya had received the order but on which at his decease he had gone no further than to spread the gesso over the panels. The region of Capella on the frontier between Aragon and Catalonia often patronized artists of the latter province, but an additional motive for the assignment of the order to Nunyes was that the donor, Gabriel Miró, a prominent citizen of Capella, held the dignity also of a canon in the cathedral of Barcelona. Enrique Fernandes was at least eventually united to Nunyes in the task, inasmuch as both masters give the receipt for the final payment on December 3, 1533, and in this receipt there is mention of what seems to have been a second contract in which Fernandes also had his share.

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[13] Madurell, second article, 29.

[14] Madurell, third article, 48.

[15] Madurell, second article, 30–31.

[16] Madurell, first article, 78 ff.

[17] Madurell, third article, 38.

On the next preserved, documented work of Nunyes, a retable in the church of Santos Justo y Pastor at Barcelona, there is no notice, either in the contract or receipts, of Fernandes's collaboration, so that we are justified in taking it as an example of the former's personal manner. There is, of course, always the possibility that a record might appear revealing the assistance of Fernandes, who, although the formal, legal deed of partnership had not yet been consummated, was certainly a companion of Nunyes by this time; but such a discovery would have little or no significance, because we shall later summon arguments to show that even in works surely done by them in conjunction Nunyes was the creator of the style. The retable in Santos Justo y Pastor adorns the chapel of S. Félix over an altar on which it was the custom of the citizens to take their most solemn oaths.[18] On November 29, 1525, the nobleman Don Jaime de Requeséns, having obtained the concession of this chapel, was authorized to have a retable and a tomb there constructed,[19] and on January 10, 1526,[20] he commissioned the sculptor, Juan de Bruselas, to do the retable's woodwork. Of the contract of June 7, 1528, with Nunyes for the paintings, only the heading has come to light,[21] but a document of August 29 in the same year incorporates a modification of the clause in this contract according to which much of the mere gilding had been turned over to the painter, Gabriel Alemany.[22] On September 17, 1528, Gabriel made a new arrangement with Requeséns for the gilding and received a third of the sum stipulated for the task, which was followed by another payment nine days later.[23] The remuneration of Nunyes himself was divided between the dates October 8, 1528, January 8, 1529, and March 26, 1530, on the last of which the retable was already completed.[24]

Although we have seen that Nunyes and Fernandes had been collaborating for a number of years, we possess no knowledge of an explicit agreement between them before a deed of June 22, 1532.[25] Unfortunately no more than the heading also of this document has been found, so that we are ignorant of its exact terms, but we glean from the numerous subsequent records of their productions that it lasted until the death of Fernandes in 1546 and that either one of them seems to have been empowered to sign in the name of the firm and to undertake commissions of his own independently. A few months later, on October 7, 1532, they admitted Nicolás de Credensa into the company for a period of six years,[26] and by specifying that he should not be allowed to participate in the actual painting of the commissions which they received they betrayed what may perhaps be deduced from our many other records of Credensa,[27] namely that he was, at least chiefly, no more than a kind of industrial journeyman in his profession, concerned largely with the financial phases of the orders upon which he was engaged and probably often farming them out to others for execution.

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[18] F. P. Verrié, *La iglesia de los Santos Justo y Pastor*, Barcelona, 1944, p. 24.

[19] Cels Gomis, *Ciutat de Barcelona*, in the series *Geografía general de Catalunya*, 448, n. 1197.

[20] Madurell, second article, 32.

[21] *Ibid.*, 34.

[22] *Ibid.*, 34–35, and third article, 41.

[23] Second article, 38–39.

[24] *Ibid.*, 40, and third article, 42–44.

[25] First article, 16–19.

Since we shall find that Nunyes did an undocumented, extant retable for the Iglesia de la Piedad at La Seo de Urgel, it is important to note that the spread of his reputation even thus farther north than Capella is proved also by a contract for a lost altarpiece in the Dominican church of the former town, a legal deed which Pujol y Tubáu[28] guesses, for reasons that he does not specify, to be dated about 1540.

On March 14, 1541, Nunyes and Fernandes agreed to execute their last extant, documented work, a retable honoring the early, martyred bishop of Barcelona, St. Severus, done for the Hospital of Ecclesiastics in this city. Durán y Sanpere,[29] who first published the retable, traces its interesting peregrination from the Hospital to the town of Olesa de Bonesvalls and finally back to Barcelona and its Diocesan Museum; he effectively clears away erroneous statements that had been made about it; and he conclusively establishes the identity of the preserved retable with that of the contract of 1541. The identity is chiefly proved by the agreement of the extant pieces with the subjects both of the sculpture (by an unascertained artist) and painting which the contract specifies, except that the carved bust of the Eternal Father in the

[26] First article, 20, and third article, 44.

[27] See above, p. 164.

[28] In *Homenatge a Antoni Rubió i Lluch*, Barcelona, 1936, II, 473. See also Madurell in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, II, 1 (1944), 59, and IV, 3–4 (1946), 375.

[29] See his important article, *Un retaule de Sant Sever exiliat i repatriat*, in *Vida cristiana*, XVI (1928–1929), 383–389 and 419–427; and cf. also Madurell, second article, 58, and third article, 55.

pinnacle reveals that this theme was eventually substituted for a sculptured Crucifixion demanded in the document.

According to the persistent and (for us) confusing practice of artists' partnerships,[30] we find Nunyes, six years after the death of Fernandes, already associated with another master, Pedro Serafí, who will not occupy our attention until a later volume as belonging to the advanced Renaissance. From 1552 to 1554 they were paid jointly for two subordinate retables in the parish church of S. Martín at Arenys del Munt (just north of Barcelona), both of which have long since perished.[31] Our last notice of Pedro Nunyes as still alive is on March 5, 1556, at the marriage of his son of the same name, a physician.[32]

Inasmuch as the only preserved examples of the many works upon which Enrique Fernandes is recorded to have labored are, with one unilluminating exception, those which he did in collaboration with Nunyes, practically all the pertinent facts in his biography have been mentioned in our outline of the latter's career. He is often described in the documents as a Portuguese, and in one instance there is affixed to his name the further identifying word, Lactuosa (or perhaps to be read, Lactecosa). Madurell [33] guesses that the Portuguese town of his birth might be hidden in the word; but there is no place in Portugal that is even approximately thus spelled, and in a deed of April 26, 1537, by which in a fraternal spirit he made a present of twenty gold ducats to a brother of his, [34] he states this person to derive from the well known spa, São Pedro do Sul, in the Portuguese diocese of Viseu. For some unexplained reason, the brother, Fernando Gonzales, had a different surname (taken from his mother?), but, if Enrique was also a native of São Pedro do Sul, it is just possible (though far from certain, in view of the commonness of the appellation Fernandes) that he was a relative of the renowned Portuguese painter of the sixteenth century Vasco Fernandes, called the Grão Vasco, whom likewise the diocese of Viseu can claim.

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[30] See above, p. 170.

[31] Madurell, first article, 16, and second article, 63–64. Madurell stated in the first article that the two retables were destroyed in the revolutionary outbreaks of 1936, but he corrects this error in the second article, admitting that they had disappeared at least by the eighteenth century. Pedro Serafí also did separately the largely preserved retable over the high altar at Arenys.

[32] Madurell, first article, 59.

[33] *Ibid.*, 62.

[34] *Ibid.*, 64.

He first crops up in Barcelona in a document of December 20, 1525, and, since he is therein described as a citizen of Barcelona and two years' residence was required to gain this title, he must have arrived in Catalonia at least by 1523. The document of 1525 is an acknowledgment of a financial debt to the Catalan painter and maker of mirrors, Pedro Pallargues (or Despallargues), with whom he seems to have been on terms of intimate friendship and who was the son of the late mediaeval painter of the same name, until recently known wrongly as Pedro Espalargucs.[35] None of the considerable list of works that Madurell amasses as done separately by Enrique Fernandes has survived, but there does exist the result of a minor order not recorded by the Catalan scholar, the frescoing in 1545 of the wall to the right of the entrance to the sacristy in the cathedral of Barcelona with a simulated architectural and heraldic background for the sarcophagi of Count Ramón Berenguer I of Barcelona and his wife Almodis.[36] Although, however, representation of the human form in four *putti* is included in this mural decoration, they unhappily do not afford sufficient material for distinguishing in general Enrique's style from that of Pedro Nunyes, if indeed it was distinguishable (!). His death in 1546 we have already had occasion to register.

3. The Problem of Separating the Style of Fernandes from that of Nunyes

The ways that might seem at first sight to lead to a dissociation of the personalities of Nunyes and Fernandes turn out in the end to be blind alleys. Even at best the four *putti* frescoed by Enrique alone in the cathedral of Barcelona would be a scant foundation upon which to build a conception of a painter's style, and in addition not only do they reveal no peculiar qualities but they fall into the general fashions of the paintings in which Pedro is demonstrated to have been Enrique's coöperator. The documents explicitly place among Pedro's contributions to the retable at San Ginés de Vilasar the predella and two other compartments, and they assign to Enrique the St. Michael on the *guardapolvos*; but, since until Madurell's recent publication of the documents we did not know of this division of their labors or even that Enrique had been joined to Pedro at all in the enterprise, neither

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[35] *Ibid.*, 60–61, and second article, 55. See also my vol. IX, p. 854.

[36] J. Mas, *Guia-itinerario de la Catedral de Barcelona*, Barcelona, 1916, pp. 38–41.

I nor anyone else, before the retable's destruction in 1936, thought of attempting to discern whether the St. Michael diverged in style from the parts by Pedro, and the photographs of the retable taken by the Mas Archive prior to its loss are too meagre and undetailed to show in the archangel any departure from the modes incorporated in Pedro's specified sections.

Here and there in the works done by them in partnership certain figures appear more primitive than the manner of the High Renaissance that in general characterizes the two artists' production; but this apparent dualism occurs also in the altarpieces of the silversmiths and of the church of Santos Justo y Pastor on which no document justifies us in believing that Enrique collaborated with Pedro, and in any case it is perfectly possible that a single painter should in some of his forms have clung to the earlier tradition. I will point out less advanced passages as I discuss the series of works, and it is significant that they often occur within the compass of single panels the other parts of which embody more mature modes, whereas the documents concerning the retable of San Ginés de Vilasar suggest that it was the custom of the partners each to do whole panels and not both to work upon a single compartment. Furthermore, one of the Morellian traits by which the style of the works that issued from the shop of Nunyes and Fernandes may easily be recognized, the rendering of the eyebrows by a very sharp and pronounced zigzag, is detectable on some of the more primitive as well as upon the less primitive figures.

What evidence, however, is at our disposal virtually demonstrates that Nunyes was the leading spirit in the combine, that he deserves the credit of the style which we discover in their joint productions, and that Fernandes merely echoed his associate's manner as faithfully — or dare we say, as slavishly? — as possible. Nunyes received a larger number of separate orders than his friend, and in one of the receipts for payment on the retable of San Ginés de Vilasar [37] he specifically denominates Fernandes, not his collaborator, but his assistant. We have also seen [38] that, in the judgment of one of the contemporary experts who were asked to give their opinions in regard to the merits of the respective contributions of the two associates to the retable of San Ginés de Vilasar, Nunyes was the more competent artist. Finally, so far as our records go, Fernandes did not help Nunyes on the retables of the silversmiths or of the church of Santos Justo y Pastor, and yet the works in which Fernandes is registered to have had his share reveal no elements that cannot in these retables be paralleled.

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[37] Madurell, second article, 31.

[38] P. 173.

4. The Extant Paintings by Nunyes (in Some Instances in Collaboration with Fernandes, Who Probably Acted as a Mere Assistant)

We investigators of the history of art have been taught by sad experience that we have little to pride ourselves upon in the matter of connoisseurship, and it is therefore a consolation to me that I had practically determined on internal evidence and conditionally stated in my manuscript that Pedro Nunyes was the author of the shutters of the retable of the silversmiths, now in the Barcelona Museum, before Madurell[39] published the corroboratory documents. The first scene from the story of St. Eloy, demonstrated by the curve of the upper part of its frame to have been the topmost section of the right wing, represents his birth, with which there is telescoped his mother's dream, during pregnancy, of the eagle symbolically bowing to her thrice. In the next compartment, having perfected himself in his profession of goldsmith, he weighs one of the two saddles that he had miraculously fashioned for King Clotaire II out of the gold given him by the sovereign to make only a single such object. The other saddle, already weighed or to be weighed, is held by an attendant, and the weighing proves that the amount of the precious metal which the king consigned to St. Eloy had supernaturally sufficed for both specimens. The lowest panel in the right wing depicts the saint's consecration as bishop of Noyon in a composition that, as in the retables of Capella and St. Severus, clings to the long established, gorgeous Spanish tradition for the iconography of these great ecclesiastical ceremonies. In the first division on the left wing we look at St. Eloy performing the sacrament of baptism.[40] The second compartment exhibits him presiding over the procession which brought the body of St. Martial to Paris[41] (Fig. 65), and the final scene is that

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[39] See above, p. 171.

[40] I have been unable to find what specific event in his life here receives embodiment: Madurell describes the scene as St. Eloy's conversion of his enemies.

[41] This seems the most likely interpretation of the subject, but it may represent the translation of the body of one of the many other saints whose relics he found or for whose remains even as bishop he continued to exercise his profession in making reliquaries.

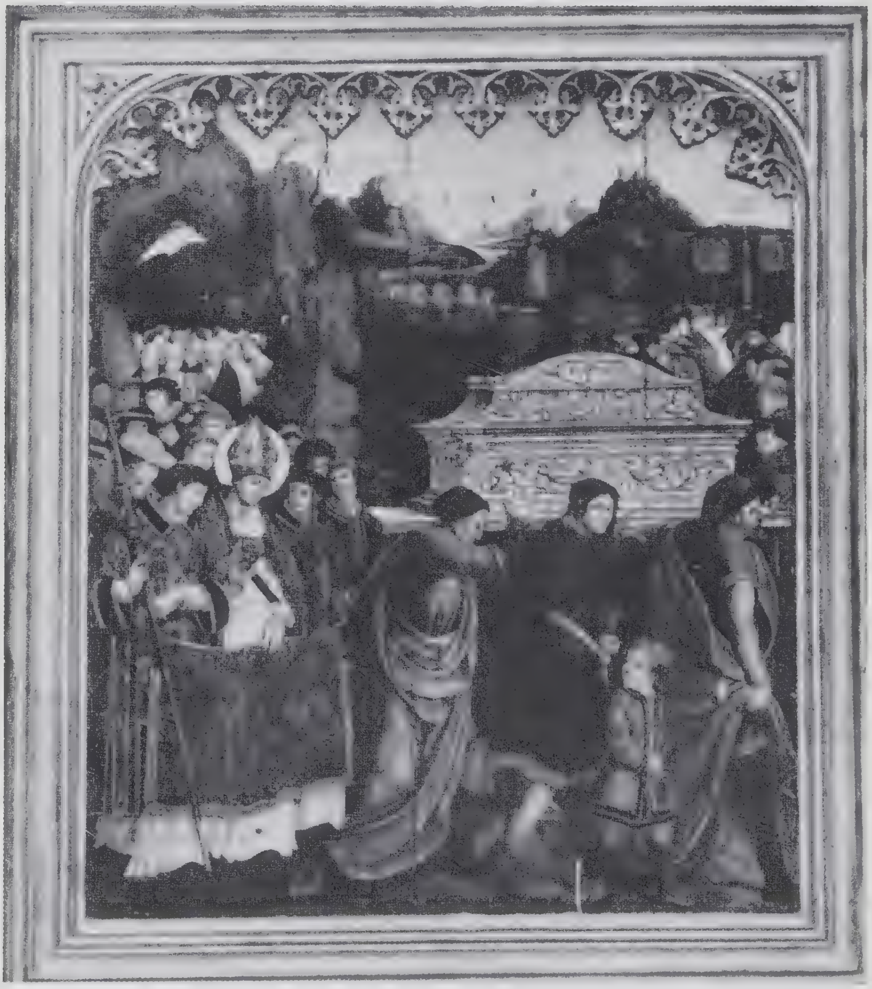

Fig. 65. PEDRO NUNYES. ST. ELOY PRESIDING OVER THE TRANSLATION OF ST. MARTIAL'S BODY, SECTION OF RETABLE. MUSEUM OF CATALAN ART, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

of his obsequies, with Batilde, the queen of Clovis II, after she had failed in her desire to obtain his body for her abbey of Cheller, kneeling beside his bier to kiss his hand. The Annunciation, in grisaille, extending over the reverses of the two shutters, has already [42] called for our comment.

The style of which Nunyes is a thoroughly competent but not really a distinguished exponent already belongs, somewhat prematurely for the Iberian peninsula, to the fully evolved Renaissance and even passes often into out-and-out mannerism like that of Italy. The school of Portugal in the sixteenth century was much more of an offshoot of Flemish mannerism of the Renaissance and provides no ground for a belief that he there obtained his first training. Indeed I cannot follow Angulo [43] in discerning in Nunyes any significant relationship to such Flemings of the developed Cinquecento as Heemskerck, Van Scorel, or Van Hemessen. His modes so agree with the uniform, generalized, Italian classicism diffused at the period throughout the greater part of Europe that it is impossible to say whether he learned his art in Italy, France, Catalonia, or even in some other region of Spain. The scenes from St. Eloy's life give the effect of being more conservative than his other works, and this is not because they are earlier in date, [44] since the seemingly more advanced retables of Santos Justo y Pastor and of Capella were being executed at approximately the same time, but because the very subjects, more modern than Biblical themes, naturally suggested a treatment in the terms of the life and persons of the artist's own day which militated against any great indulgence in manneristic tendencies or in the Greco-Roman types of the Renaissance. Indeed, even in the later retable of St. Severus, the episodes from his story are told with almost as much sobriety. It was when Nunyes had to deal with events from the New Testament, where semi-ancient costume had long been the rule, that he felt himself freer to introduce the countenances of ubiquitous European classicism and to give some rein to the extravagances of mannerism. Thus, on the reverses of the very shutters of the retable of the silversmiths, the Annunciation and particularly the Gabriel and the Eternal Father sending the dove of the Holy Spirit are so accommodated to the more grandiloquent harmonies of the full Cinquecento that, were we not informed, we should scarcely have discerned the same painter as in the obverses. Moreover, the narrative panels relating to St. Eloy now and then exhibit forms of a more advanced stamp than the majority of the figures, for instance the King Clotaire in the scene of the weighing, the dignitary at the extreme right in the consecration, or the first bearer of St. Martial's casket; and members of the crowd surrounding Clotaire show that manneristic affectation of pose and gesture is already adumbrated.

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[42] P. 171.

[43] *Archivo español de arte*, XVII (1944), 330, n. 1.

[44] Sanpere (*Los cuatrocentistas*, II, 213), without giving his authority, alleges that the shutters were being painted during the course of the year 1524, but he must be wrong since the contract is not dated before 1526.

The passages here and in the other works of Nunyes that perhaps falsely appear to us as less advanced unfold the phase in the development of the Spanish school which consists, whether or not under some influence of Italy, in a relaxation and amelioration of the immediately anterior Hispano-Flemish style and in the expansion of this style into only a restricted degree of the grandeur of the Renaissance. It is the phase embodied in Castile and Andalusia by such men as León Picardo and Pedro Romana, but there is no master in western Spain to whose works the attainments of Nunyes show more than a very general relation. We cannot, therefore, use the seemingly more traditional sections as a basis for the hypothesis that he benefited after leaving Portugal by an artistic education in the adjacent Spanish regions, and the mode of these sections might easily have been evolved out of Catalan precedent by bringing it into accord with the temper of the Cinquecento.

Defining characteristics that we shall note in the other works of Nunyes are easily detectable in this, the first achievement of his that it falls to our lot to analyze. There are many examples of his predilection for endowing his actors with beady eyes and for figures looking directly at us from the pictures, and the memorable youth at the centre of the group of three carrying the reliquary of St. Martial fixes us with his gaze in the manner that we shall observe in several of the participants in the translation of the body of St. Severus in the retable in the Diocesan Museum. In the midst of the gentle faces of his women and young men, he is prone to insert harsh profiles, as in the cleric to whom we have referred in the consecration or in the attendant holding one of the saddles in the episode of the weighing. The edifices used as settings to the scenes are distinguished, as generally with Nunyes, by a Bramantesque solemnity and restraint rather than by a sympathy for Plateresque ornateness. According to the dualism of conservative and advanced elements that we have seen to be typical of the master, here and also as late as the retable of St. Severus there is maintained the mediaeval Spanish school's realization of the decorative values of brilliant brocades in a painting, especially in the compartment of the consecration which clings to the long established formal and richly colored treatments of such themes; and, in contrast to the grisaille of the Annunciation and to other performances of his likewise in the spirit of the times, the scenes from St. Eloy's life are still faithful to the warmer tonalities of the earlier period in contrast to the frigidities that the antiquarianism of the High Renaissance tended to provoke.

In the second work of Nunyes where we possess no ascertained justification for postulating the assistance of Enrique Fernandes, the retable in the chapel of the church of Santos Justo y Pastor at Barcelona, the central part consists of two large compartments, the Crucifixion in its customary spot at the top and beneath it the Lamentation over the Dead Christ. The six somewhat smaller scenes at the sides are the Annunciation, Nativity, Epiphany, Deposition (Fig. 66), Entombment, and Resurrection. As at Capella and (until 1936) at Vilasar, the doors at the sides of the altar still exist, with the traditional themes for these places, the standing figures of Sts. Peter (Fig. 67) and Paul. The Latin inscriptions in their haloes are identical with those at Capella, where, however, more of the letters are visible: for St. Peter, "O beate Petre, claviger etheree (*sic*, for aetherie), intercede"; and for St. Paul, "O beate Paule, apostole, doctor gentilium." The arrangement of the predella, between the two doors, is anomalous. Just above and behind the altar is a Holy Sepulchre, with a figure of the dead Christ in a glass case,[45] thus confining the predella at this point to a narrow strip above the sarcophagus. The paintings in this strip consist of three busts of saints. In the middle is a canonized, youthful deacon, in all probability St. Felix, to whom the chapel is dedicated and who was required to be represented in the retable in the concession of the chapel to Requeséns, dated November 29, 1525.[46] We may assume that it is the same St. Felix who is

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[45] Once a part, though a later substitution for the original Christ, of the otherwise lost, sculptured Entombment in the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre in the church. In the retable by Nunyes, the panels of the strip of the predella and of Sts. Thomas and Jerome were somewhat changed from their pristine positions for the sake of adaptation to the insertion of the Saviour's effigy: see F. P. Verrié, *op. cit.*, 75.

[46] See above, p. 174.

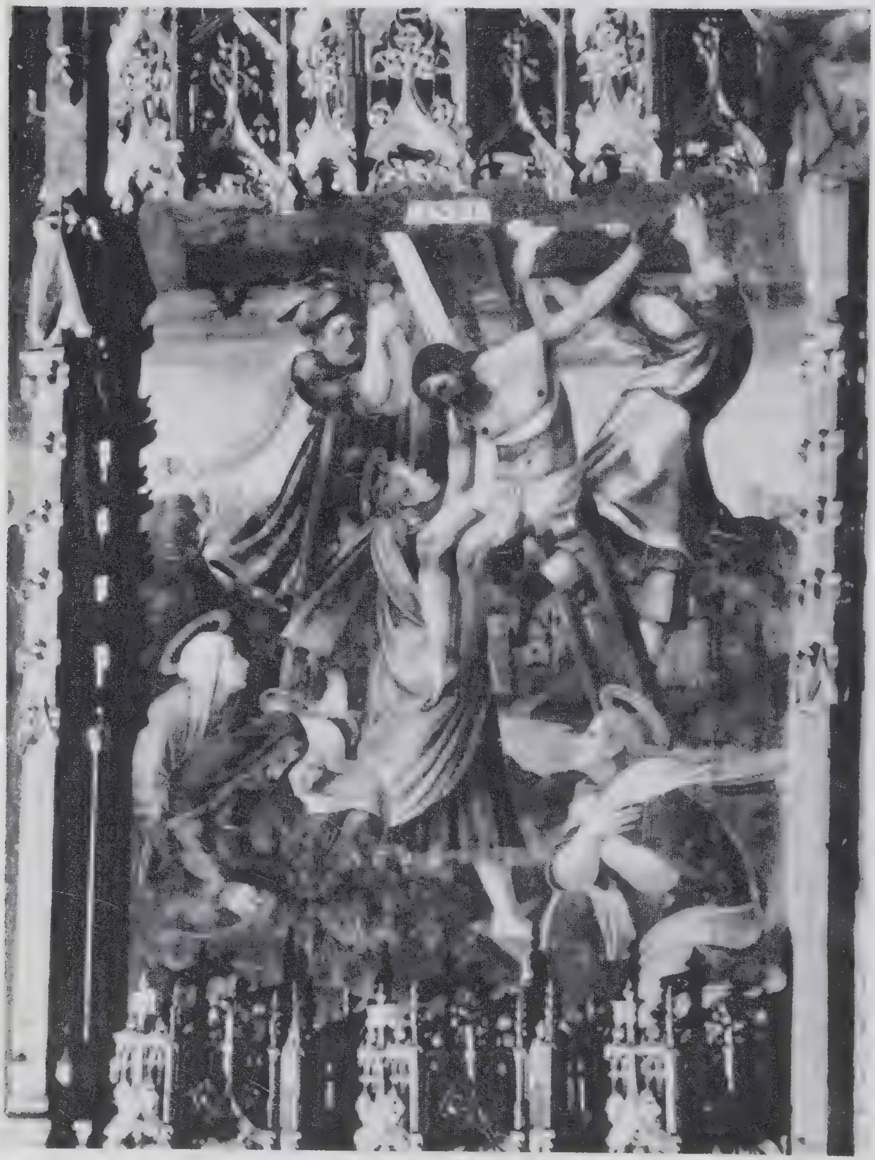

FIG. 66. PEDRO NUNYES. DEPOSITION, SECTION OF RETABLE.
CHURCH OF SANTOS JUSTO Y PASTOR, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

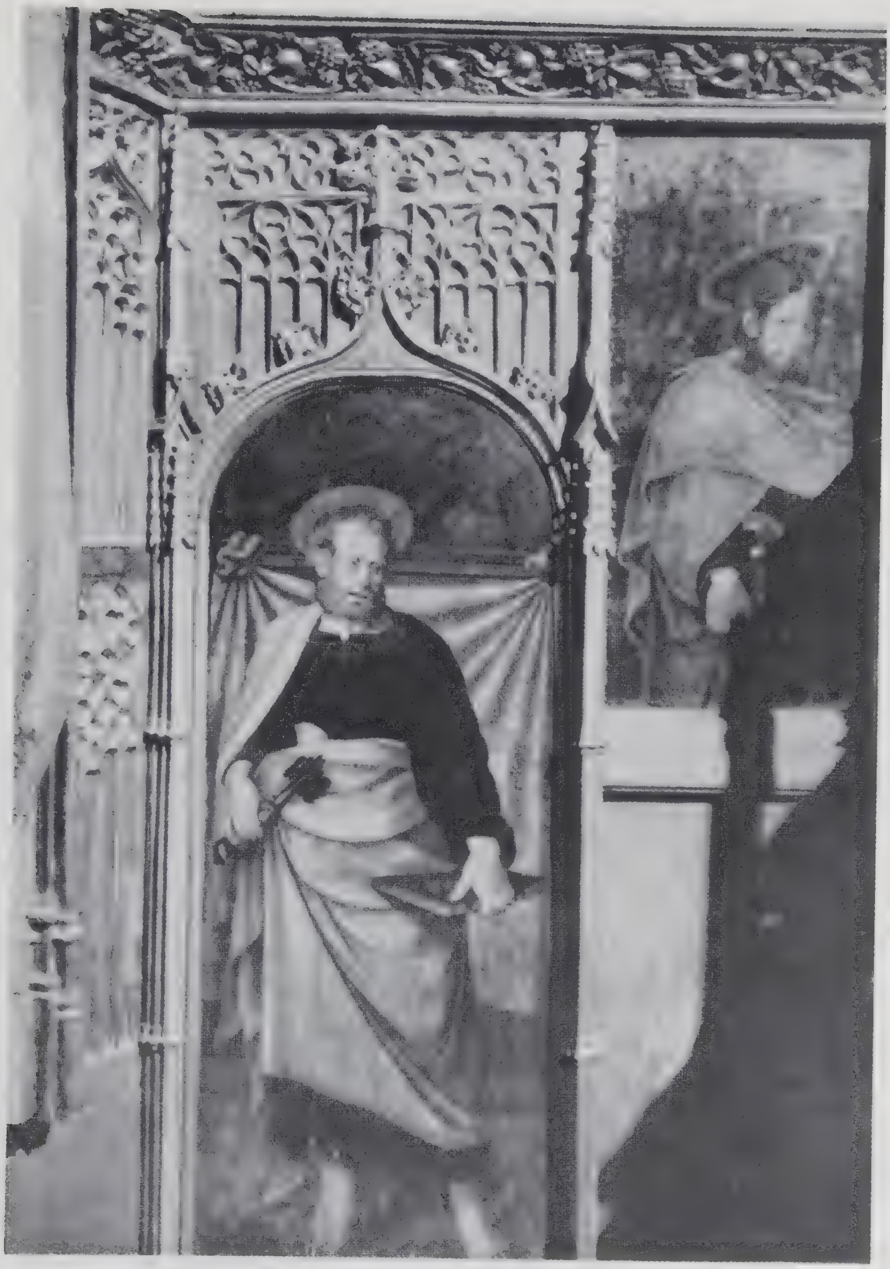

Fig. 67. PEDRO NUNYES. STS. PETER AND THOMAS, SECTION OF RETABLE. CHURCH OF SANTOS JUSTO Y PASTOR, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

honored in the retable over the high altar of his church at Gerona and who there also, through iconographic confusion, is wrongly made into a deacon.[47] The two other busts are of feminine saints, one older and one younger, who, as they carry only books for attributes, cannot be satisfactorily identified. The more elderly at the right might be Elizabeth, the mother of the Baptist, but the Blessed Virgin would hardly be relegated to this subordinate section of an altarpiece as her pendant at the left. Between the horizontal strip and the doors the predella extends to panels large enough to contain, not busts, but half-lengths of St. Thomas the Apostle (?)[48] and the penitent St. Jerome.[49] The frames and canopies by Juan de Bruselas are still composed, as at Capella and Vilasar, of Gothic carvings, and uniquely or at least very exceptionally only this sculptor (and not the painter) was called into service to decorate the *guardapolvos,* where he naturally employed the same lingering mediaeval *motifs* of pure design as in the main body of the structure.

In all probability because Nunyes was not here conditioned by depicting the subjects as events in the life that he knew, the retable in Santos Justo y Pastor exhibits a very considerable progress beyond the virtually contemporary shutters for the silversmiths along the manneristic road, not only in attenuation of bodily proportions but also in *préciosité* of pose and gesture. The most obvious examples are all the participants in the Nativity, the two standing Magi in the Epiphany, the good thief in the Crucifixion, and the Magdalene in the Deposition. The appearance assumed by mannerism in the Annunciation might almost deceive one into mistaking the picture for a production of the school of Fontainebleau. As instances of the passages in a soberer and more primitive style that constantly occur in the output of Nunyes and that, we have argued, should not be deemed indicative of a collaborator, we may choose the Sts. Peter and Paul of the doors, the St. Thomas of the predella, and even the bust of St. Felix. Types of this sort, however, occur in compartments that are otherwise embodiments of the most advanced phases of the Renaissance, e.g., the Nicodemus (?) at the left of the cross in the Deposition, the Joseph of Arimathaea at the head of Christ in the Entombment, and the Christ in the Resurrection, thus providing danger-signals against an acceptance of the dualistic theory. The grief-stricken group at the foot of the cross in the Deposition was suggested, as Angulo [50] has perceived, by Marcantonio's engraving of the theme.

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[47] See above, p. 81.

[48] I think that I discern in the figure's right hand the carpenter's rule, the emblem of St. Thomas. The two figures were for a time, after the confusion of the civil war, in the collection of Don J. Graells, Barcelona, where they are recorded by Diego Angulo (*Archivo español de arte*, XVII, 1944, p. 330, n. 1); but they have now been restored to their places in the retable.

[49] Madurell (second article, 43–44) follows the report of the pastoral visit to the church in 1549 in identifying the two saints beside Felix with Catherine and Zacharias and the two half-lengths with James Major and John Baptist; but he is demonstrably wrong in the last instance, since his Baptist is most obviously Jerome, and, although we might expect James Major to appear in the retable as the patron of the donor, Jaime de Requesens, the figure in question reveals none of the very stereotyped attributes of this Apostle. Nor is there any apparent reason for seeing Catherine in the canonized maiden next to St. Felix, and the elderly person on the other side I should judge certainly to be a woman and not therefore the Baptist's father, Zacharias!

The retable at Capella, in which the coöperation of Fernandes is documented, though not visibly detectable, constitutes one of the rare instances in which the extant structure, so far as it is preserved, conforms iconographically, almost without exception, to the detailed specifications of the contract and in which thus there did not occur the deviations from the original plan so frequent in artistic enterprises of the Middle Ages and Renaissance.[51] Its themes honor the Virgin and St. Martin, to both of whom the church is dedicated. The carved, Gothic wooden frames and canopies are said by Ricardo del Arco [52] to have perished in the outbreaks that in 1936 led to the Spanish civil war, but in the state in which I and others saw the altarpiece prior to this date, the whole vertical, central section was occupied by two such *baldacchini*, harboring at the upper level a statue of St. Martin, evidently belonging to the original assemblage, and, at the lower level an image of Mary, a later substitution. Of the painted panels in the rest of the structure, the topmost tier aligns four scenes from the history of St. Martin, his encounter with the beggar, his episcopal consecration, his ultimate persuasion of the emperor Valentinian through the miraculous descent of fire,[53] and his obsequies. The contract reverses the order of these last two events, but either

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[50] *Archivo español de arte*, XVII (1944), 329–330.

[51] See vol. VIII, p. 250.

[52] *Catálogo monumental de España, Huesca*, Madrid, 1942, p. 225.

[53] The theme is included in the cycle about St. Martin in the cathedral of Valencia by Nicolás Falcó (cf. my vol. XI, p. 123); but neither my notes taken at Capella nor the available photographs make it *absolutely* certain that this is the subject of the third compartment. The contract asks merely for "some miracle."

Nunyes or some later, logically minded person placed them in their proper chronological sequence. The next two rows unfold eight instead of the orthodox seven Joys of the Virgin, the Annunciation, Nativity, Epiphany, Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost, Dormition, and Coronation (Figs. 68 and 69). In the predella the three faces of the tabernacle are decorated with Christ carrying the cross, the Virgin, and St. John Evangelist, and at the sides are compartments of the Agony in the Garden, Via Dolorosa, Deposition, and Entombment. It is demanded in the contract that the Christ on the tabernacle display the "Mystery of the Holy Sacrament of the Altar," but, according to my notes made when I was at Capella, He holds instead the cross. To the Sts. Peter and Paul of the doors at the sides of the altar, we have referred in discussing the retable in Santos Justo y Pastor at Barcelona, but the *guardapolvos*, on which the contract calls for effigies of six saints, did not survive even until 1936.

The Nativity is treated in a mode so diverse from the rendering in the retable of Santos Justo y Pastor and so much less in harmony with the temper of the High Renaissance that at first sight it might seem that they could not have been executed by the same artist. It is particularly the Virgin and St. Joseph who hark back to mediaeval norms, and yet there are counterparts for both figures in the other retable. In the Crucifixion, for example, the woman who supports the swooning Mother scarcely differs from the Virgin in the Capella Nativity, and in the Deposition the Nicodemus at the left of the cross is very similar to the foster-father of Our Lord. It is, then, not at all unimaginable that a single painter should have done both versions of the Nativity, purposely seeking variation, and, as a matter of fact, the other participants in the scene at Capella, especially the Child, are thoroughly attuned to the lusty strains of the developed Renaissance. The consequence is that we must not ascribe the Capella version separately to Fernandes any more than we can discern an assistant in the passages that I have indicated in the retable of Santos Justo y Pastor. The Annunciation also exhibits less sympathy with the fashions of mannerism than the rendering in the other retable, and yet many parts in the Capella assemblage are quite as advanced as any that he executed when working at the order of Requeséns. Here and there the panels even betray something of the neurotic perturbation in which the vain endeavor to imitate Michael Angelo's sturdy emotionalism often resulted. So, the soaring of

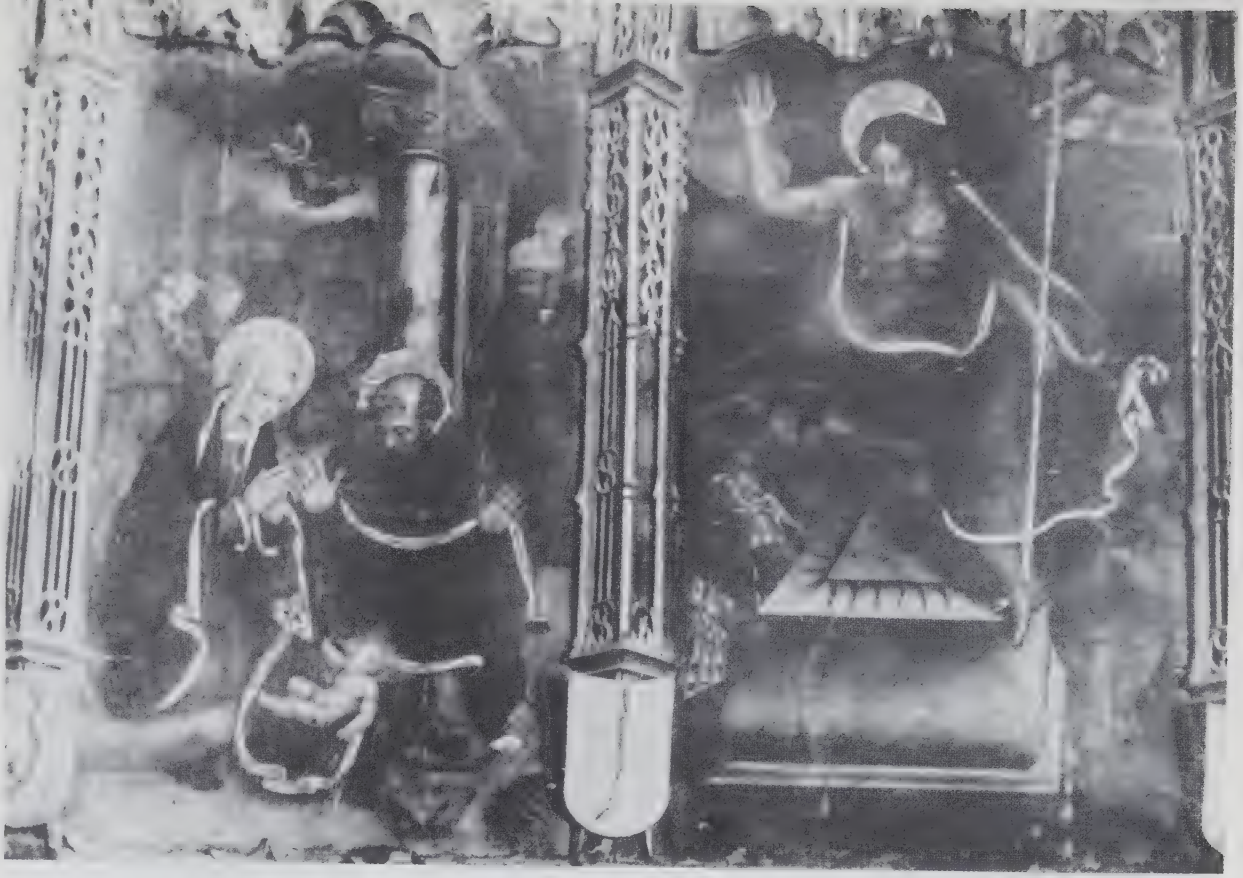

FIG. 68. PEDRO NUNYES. NATIVITY AND RESURRECTION, SECTION OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, CAPELLA
(*Photo. Mas*)

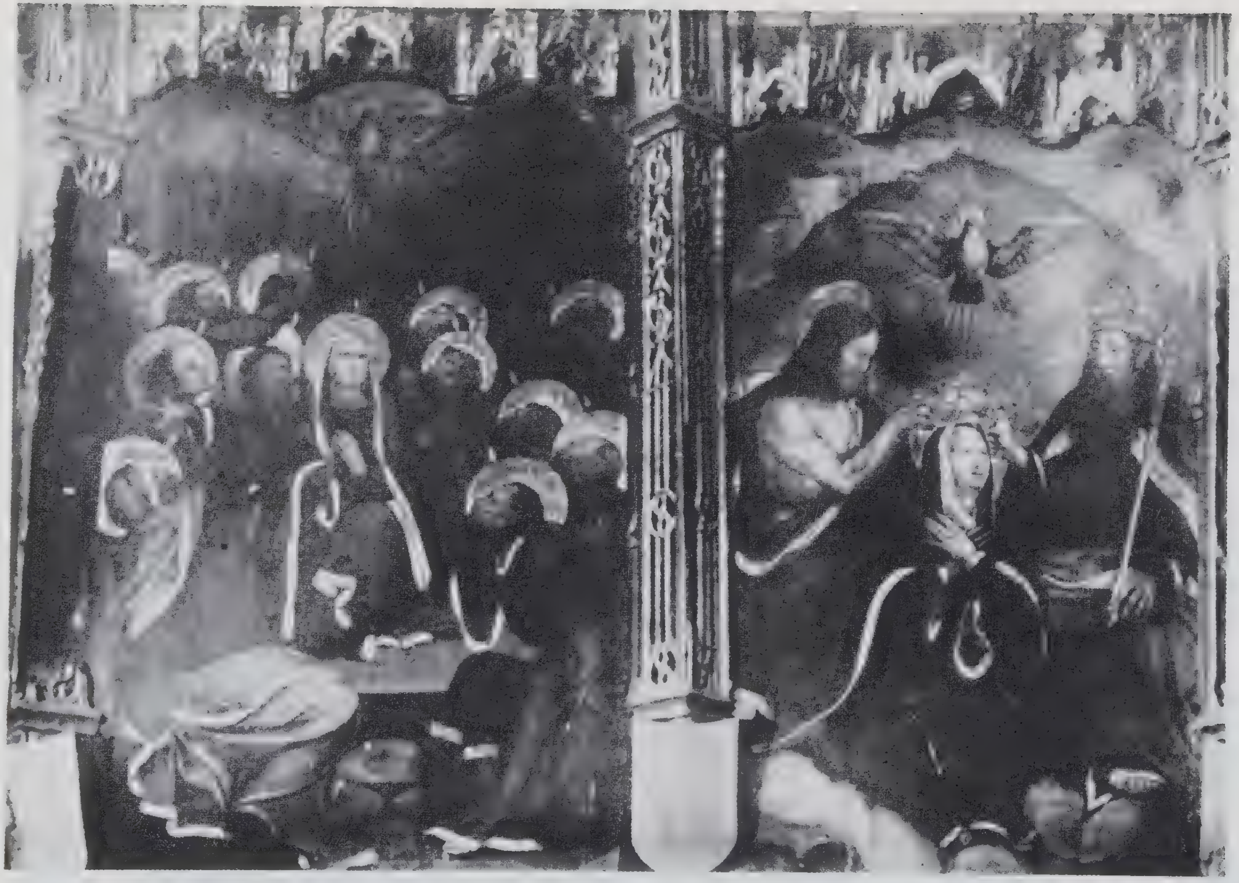

FIG. 69. PEDRO NUNYES. PENTECOST AND CORONATION, SECTION OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, CAPELLA
(*Photo. Mas*)

Christ over the sepulchre of the Resurrection becomes an agitated flight, in contrast to the rather staid Saviour in the same scene in the retable of Santos Justo y Pastor, and the Apostles in the Pentecost assume strained and melodramatic poses. The human types are echoed back and forth between the Barcelona retable and Capella. The St. John and Magdalene in the Deposition of the former work, for instance, provide parallels for the St. John and the Apostle below him in the Capella Pentecost; and the Apostle in the lower right corner of the Pentecost closely resembles the St. Jerome in the Barcelona predella.

Despite the general adherence of the Capella altarpiece to the High Renaissance, the feeling for symmetrical and ritualistic formality in the representation of the consecration of bishops had become so natural to Spanish aesthetics during the Middle Ages that, as in the shutters for the silversmiths and in the altarpiece of St. Severus, it is retained for the scene of this ceremony in the life of St. Martin. The embossing of flamboyant gold backgrounds and of details, in which Jaime Forner still indulged at Argentona, is abandoned, but unraised gold continues to accent lavishly the borders of garments.

The town of Vilasar de Dalt is also called San Ginés (in Catalan, Sant Genís) de Vilasar because it is under the patronage of a St. Genesius; but there are two early martyrs of this name,[54] and the retable by Nunyes and Fernandes in the *capilla mayor* of the parish church divided the honors almost equally between them, before it was burned in 1936. A fine statue of one of them stood at the centre of the structure, and a diminutive carved image of the other had at some time been set in front of it over the tabernacle; but the attributes carried by the two figures were not sufficiently distinctive to allow me to decide which was which. In any case, the six painted panels at the left were devoted to the St. Genesius who was a young notary or lawyer's clerk of Arles, and the corresponding number at the right to his homonym, a Roman mime. The photographs made by the Mas Archive, prior to its destruction, despite their dimness, and the notes that I took on the spot at my visit to the place in 1930, however meagre by reason of the darkness of the church, permit me to recognize ten of the twelve scenes with relative surety, although a few of them had been worn away almost beyond recognition even before the fatality of 1936.

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[54] See my vol. IV, p. 636, n. 1. Their stories appear in any of the larger hagiographical compilations, but I may refer especially to Surius (*Historiae seu vitae sanctorum*), to the Bollandists under the day, August 25, when both are commemorated, and to Alonso de Villegas Selvago, *Flos sanctorum*, Madrid, 1593, I, 781–782.

Each set of six was arranged in two vertical sequences of three compartments which appear to have read from the top downward. There was first to be seen the clerk of Arles, moved by the sight of a Christian bound to a tree for torture, declining to pen at the judge's command the order for further executions. Next followed his own arraignment as an adherent of the new faith, and there ensued one of the distinctive elements in his story, the strange refusal of a bishop to baptize him, with the excuse of the regular theological tenet that the blood of martyrdom constitutes an adequate substitute for the sacrament. In the topmost compartment of the second vertical sequence, he was pursued by the judge's henchmen; then came the scene of his decapitation; but the subject of the lowest panel, the sixth and last in the series, I cannot interpret. The outstanding occurrence in the accounts of the other St. Genesius, the Roman actor, is his christening. While engaged in a burlesque of Christian baptism for the entertainment of Diocletian, he was suddenly seized with a conviction of the verities of the Christian faith and expressed a desire to be actually christened in reality then and there upon the stage. The emperor, believing that Genesius planned only a continuation of the travesty, arranged for other actors to impersonate the Christian officiants at the ceremony, but, since they did what the Church intends in the sacrament and used the proper words, the saint was considered, again in conformity with Catholic theology, to be validly baptized. In the first compartment at the right, he was depicted, before Diocletian and the court, as playing the comedy of a simulated illness, in accordance with the texts of the story, and as calling in derision for the rites of baptism; below there was represented the christening of the saint while still in bed; but on this side of the retable, it is again the lowest compartment that I am unable to decipher. The last vertical sequence showed the mime proclaiming his conversion to the emperor, tortured upon the *eculeus,* and as in the end suffering decollation. The saints marshalled on the right piece of the *guardapolvos* were Barbara, Anthony Abbot, Roch, a second virgin martyr, and the Guardian Angel of the Kingdom (?), but the only two that I could distinguish on the left piece were Michael (?) and Sebastian. The predella was devoted to episodes of the Passion, and, as in two of the extant retables by Nunyes, the doors at the sides of the altar remained, with figures of Sts. Peter and Paul.

The retable of Vilasar de Dalt increases but little either our knowledge or appreciation of Nunyes or Fernandes; and indeed in the absence of all but a few detailed photographs and in my own and others' failure to take adequately discriminating notes when studying the original prior to its destruction, we have no means of deciding whether at least here the style of Fernandes could be distinguished from that of his partner. In the youth whom the notary St. Genesius watched being tied to a tree there was a not unsuccessful attempt to grapple with the problem of a full-blown nude of the Renaissance. Nevertheless, the Catalan mediaeval tradition was so potent that in the midst of this mature style of the Cinquecento the notary throughout the six scenes dealing with him was clad in one of the brilliant, old, auric brocades, the principal loud pattern of which was even still presented in arbitrary and unforeshortened frontality for the sake of decorative conspicuousness.

The retable of St. Severus, now in the Diocesan Museum at Barcelona, for which Nunyes and Fernandes contracted in 1541, is the work where a divorce between a more primitive and a more advanced manner seems clearest, and yet once more it is entirely possible that a single artist, Nunyes, should have possessed enough elasticity to have included both modes in his stride and that the partner should have been little more than an assisting brush to reproduce his dominating companion's style.

A considerable part of the retable is the achievement of an unidentified sculptor, the polychromy of which the two associates were required by the contract [55] to execute, the central image of St. Severus, the *remate* with the bust of God the Father, the figures of the four Evangelists on the lower level of the uprights, and the four Fathers of the western Church at the higher level. The painted compartments are confined to four episodes from the life of St. Severus in the main section of the structure, and to the predella spreading out over three compartments the ceremony of the translation of his body from the monastery of San Cugat del Vallés to the cathedral of Barcelona. The scenes from the life of St. Severus, which are left in the contract to the arbitrament of the authorities of the Hospital, begin with the representation of the dove resting upon his head to indicate him as the divine choice for the see of Barcelona when, already in priest's orders, he had through pious curiosity entered the church where the election was being held[56] (Fig. 70). Three ecclesiastics as well as, anachronously, the five Councillors of Barcelona are depicted as praying at an altar for the guidance of the Holy Spirit; upon St. Severus, humbly lurking in the background, the dove makes one of its repeated descents; and a number of citizens of Barcelona in the foreground and at the left side are shown in attitudes of amazement or meditation. The second compartment displays his episcopal consecration, maintaining, as in the case of St. Martin at Capella, the old symmetrical composition for such themes; his martyrdom takes up the third panel; and to the last division is consigned the miracle that he performed long after his death, his nocturnal appearance to King Martin the Humane of Aragon and Catalonia at the beginning of the fifteenth century to assure him of the cure of a wound in his leg, for which in despair the physicians had advised amputation[57] (Fig. 71). In thanksgiving the monarch negotiated the transfer of the relics of St. Severus from the monastery of San Cugat del Vallés to the cathedral of Barcelona, and the solemn procession of these relics on August 4, 1405, occupies, as we have noted, the whole predella (Fig. 72). Prominent in the throng of clerics and laity taking part in the function are, according to historical fact, Martin himself and his son of the same name, king of Sicily, who did not live to succeed him in Aragon. They are shown carrying the two front poles of the reliquary, and their queens, with ladies in waiting, stand forth from the procession's closing section in the left compartment of the predella. A serried aggregation of clerics stop in the compartment at the right to interrupt the march by making a "station."

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[55] See above, p. 175.

It is specified in the contract that the representation of the translation of the relics, unless the two partners judge artistic considerations to demand otherwise, shall be based upon the rendering of the subject in a now lost retable probably done in the second quarter of the fifteenth century for the chapel of St. Severus in the cathedral; and

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[56] For the piquant details of this event and for the study of St. Severus in general, see the Bollandists under the day of his feast, November 6. They discuss also the difficult question of whether he lived under Diocletian, under the Visigothic king, Euric, or even as late as the seventh century. The subjects of the paintings are elaborately analyzed likewise by Durán in his article, and cf. also Llorenç Riber, *Els sants de Catalunya*, Barcelona, I (1919), 73.

[57] See especially A. V. Domenec, *Historia general de los santos y varones ilustres en santidad del principado de Cataluña*, Gerona, 1630, p. 207.

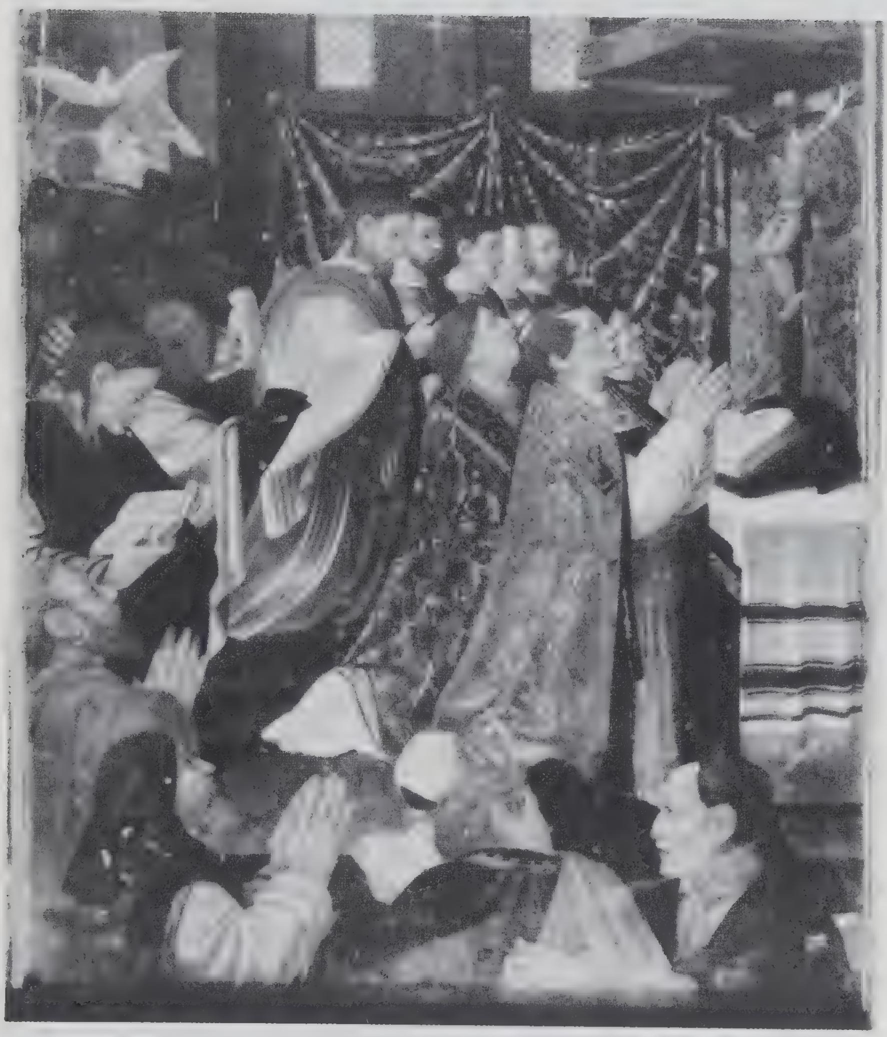

FIG. 70. PEDRO NUNYES. THE SELECTION OF ST. SEVERUS AS BISHOP OF BARCELONA, SECTION OF RETABLE. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, BARCELONA

(*Photo. Mas*)

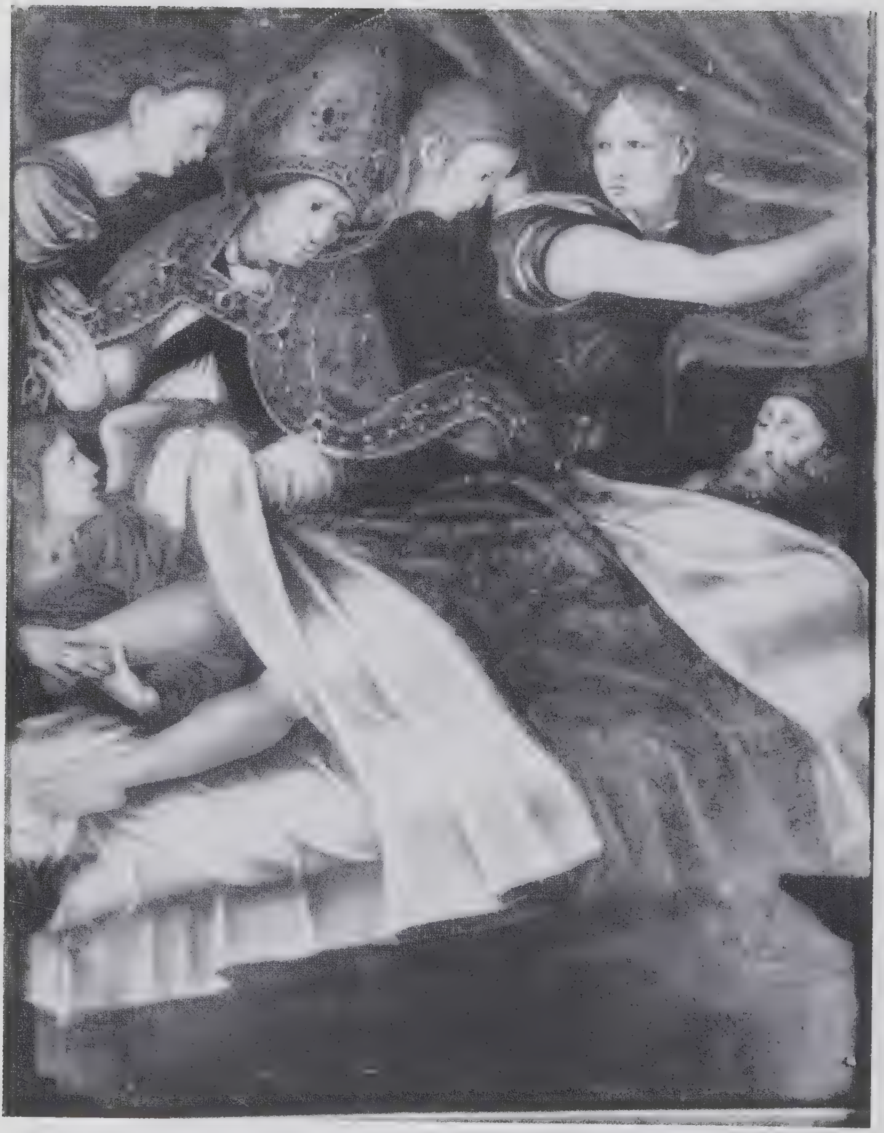

FIG. 71. PEDRO NUNYES. APPEARANCE OF ST. SEVERUS TO KING MARTIN THE HUMANE, SECTION OF RETABLE. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

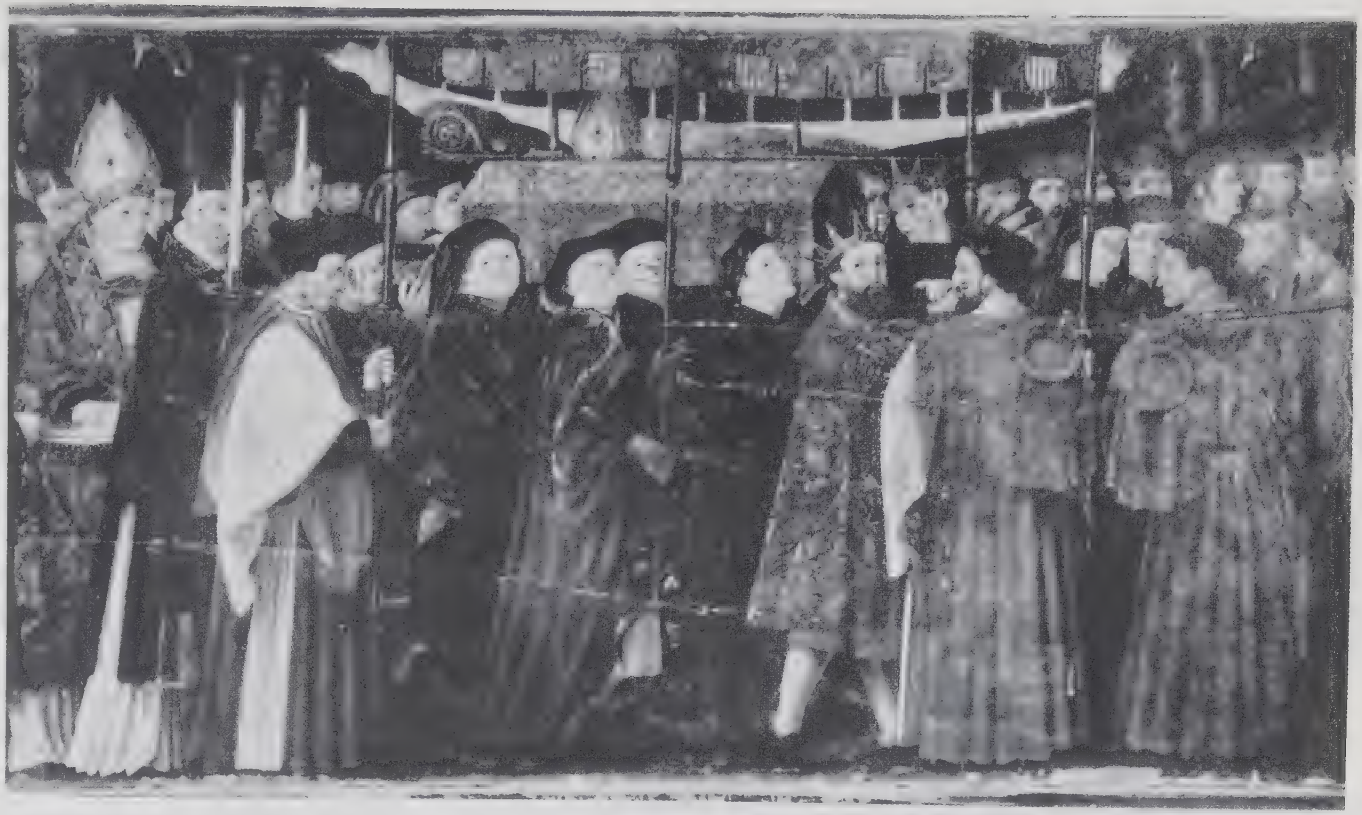

Fig. 72. PEDRO NUNYES. TRANSLATION OF RELICS OF ST. SEVERUS, SECTION OF PREDELLA OF RETABLE. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

Durán [58] maintains that in this earlier retable the figure of King Martin, who is recorded to have been there depicted, would have been a fairly accurate portrait and that the authors of the retable for the Hospital in the sixteenth century would have copied this likeness. The earlier retable, however, was made some thirty years after the sovereign's death; in European painting of the first half of the fifteenth century faithful portraiture was neither a desideratum nor as yet evolved; and Durán himself admits that Martin is reputed to have been short and fat, very different, therefore, from the monarch of ordinary stature who beholds the vision of St. Severus and helps in the procession to support his casket.

The sections that strike one, perhaps wrongly, as more retrogressive, are the scenes of the election and consecration of St. Severus and the procession of his relics. If we reasonably, however, contend that the style throughout the retable is fundamentally homogeneous, we can explain the more primitive effect in the consecration, as we have seen in the similar compartments for the silversmiths and at Capella, by the painter's decision to retain the mediaeval treatment of such themes. Likewise in the election and procession the nature of the subjects would forestall the mannerism and perturbation that characterize so many other productions of Nunyes. The representation of the participants in these scenes as persons of the sixteenth century in contemporary costume would exclude [59] the license in the manipulation of the human form and the pseudo-classical draperies permitted in the Biblical stories at Capella and in Santos Justo y Pastor, and the general emotional excitement of the style of Nunyes would be inevitably foreign not only to a solemn procession, as in the strikingly analogous panel in the shutters for the silversmiths, but also to the group of praying clerics and laymen who constitute almost the whole composition in the episode of the election. In this latter compartment, however, the heads of the actors fall for the most part within the fully evolved norms of the Renaissance, recalling the countenances of the Apostles in the Capella Pentecost. The type of the youth depicted as reading in the lower left corner is repeated in two of the angels accompanying St. Severus in his appearance to Martin the Humane, and yet the whole scene of this appearance is one of the parts of the retable most obviously incorporating the developed modes of the Cinquecento. The specimens of the fusion of an ostensibly less and more advanced manner within the same compartment by no means ends here. In what, for instance, look like conservative sections, there emerge types, such as in the consecration the two clerics at the extreme right or in the procession the two queens and the profile of the gentleman in front of King Martin, which are emancipated from primitive restrictions.

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[58] *Vida cristiana*, XVI (1928–1929), 426–427.

[59] See above, p. 181.

A number of works are attributable to Pedro Nunyes on internal evidence.

It seems impossible to question Angulo's [60] visual sagacity in claiming for him a distinguished retable which, until recently in its original location in the church of the Piedad at La Seo de Urgel, belongs now to the Collection of the Conde de Egara at Tarrasa. Between 1530 and 1533 the prebendary of the cathedral of this town, Juan Pedro Correa, constructed a chapel in the house which, attached to the cathedral's cloister, had long ago been granted as an appanage to the clergy of the institution; and, since it was for this chapel that the retable was made, it is approximately dated. The donation of Correa inspired the magnanimous and pious enterprise of rebuilding at once the whole house as a church, which came to be known as the Iglesia de la Piedad and in which Correa's chapel, with its retable, occupied a position at the left of the nave.[61] The Passion of Christ constitutes the retable's principal theme, incorporated in the Via Dolorosa at the centre of the lower tier in the structure's main body and the Crucifixion similarly placed in the upper tier, between, at the left, the Betrayal and, at the right, Christ at the Column [62] adored by the penitent St. Peter. In the compartment that at the left flanks the Via Dolorosa St. Gabriel presents the kneeling Correa, and in the balancing piece at the right, the best part of the retable (Fig. 73), a lady, probably one of his relatives or a joint donor, is correspondingly shown under the patronage of St. Joseph, who carries as his emblem a staff and the miraculously leafed rod of his courtship.[63] The subject in the

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[60] *Pintura del Renacimiento*, Madrid, 1954, p. 178, vol. XII of the series *Ars Hispaniae*.

[61] For the data, see the article on the church by Mossén Pedro Pujol in *Analecta sacra tarraconensia*, I (1925), 331–352.

[62] Vol. IX, p. 838.

[63] In the ordinary accounts the flowers which his rod put forth in his rivalry with Mary's other suitors and which do not appear in the Seo de Urgel panel are emphasized rather than the leaves; but I have already noted (vol. VIII, p. 25, n. 1) an instance where the branch carried by St. Joseph lacks even the leaves.

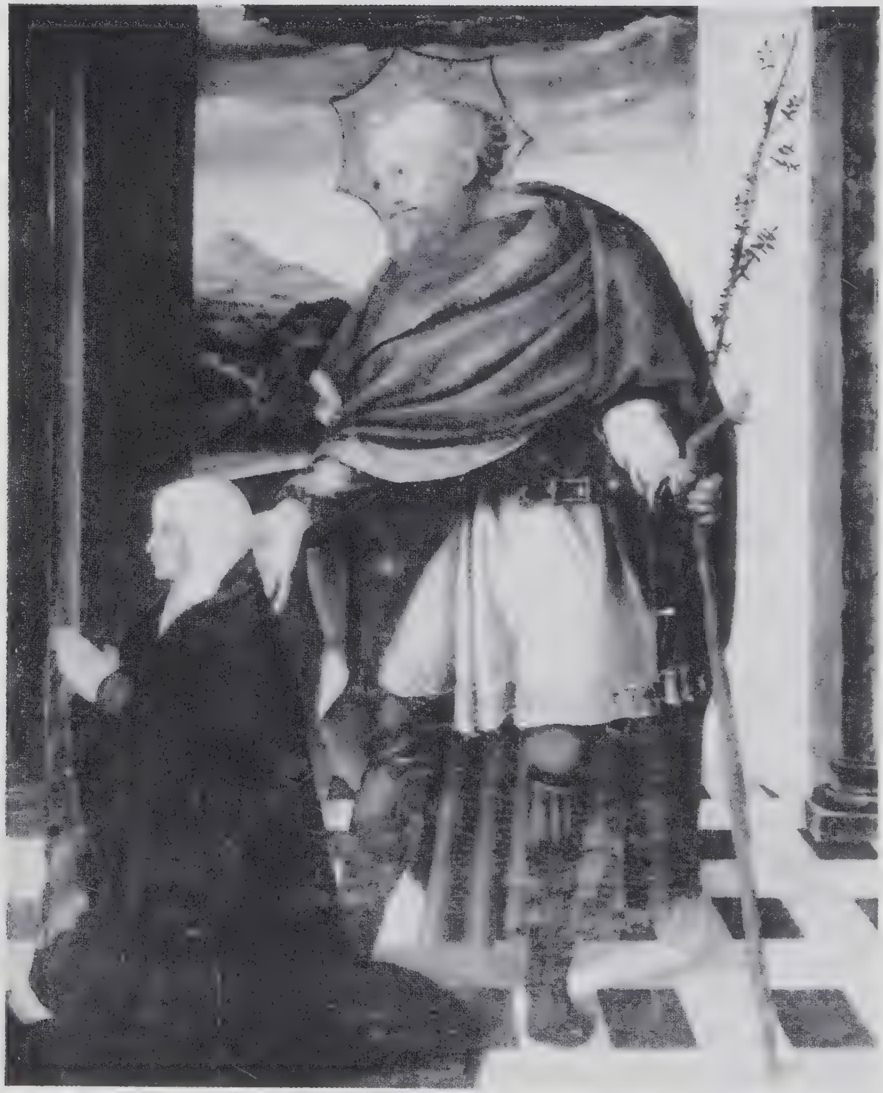

Fig. 73. PEDRO NUNYES. ST. JOSEPH AND A LADY OF THE DONOR'S FAMILY, SECTION OF RETABLE. COLLECTION OF THE CONDE DE EGARA, TARRASA

(*Photo. Mas*)

middle of the predella, the Madonna of the Milk, with the Child grasping a cross held by an angel, repeats a composition evolved by Juan Gascó[64] and continued by his son; and the lateral compartments, at this level in the altarpiece, display as half-lengths St. Andrew and St. Jerome in the desert. The fine, Plateresque framing is also preserved, and on each of its four uprights in the predella there is painted an escutcheon with the donor's *armes parlantes*, a leather strap (the Spanish word for which is *correa*) arranged in a circle and ending below in a buckle.[65] It is to be noted that in the Betrayal St. Peter's amputation of the ear of the high priest's servant is strangely made principal and the arrest of Christ relegated to the background, an anomaly which, taken in conjunction with the introduction of the scene of the Apostle's repentance before Christ at the Column and the presence of his brother, St. Andrew, in the predella, suggests a reference to one of the donor's given names, Pedro.

We have already[66] had occasion to reject a tentative attribution of the retable to Juan Gascó. Madurell[67] surmises that the author might be a Juan Garí, recorded as active at La Seo de Urgel from 1540–1549; but, although it is possible that Garí was already established in the town at the probably somewhat earlier date when the retable was executed, no document connects him with it. The demands of Nunyes to the honor, moreover, are undeniable, and it must not be forgotten that his vogue at La Seo de Urgel is demonstrated by the order which he received for a lost altarpiece in the Dominican church of the town.[68] One feels himself forthwith in the presence of his manner, and the impression is corroborated by concrete identities at every point. The St. Andrew, for example, repeats the mussy-haired type of the St. Joseph in the Nativity of the altarpiece in Santos Justo y Pastor, Barcelona; the aged Simon of Cyrene in the Via Dolorosa has not only a bearded head that is a commonplace in the master's output but also a tragic gaze that looks out at us from many of his characters such as the St. Peter in the just mentioned altarpiece; the Christ of the Resurrection in this altarpiece in full frontal view and with sleekly parted hair furnishes a counterpart for the Saviour of the Betrayal in the assemblage from La Seo de Urgel, and the robust body and head of the Second Person of the Trinity in the Capella Coronation are repeated in His form at the column in the retable that now concerns us; Gabriel presenting Juan Pedro Correa belongs to a kind of handsome youthful personage frequently used by Nunyes, as for the reading lad at the left in the scene of election in the retable of St. Severus; and the angel holding the cross beside the Madonna in the predella has a face and coiffure that the painter admired, illustrated by the celestial spirits in the Nativity in the church of Santos Justo y Pastor.

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[64] See above, p. 43.

[65] When I visited the church of the Piedad in 1930, the panels of the donor and his presumptive relative were interchanged in position, and for the Crucifixion, which had been removed to the sacristy, a much later painting of St. Joseph and the Child had been substituted.

[66] P. 14.

[67] *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, IV, 1–2 (1946), 146.

[68] See above, p. 175.

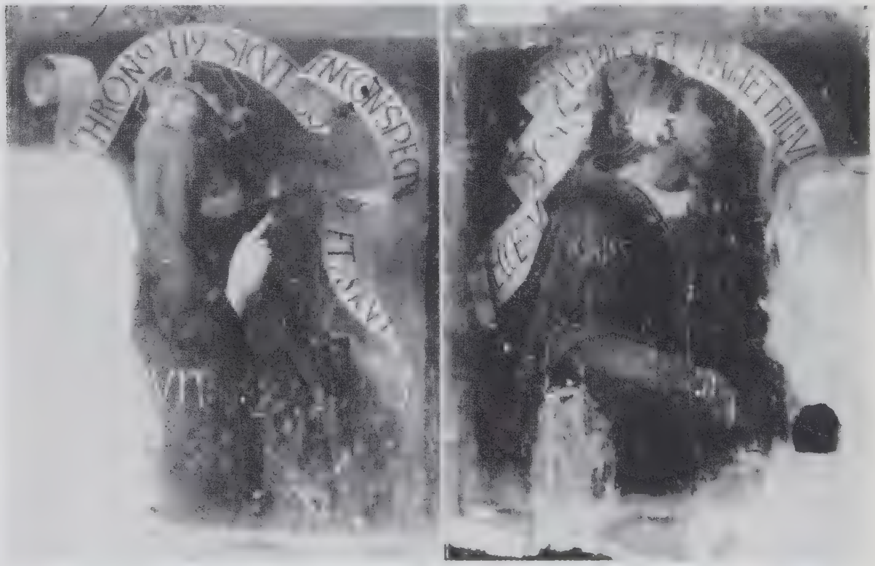

FIG. 74. PEDRO NUNYES. DAVID AND ISAIAH. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, LÉRIDA
(*Photo. Mas*)

Not only the general style of Nunyes but even detailed resemblances to his documented achievements emerge in fine half-lengths of David and Isaiah, now in the Diocesan Museum of Lérida (Fig. 74) but deriving from the otherwise destroyed retable over the high altar of the parish church at near-lying Castelldásens (also shortened into Castelldáns). The David should be compared especially with such a type as the Eternal Father of the Coronation at Capella, and the Isaiah with several of the actors in the panel of the election of St. Severus and particularly with this canonized bishop himself in the scene of his martyrdom. About both Prophets inscribed banderoles still flutter in the old mediaeval fashion. The verse chosen for David is from Psalm LXXXIX, 37, "Thronus eius sicut Sol in conspectu meo, etc." The scroll of Isaiah gives expression to the familiar prophecy of the virgin-birth in his chapter VII, 14.

In the case of a Nativity in the Collection of the Marquis of Santillana (the Duque del Infantado) at Madrid (Fig. 75), Angulo[69] hesitates whether to choose Nunyes himself or a pupil for the author, but, as in so many other instances, I am willing to go beyond his scholarly caution and to argue for the former alternative. All the types seem too close to those of his soundly authenticated productions to admit of any other opinion, the St. Joseph, for instance, absolutely repeating the St. Peter of the Capella altarpiece. The background is constituted by one of the elaborate studies of architecture of the High Renaissance to which his other works have accustomed us, and the figuration of the haloes also conforms to his practices. The advanced nature of the style would imply a date at least as late as that of the version of the theme in the retable in Santos Justo y Pastor.

5. A Work by Enrique Fernandes

The fresco that this master alone executed in 1545[70] in the cathedral of Barcelona as a background for the tombs of Ramón Berenguer I and his countess (Fig. 76) comprises too scant an amount of figure-painting, as we have seen, to enable us to define his separate, personal style, if he indeed possessed a manner that did not merely echo the procedures of Nunyes; but it constitutes almost as important a piece of successful architectural illusionism as the ornamentation of the Antesala of the Sala Capitular in the cathedral of Toledo by Juan de Borgoña and his associates. He has conceived a kind of façade of the Corinthian order, formed of two great niches from the bottom

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[69] *Archivo español de arte*, XVII (1944), 330, n. 1. I have neither seen other works in private collections at Barcelona that Angulo ascribes to him nor been able to obtain photographs of them, a "Historia de un Santo Pontífice" belonging to C. Rodríguez Andreu and a Holy Family in the possession of M. Mateu. The Santiago (really St. Thomas) and St. Jerome formerly in the Graells Collection, Barcelona, that Angulo assigns to Nunyes, I have already discussed, p. 186, n. 48.

[70] See above, p. 177.

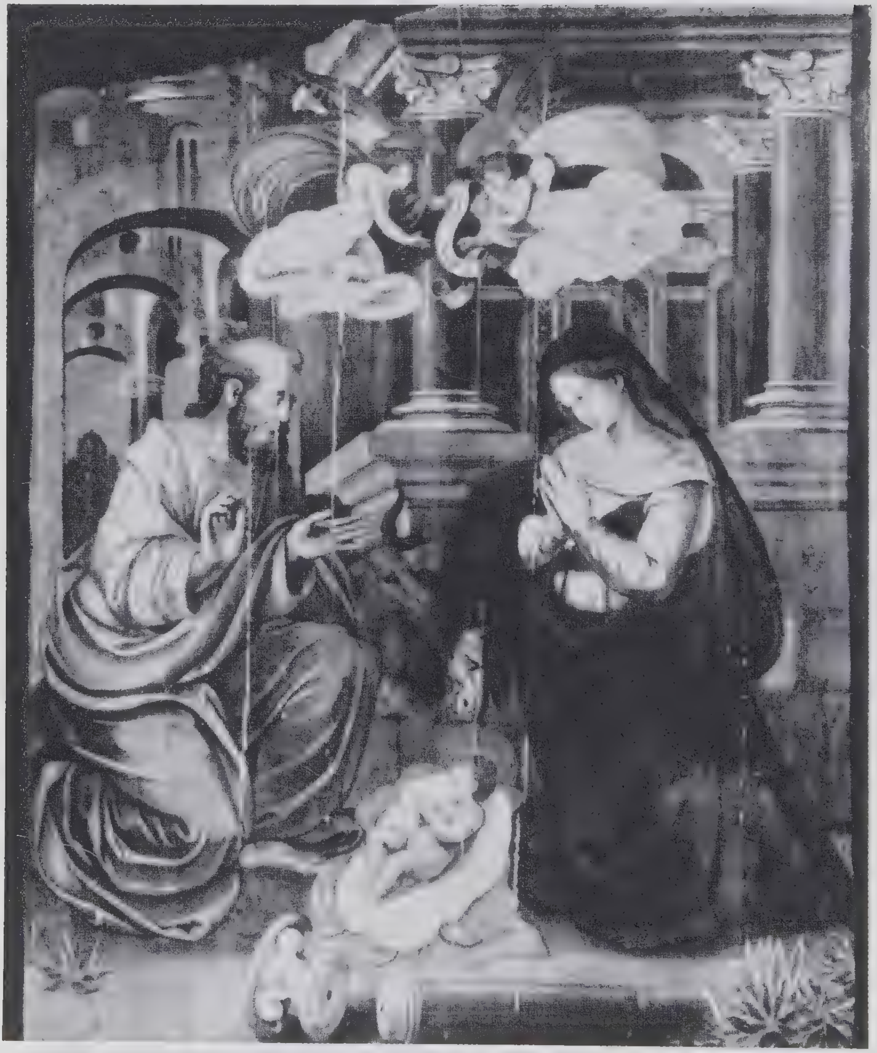

Fig. 75. PEDRO NUNYES. NATIVITY. SANTILLANA COLLECTION, MADRID
(*Photo. Moreno*)

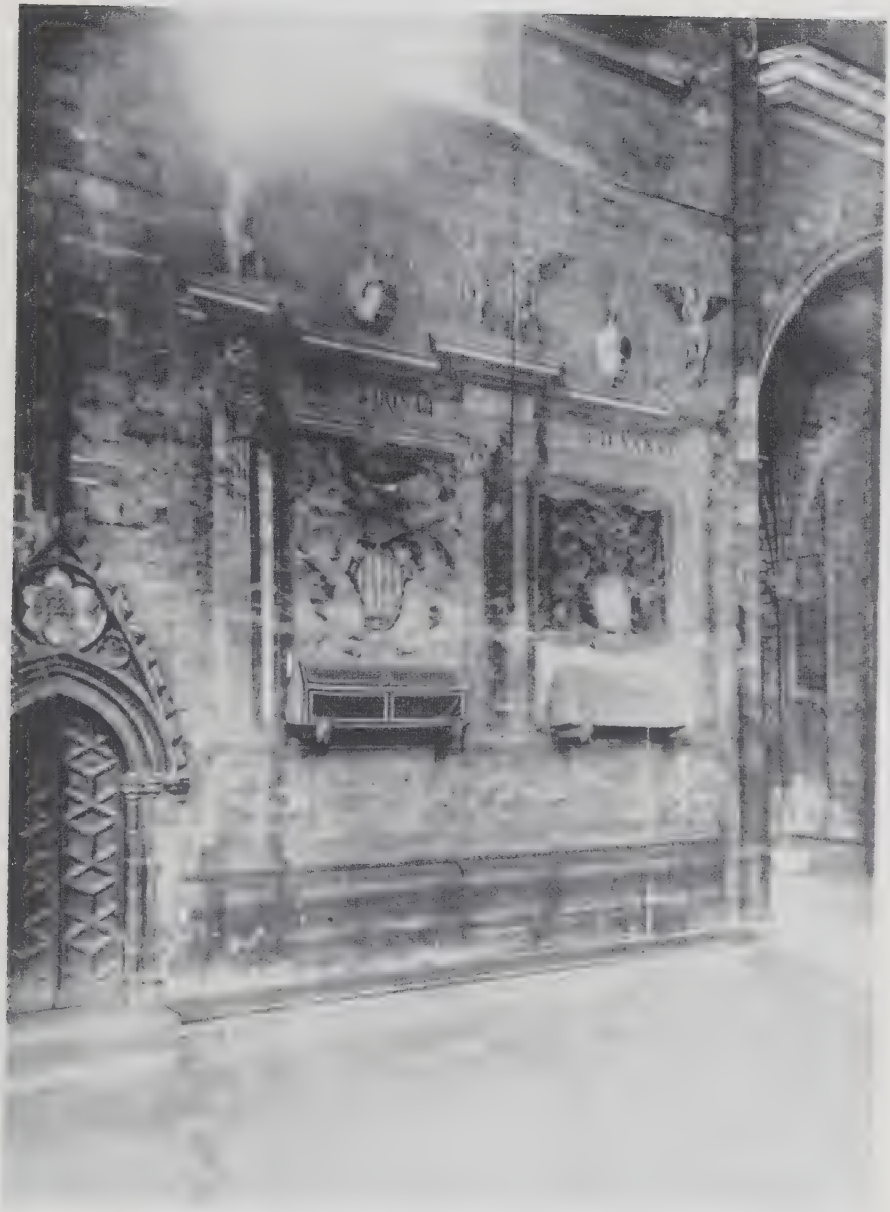

Fig. 76. ENRIQUE FERNANDES. FRESCO ON TOMBS OF RAMÓN BERENGUER I AND HIS COUNTESS, CATHEDRAL, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

of each of which projects a sarcophagus above the high and stately base that he has set under his counterfeited columns. The spaces in the niches over the sarcophagi are decorated with magnificent passages of heraldry, and in conformity to the pompous temperament of the Renaissance Enrique completes the embellishment of the wall with four mourning *putti* on the *ressauts* of his entablature and with two handsome simulated funereal urns set on the cornice between them. The inscriptions on the base in honor of the count and his wife are additions or substitutions of the year 1786 at the time when the present sarcophagi took the place of those of the sixteenth century, which had fallen into decay.

SECTION 2

INDIGENOUS PAINTERS

CHAPTER VIII

JAIME FORNER

1. His Biography

Happy turns of the wheel of fortune not only have made Jaime Forner into a definite personality by the preservation of two documented works, one from the region of Barcelona and the other in Roussillon, but they have also revealed, through the stylistic unity of the two works, that the painter of this name active in Roussillon is identical with his better known, Barcelonese homonym. The production in Roussillon is the retable over the high altar of the little church of Notre Dame de las Gradas in the village of Marcevol close to Arboussols, just northeast of Prades, having been thither transferred from its original, corresponding position in the church of the once important abbey at Marcevol, also dedicated to the Virgin.[1] The authentication of the retable is obtained through an entry in a book of a notary at the near-lying town of Vinça to the effect that the painter "Jacobus Forner" on May 29, 1527, signed a receipt for payment for a "retabulum Beate Marie (=Beatae Mariae) de Marcivolo."[2] So far as the language of the entry goes, the reference might be to a lost retable for the church of Notre Dame de las Gradas instead of the abbey, but, if such had been the meaning, the phrase "de las Gradas" would almost certainly have been appended to "Marie," and the words "a retable of Blessed Mary of Marcevol," without further specification, would naturally apply to a painting for the abbey as the more celebrated sacred institution in the place. In any case, the coincidence of the style with that of Forner's works in Spanish Catalonia shows that the record has to do with the extant retable, which has been moved from the abbey to Notre Dame de las Gradas.

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[1] See my vol. I, pp. 127–130.

[2] The knowledge and content of the document, as well as the actual existence and photograph of the retable, constitute one of the many debts that I owe to Professor Marcel Durliat, who subsequently has published the material in his important book, *Arts anciens du Roussillon, peinture,* Perpignan, 1954, p. 146. Though not cognizant of the Marcevol retable and therefore without stylistic confirmation, J. M. Madurell had suggested that the Roussillon and Barcelona dates do not conflict with the possibility that we have to do with one and the same painter: *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, II, 3 (1944), 31–32.

He is described in the entry as a painter of Vinça, and, in a contract of 1524 for a lost retable, including a statue of St. Petronilla by his own hand, in the chapel which, dedicated to her, belonged to the woolcombers in the cathedral of Perpignan,[3] his designation is as a painter of this capital of the province; but, since artists in the documents were not infrequently denominated from places where they temporarily resided, we cannot argue that he was born or lived as a permanent citizen in either town. Because, however, allusions to his employment in Roussillon antedate his appearance at Barcelona in 1531, it is extremely probable that he began his professional career in the former region, of which he may or may not have been a native, and then, for some reason now undiscoverable, sought patronage in, or was actually summoned to, the more southerly parts of Catalonia. Another record carries back his vogue in Roussillon as far as August 11, 1516, when he agreed to do a non-extant retable for the church of St. André at Bigerannes, near Sainte Marie east of Perpignan.[4]

The documented work done for the region of Barcelona and now in the Diocesan Museum of the city is the retable for the high altar of the church at Santa Inés de Malanyanes, near Argentona (northeast of the Catalan capital). The sculptor Juan Romeu was given in 1527 the commission for the carved setting of the altarpiece, but, when on May 1, 1535, Forner first contracted to complete it, he undertook not only to execute the paintings but also to increase the structure's size and, proving again that he exercised likewise the profession of sculpture, to make the central wooden statue of St. Agnes, as well as to do the additional parts of the frames. He assumed likewise the task of gilding all the carvings in the retable, but, by reason of difficulties in regard to minor financial details, he did not finally sign the contract for his whole labor on the monument until May 9, 1536.[5] Our knowledge of him in this section of Catalonia, however, commences at an earlier date, 1531, when he began to collaborate with Nicolás de Credensa and with an Antonio Rupit on the retable of the *capilla mayor* in the parish church of Argentona itself, a work which, though burned during the Spanish civil war, had luckily been partially photographed by the Mas Archive and examined by students (including me, in 1930) before its destruction. We shall subsequently contend that the paintings in this retable were at least very largely executed by Forner rather than by his partners. The contract of the sculptor Juan Romeu, who joined also in the Malanyanes enterprise, for the woodcarvings in the retable of Argentona, namely the statue of St. Julian at the centre and the frames for the paintings, is dated in 1524, nine years after the new church on the spot was begun in 1515 and fifteen years before the final consecration of the edifice in 1539,[6] but the agreement with the painters Forner, Credensa, and Rupit was not signed until 1531.[7] In this same year Forner undertook to do the polychromy of the sculptured retable by Martín Díez in the Lonja del Mar at Barcelona.

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[3] F. Monsalvatje y Fossas, *El Obispado de Elna*, III (Olot, 1913), 155, and Durliat, *op. cit.*, 148.

[4] *Ibid.*, III, 13, and Durliat, *op. cit.*, 148.

[5] Madurell, *op. cit.*, 21–31.

For our understanding of his achievements, it will be necessary to review, not the whole list of his lost retables and other activities which are well summarized here and there in Madurell's discussions of Pedro Nunyes and his contemporaries,[8] but only the data that have real bearing upon his artistic personality. We have already had occasion to note[9] that in 1533 he and Credensa were called upon to give their expert opinions in regard to the merits of the paintings in the retable of San Ginés de Vilasar by Pedro Nunyes and Enrique Fernandes. In the document that mentions this fact Forner is described as then dwelling at near-lying Mataró, but in other records of the period he is denominated a citizen of Barcelona, manifestly his principal residence. One of the notices showing that he chiefly lived in this place is found in his contract of 1540 or 1541 to do a retable for the *capilla mayor* of the church of Sta. Eulalia at Hospitalet, a suburb of the city,[10] but he evidently did not carry out the order or finished only a part of it, since in 1568 the painter Ramón Puig was honored with a commission for an altarpiece at exactly the same spot.[11] On August 23, 1542,[12] Forner again in company with Credensa approved the ultimate payment to Nunyes and Fernandes for their retable in the Hospital of Ecclesiastics at Barcelona. We last hear of him when in 1555 he made his will on January 7 and when after his burial the will was probated on January 29.

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[6] F. Carreras y Candi, *Argentona histórica*, Barcelona, 1891, pp. 73–74; and J. M. Madurell, *Los contratos de obras en los protocolos notariales y su aportación á la historia de la arquitectura*, in *Colegio Notarial de Barcelona*, *Estudios históricos y documentos de los archivos de protocolos*, I (1948), 142–143.

[7] Cels Gomis, *Provincia de Barcelona*, in the series edited by F. Carreras y Candi, *Geografía general de Catalunya*, p. 301; and an article by Carreras in the *Diario de Barcelona*, August 30, 1903.

[8] *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, I, 3 (1943), 29–30 and 55–57; II, 1 (1944), 25–26 and 29; and II, 3 (1944), 21–32 and 56–57.

[9] See above, p. 173.

[10] Madurell, *op. cit.*, I, 3 (1943), 56.

[11] Madurell, *op. cit.*, II, 1 (1944), 26, n. 161.

[12] See above, p. 175, and the article by Durán in *Vida cristiana*, XVI (1928–1929), 427.

Although we owe the documentary allusions to Forner's death to Madurell, the Catalan scholar to whose investigations we have referred in the preceding paragraphs, he confusingly mentions activities of the artist after this date. As early as 1553, a Jaime Forner had contracted to gild a retable at San Vicente de Malla in the diocese of Vich, the paintings of which were done by the immigrant from Italy, Pietro Paolo di Montalbergo, but he acknowledged payment for the task on March 9, 1555, subsequent to our master's decease! [13] A man of the same Christian name and cognomen agreed on August 24, 1559, to execute, in partnership with another painter of Barcelona, Juan Arissó, a retable for the high altar of the parish church at San Pedro de Octaviá (near San Cugat del Vallés).[14] On August 12, 1557, a debt of a Jaime Forner to be paid from money that he had received for assisting Pedro Serafí in the painting of a retable of St. Romanus in the church of the town of Lloret de Mar (south of Gerona, on the sea) was cancelled; and, if the actual agreement for settling the debt, which is not accurately dated in a preceding document,[15] was drawn up, as is probable, shortly before, we are provided with another instance of posthumous (!) performances of our artist. In any case, the Lloret retable, of which three compartments are preserved, shows no traces of his collaboration. Unless the year given for his decease, 1555, is a misprint, the subsequent notices must have to do with a younger painter of the same name, as we have found to be true in the case of Nicolás de Credensa. The likelihood of the existence of a second Jaime Forner is increased by a fact that Madurell does not include in the biography the marriage, in 1556, of a painter thus called to a widow; [16] and the first Jaime Forner, even if he had survived after 1555, would have reached so advanced an age as to make a matrimonial adventure improbable.

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[13] *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, I, 3 (1943), 29 and 30, and III, 3 (1945), 205.

[14] *Ibid.*, I, 3 (1943), 56–57.

[15] *Ibid.*, II, 3 (1944), 56–57.

[16] See J. Mas in *Boletín de la Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, VI (1911–1912), 315.

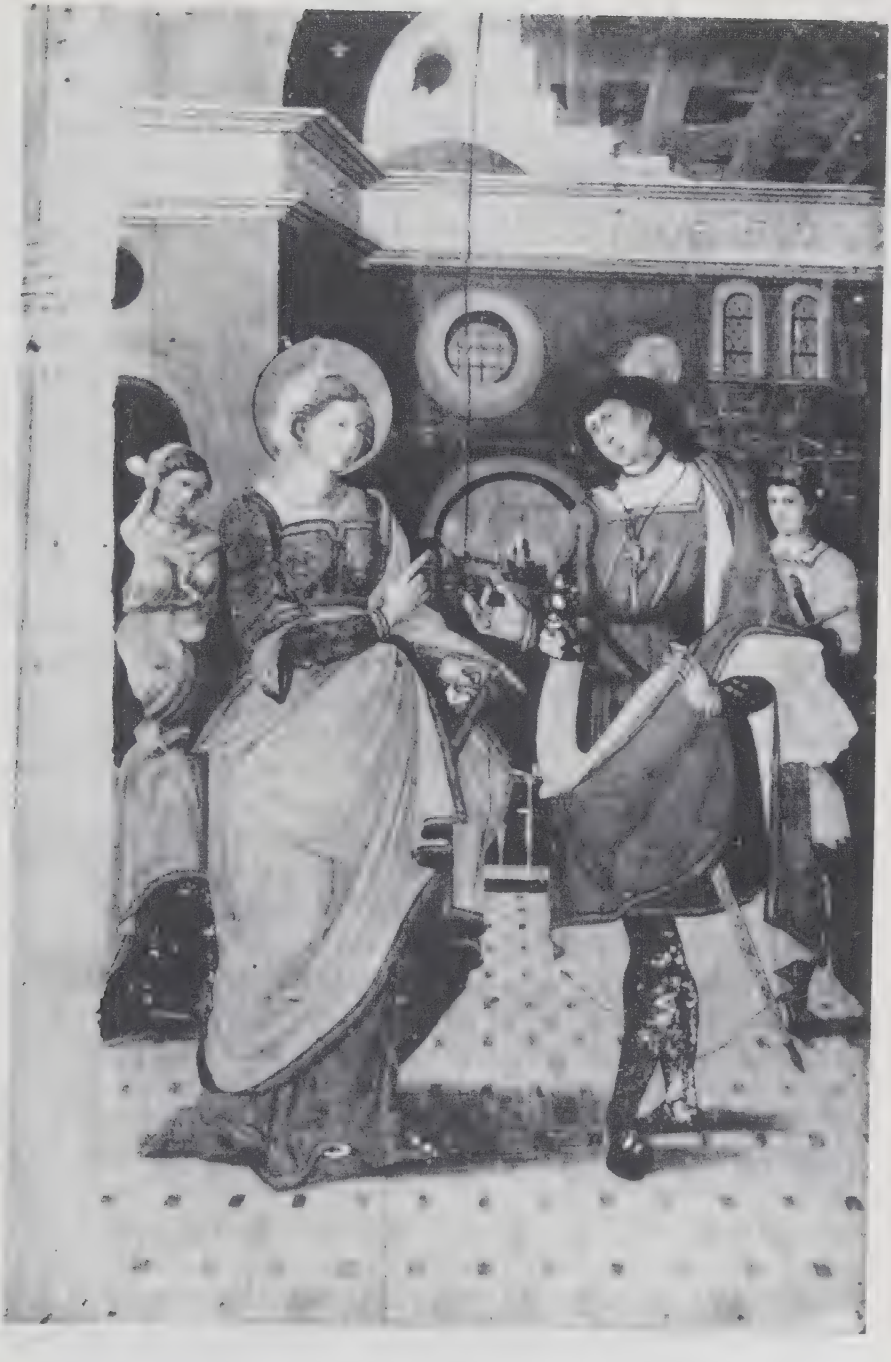

FIG. 77. JAIME FORNER. ST. AGNES REJECTING HER SUITOR, SECTION OF RETABLE. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

2. The Works of Forner

It will be advisable first to establish in our minds a conception of his style by analyzing his long known and soundly authenticated productions in the general region of Barcelona, so that we may utilize this knowledge to show by comparison the presence of precisely the same manner in the earlier retable at Marcevol and thus demonstrate the new fact of the identity of the Jaime Forner of Roussillon with his homonym of the later documents. Of the six panels that from his retable at Santa Inés de Malanyanes have reached the Diocesan Museum, Barcelona, three come from the main body of the structure, naturally setting forth events in the life of Agnes, which the terms of the contract [17] prescribe in general for this part of the altarpiece, while leaving the specification of each actual event to the arbitrament of the church's parishioners; and it turns out that for the extant principal compartments the following subjects were chosen. First she rejects the offer of marriage from the son of the prefect of Rome (Fig. 77); next, in the brothel where the prefect had placed her in nakedness to reduce her obstinacy, she sits reading in a breviary under the protection of an angel and in the white vesture with which God had miraculously clothed her shame, while at her feet the devil throttles to death her suitor who had now come to take by force what she would not willingly give and while other frequenters of the house of ill fame look on with amazement through a door in the background; and, last, there is telescoped with her final decollation the ordeal by the fire which instead divides to attack the two groups of her persecutors. In this scene of martyrdom her soul, received by the Eternal Father, is depicted, according to a mediaeval Spanish convention in such themes, [18] as a kind of elongated, spectral emanation. The series in the Diocesan Museum includes also the retable's pinnacle with the usual subject of the Crucifixion, and, from the sides of the predella, two further scenes of the Passion, the Flagellation and Via Dolorosa.

The style reveals an artist of no more than average merit manipulating forms like those of the followers of Raphael and Michael Angelo at Rome and setting them in the midst of rather sober architecture of the Renaissance, as compared with the pompous and elaborate edifices of Pedro Nunyes and Enrique Fernandes. We are still confronted not only with the unsolved problem of whether he studied in Italy or merely learned from indigenous Italianate masters but also with the likewise unelucidated question of whether he spent an apprenticeship in Barcelona and then received his first patronage in his probably native Roussillon or acquired his modes from the elements of the Renaissance that had drifted into this province. What scant bits of landscape Forner allows us to see, he treats as mere routine. In general he has advanced less far along the sinuous roads of mannerism than Nunyes in much of the latter's production. For the most part he is a dull composer. The usual iconography of the Flagellation, however, is varied to add St. John Evangelist to a more customary spectator of the event, St. Peter, according to a tradition that the former visited his imprisoned Lord,[19] and a certain further interest is added, as in Pedro Berruguete's version at Avila, by the consignment of Pilate and his minions to a raised tribune. Although he largely fails to realize the compositional possibilities even of the sensational episodes in St. Agnes's life, he has made of the white-clad martyr, in the scene of the brothel, a tranquilly monumental form occupying the whole centre of the space and conceived as if she were a cult-figure in the middle of an altarpiece.

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[17] The contract is published in full by Madurell, *op. cit.*, II, 3 (1944), 27, n. 28.

[18] Vols. II, p. 242; X, p. 320; and above, p. 158.

Since the styles of the retables of Argentona and Santa Inés de Malanyanes are identical, the likelihood is that the dominating painter at Argentona was Forner, that his associates, Credensa and Rupit, were only subordinates reproducing his manner, or that Credensa was little more than the financial head of the undertaking. We have indeed had occasion to surmise [20] that Credensa was principally a kind of general *entrepreneur* in the artistic life of Catalonia and that his own performances in the realm of art did not ordinarily extend beyond the sphere of minor, decorative tasks. There are preserved fragments of only one retable that he is documented with certainty to have done and of another that on the authority of the records may be ascribed to him with a high degree of probability;[21] and perhaps the fact of their very early date in his career will not explain the absence of any tangible links with the manner encountered in the Argentona and Malanyanes altarpieces, so that during his maturity he may be guessed to have played no significant rôle in the actual execution of large pictorial commissions. As far, therefore, as the sum of our present evidence goes, the indications point to Forner as the principal pictorial performer in the Argentona altarpiece. Since Antonio Rupit does not stand forth, like Forner and Credensa, as a prominent figure in the artistic annals of the period,[22] he could have enjoyed no higher an office than that of the merest assistant.

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[19] Vol. IX, pp. 838–840.

[20] See above, p. 164.

[21] See above, p. 165.

The central and two upper sections of the many parts into which the retable was divided were devoted to St. Julian, the church's patron. Of the numerous saints of this name, the one in question is the martyr of Antioch in the early fourth century, who was the husband of St. Basilissa and whose day is January 9. His statue stood in the middle of the structure on a carved base above the tabernacle, and at the sides were six painted episodes from his life, curiously enough not generally including the most sensational events of his exciting career and of his unusually long and sanguinary martyrdom.[23] In five of the six compartments the subjects were perfectly clear. Since, like Sts. Cecilia and Valerian, Julian and Basilissa vowed themselves to virginity even in the state of matrimony, the first scene was that in which on their wedding night they were rewarded by the appearance of two angels to crown them for their continence. Their history goes on to tell how St. Julian established a monastery and St. Basilissa a convent, in which they lived separately from each other, but at Argentona this stage in their career was embodied in a scene where a bishop or abbot, in the presence of a group of monks, clothed St. Julian in a religious habit anachronously like that of the not yet founded Benedictines. Whereas St. Basilissa died a pious but natural death, her husband was reserved for the most frightful but, as usual, ineffectual tortures of a protracted martyrdom; and yet, with singular restraint for a Spanish altarpiece, these were all omitted at Argentona [24] and there were tamely substituted the episodes of his arrest and arraignment for a refusal to commit idolatry. The fifth panel depicted him, on his way with his fellow Christians to be boiled in oil, raising a man named Anastasius from the dead in response to his judge's taunting expression of doubt about the power of God. For the subject of the sixth compartment, his baptism of a king and queen, I can find no literary source. To be sure, he christened Marcionilla, the wife of his persecutor, the imperial prefect, Marcianus, and their son Celsus, a child of seven years already converted, acted as her godparent; but the recipient of baptism in the picture was a bearded potentate.

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[22] For the few documentary references to Rupit, see Madurell in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, II, 3 (1944), 51.

[23] For his story, see the Bollandists under January 9, and for a good abridgement, Paul Guérin, *Les petits Bollandistes*, I, 233.

[24] They are partially included in a retable dedicated to them in the Museum of Catalan Art, Barcelona, by a Catalan painter of the middle of the fifteenth century to whom Gudiol Ricart has given the name of the St. Basilissa Master: see below, p. 577.

The body of the retable included also, in the lower tier, six scenes from the life of Christ, the Via Dolorosa, Lamentation over His body, the Entombment, Resurrection, Ascension, and Last Judgment, as well as, on the lateral extremes of the structure, six standing figures of saints, one in each of the three tiers, at the left Raphael, Barbara, and Santiago and at the right a canonized woman who was represented as looking at the sacred monogram I H S inscribed on a medallion in the air but whom I am unable to identify, in the tier beneath her Quiteria providing the only instance that I know where she had the emblems both of the mad dog and of the human victom of hydrophobia,[25] and at the bottom an episcopal worthy who could not be recognized because he displayed no distinctive attributes. The three faces of the tabernacle exhibited the usual themes of Christ filling a chalice with the sacred blood and of the mourning Virgin and St. John,[26] and in the flanking compartments of the predella, the scenes from the Passion depicted in the main part of the retable were continued in the Agony in the Garden, the Betrayal (Fig. 78), the hearing before Caiaphas, and the Flagellation (with St. Peter's denial to the damsel enacted in the background, as often in the Spanish iconography of the time, particularly at Cordova). The doors at the sides of the altar, with the orthodox themes of Sts. Peter and Paul, were also preserved until the war, and, in conformity to the ambitious comprehensiveness of the monument, four more events of the Passion were set beside them, the Last Supper, Entry into Jerusalem, Crowning with Thorns, and Ecce Homo.

The retable made a curious effect upon the spectator as embodying

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[25] Vol. VIII, p. 325.

[26] The Mas photograph shows this original tabernacle in place, but earlier photographs, made before the fairly recent restoration of the retable prior to its destruction in the war, reveal a later tabernacle that had been substituted, causing the original to be relegated to the sacristy. One of the earlier photographs is reproduced in the *Ilustració catalana*, I (1903), 213.

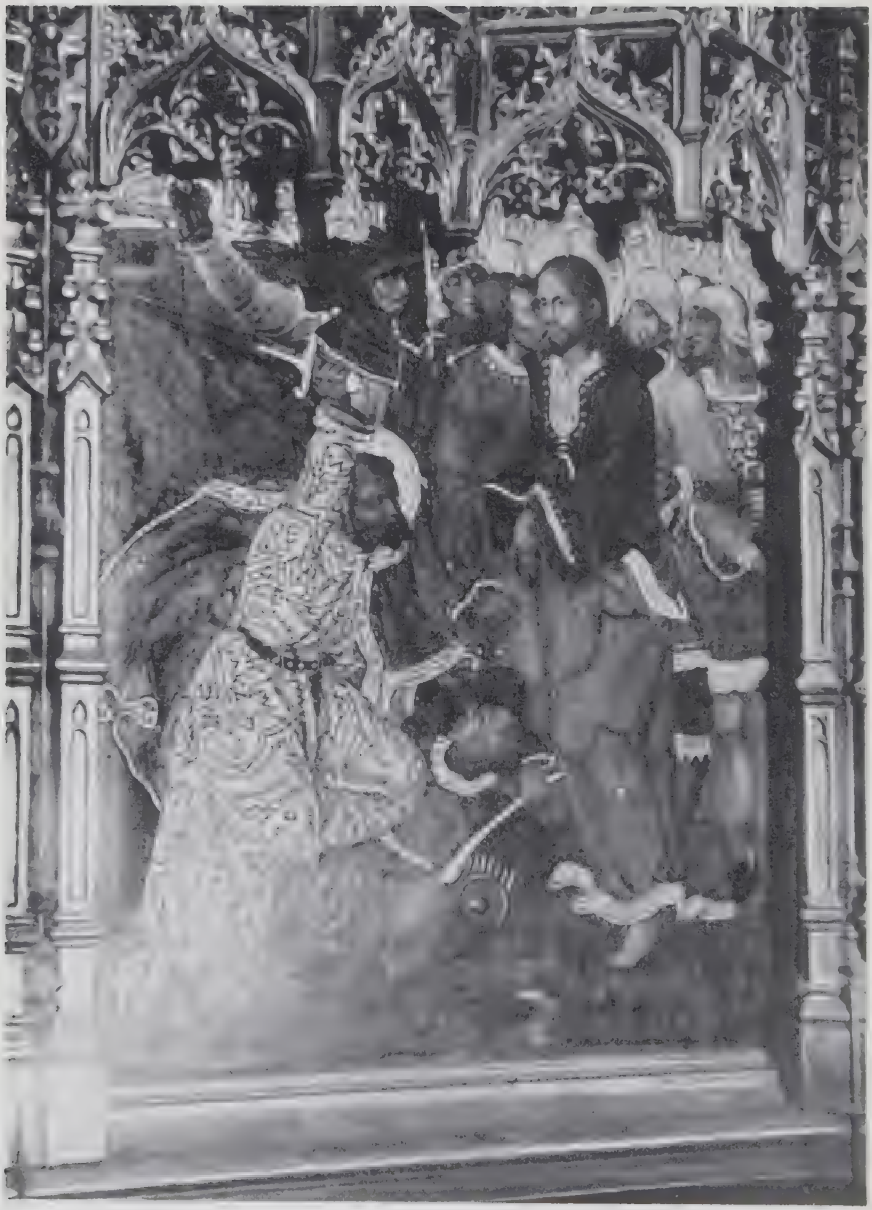

Fig. 78. JAIME FORNER. BETRAYAL, SECTION OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, ARGENTONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

an incongruous combination of the style of the High Renaissance with all the golden appurtenances of the Catalan school of the end of the fifteenth century at their loudest. Among the many other instances of a dependence upon Dürer's prints in the painting of the province at this period which Angulo[27] has discovered, the Betrayal, Crowning with Thorns, Ecce Homo, Via Dolorosa, and Entombment are derived, often with little change in the fundamental compositions, from the German master's series of engravings called the Little Passion, done between 1508 and 1512; but Forner partly debased his Teutonic prototypes by jamming more figures into the spaces, so that one got the same impression as from the full and formal Catalan amassments of the Quattrocento and yet without Huguet's relieving punctuation of the crowds by strikingly individualized heads. Not only were borders of costumes, details of armor, haloes, and the like opulently accented with embossed gold, but even the Catalan gold backgrounds of raised stucco were retained and patterned in the schematized designs of the latest mediaeval productions of the region. Beneath the golden skies Forner failed to show any real degree of the appreciation of landscape that some of his predecessors in Catalonia had managed, despite similar difficulties, to weave into their achievements.

The presence of gold embossings might at first have been misleading and prevented one from descrying exactly the same fundamental style as in the panels from Santa Inés de Malanyanes, but it did not require a long scrutiny of the Argentona retable to elicit many conclusive parallelisms, thus tending to establish Jaime Forner as at least the dominant personality in the actual execution. Most telling perhaps was the constant reappearance of the same type of bearded old man. In the Malanyanes scene of the decollation, for instance, the magistrate Aspasius at the upper left does not differ from one of the Hebrews who could be seen in the background of the Argentona Entry into Jerusalem or from the saint just above the Virgin at the right in the Lamentation. It is indeed this compartment from Santa Inés de Malanyanes that provides the most numerous links with the Argentona altarpiece. The turbaned retainer of Aspasius was actually repeated in a head directly behind Christ in the Argentona Flagellation, and he gazes upward with the mawkish expression of the Apostle who looked out at us in the Entry into Jerusalem. The

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[27] *Archivo español de arte*, XVII (1944), 327–330.

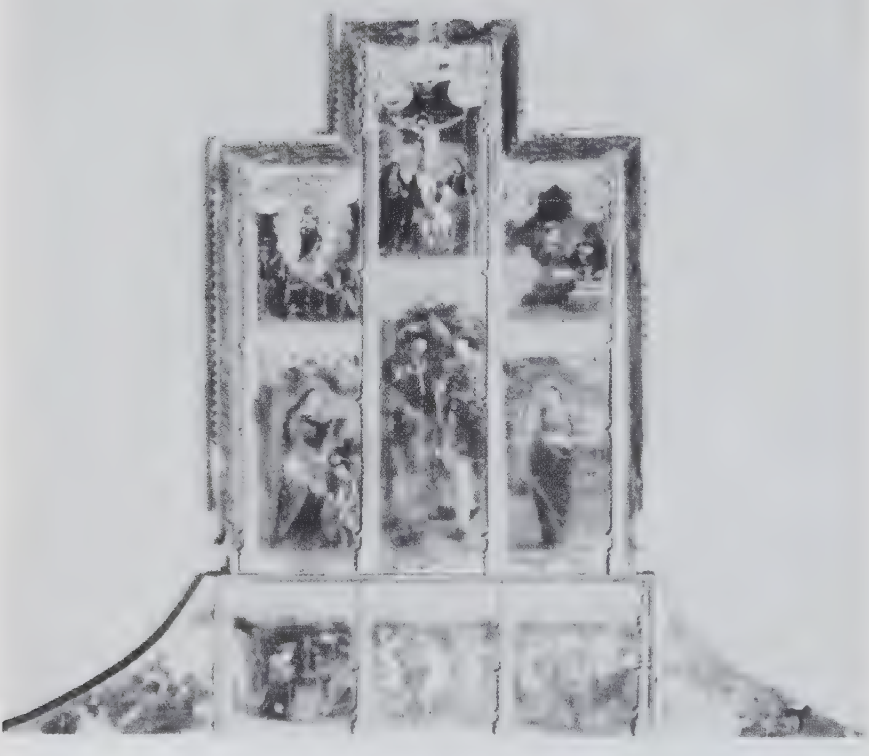

Fig. 79. JAIME FORNER. RETABLE. NUESTRA SEÑORA DEL PATROCINIO, TAMARITE DE LITERA
(*Photo. Mas*)

executioner was recalled by the left scourger of the Saviour, and the features and expression of St. Agnes herself were comparable to those of St. John in the Entombment. Even more determinative was the virtual duplication of the Beloved Disciple in the Argentona Lamentation by the same person in the Malanyanes Crucifixion. In the scene of the brothel the angel in lank proportions and in face had a counterpart in the prelate clothing St. Julian as a monk. The two Flagellations were somewhat differently treated; but the posture of Our Lord was identical in both, and the majority of the types in the version in the Diocesan Museum could be perceived in the Argentona cycle.

We are obliged to rely on internal evidence alone in assigning to Forner the retable in the church of Nuestra Señora del Patrocinio at Tamarite de Litera to which are attached two triangular fragments perhaps by Huguet.[28] Not infrequently in Spain strangely heterogeneous iconographic material is brought together, in a single retable, but nowhere more so than here (Fig. 79). The principal compartment displays the erect effigies of the two exotic saints so popular in the eastern part of the peninsula, Abdon and Sennen, the one at the left holding in his right hand a crown as a symbol of their royal lineage.[29] Another pair of canonized favorites in this region of Spain stand in the left flanking compartment, St. Julitta with her child, St. Quiricus, and they are balanced in the panel at the right by an unrecognizable virgin martyr. The Crucifixion, as usual, occupies the central pinnacle, and at this level in the retable the subjects of the two lateral compartments are the appearance of Our Lady on the pillar to Santiago, with some of his followers, and the miracle wrought by Sts. Cosmas and Damian upon the cancered leg of their devotee.[30] The reason for the introduction of the Aragonese devotional theme of the Virgin of the Pillar into the altarpiece is that Tamarite, though dividing its patronage between the schools of Catalonia and Aragon, lies technically within the territory of the latter section of the peninsula. At the middle of the predella, Christ of the Passion is curiously depicted as seated in the clouds of heaven adored by two angels, but here the two lateral panels show an iconographic interrelationship with each other absent from the rest of the retable, since they represent the Nativity and Epiphany.

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[28] Vol. VII, p. 156. Gudiol Ricart (*Huguet*, Barcelona, 1948, p. 49) may well be right in transferring the fragments to the personality whom I call the Sant Quirse Master.

[29] Vols. IV, p. 599, n.2; VI, 130; and VII, 53.

[30] The two figures in the central compartment cannot be Sts. Cosmas and Damian (thus making the retable more homogeneous), since they exhibit neither the costumes nor the medical emblems of their profession.

We discover in the retable the phase of Forner's style in which the somewhat inferior and more mannered Canillo Master [31] approximates him, but all of its panels clearly proclaim that it is with Forner that we have to do at Tamarite. The closest parallels in his other works are found in the compartment from Malanyanes depicting St. Agnes's rejection of marriage, since she is like the unidentified virgin martyr at Tamarite, and her suitor corresponds to the St. Abdon (at the left in the central compartment). In actual facial traits it is Our Lady in the Epiphany and in her appearance on the pillar who reproduces most nearly Forner's conception of St. Agnes. The St. Julitta and the Blessed Virgin in the Tamarite Crucifixion recall the sorrowing Mother in the Malanyanes Via Dolorosa. The elongated figures of Christ in the Tamarite and Malanyanes Crucifixions are scarcely differentiated, and there is a like analogy between the representations of the Saviour in the Malanyanes Flagellation and at the centre of the Tamarite predella. The kind of pose by which Forner's partial manneristic tendencies declare themselves in the St. Joseph of the Nativity is a recurring phenomenon in his output.

With composure also we can assign to him a Crucifixion that at my last knowledge was to be seen in the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament in the church of the monastery of Santas Creus (Fig. 80). In a way, the picture is a conflation of the versions of the subject in the Malanyanes and Tamarite retables. The Christ is practically a replica of this figure in the former rendering, even if we regard such details as the two locks falling over the right shoulder, but the Virgin and the emotionally advancing St. John find in the latter version their counterparts. Another close analogue to the Virgin is afforded by the sorrowing Mother of the Argentona tabernacle. For the Magdalene at the foot of the cross the same model of a young woman was used as for St. Agnes rebuffing her suitor in the Malanyanes assemblage, and the hilly landscape of the Crucifixion in this assemblage serves, with little variation, for the background of Calvary in the panel of Santas Creus.

A further relic of Forner, an Epiphany (Fig. 81), is comprised

[31] See below, p. 364.

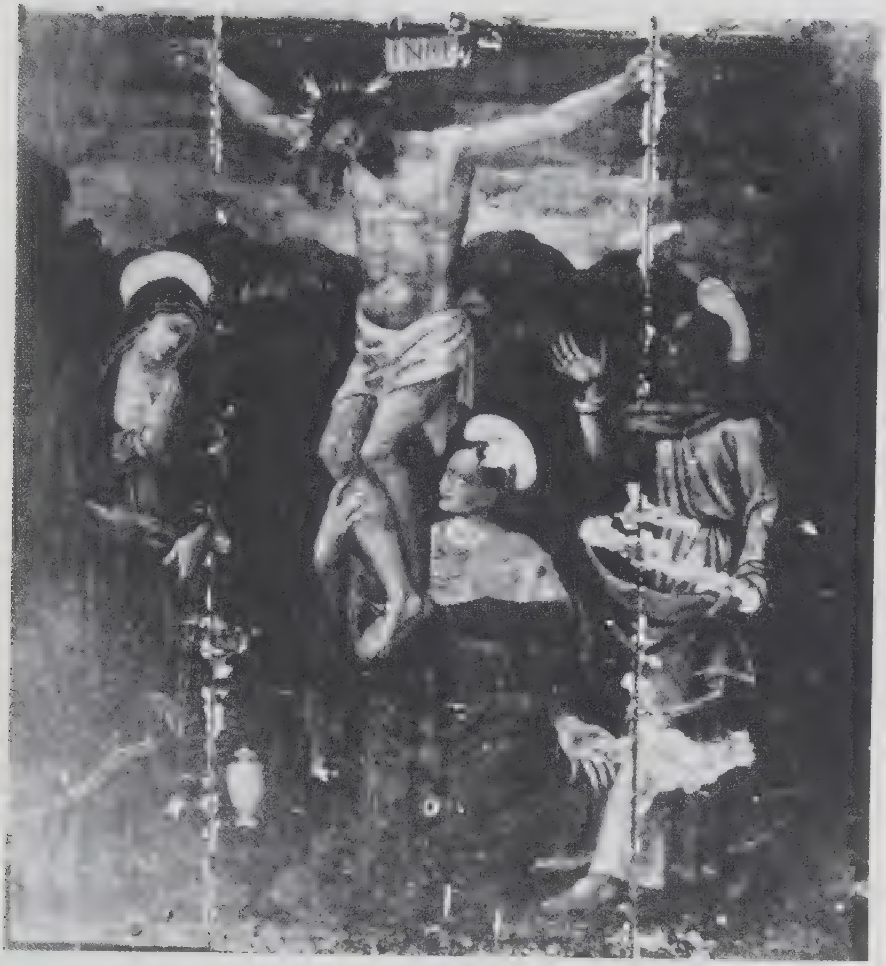

Fig. 80. JAIME FORNER. CRUCIFIXION. MONASTERY OF SANTAS CREUS
(*Photo. Mas*)

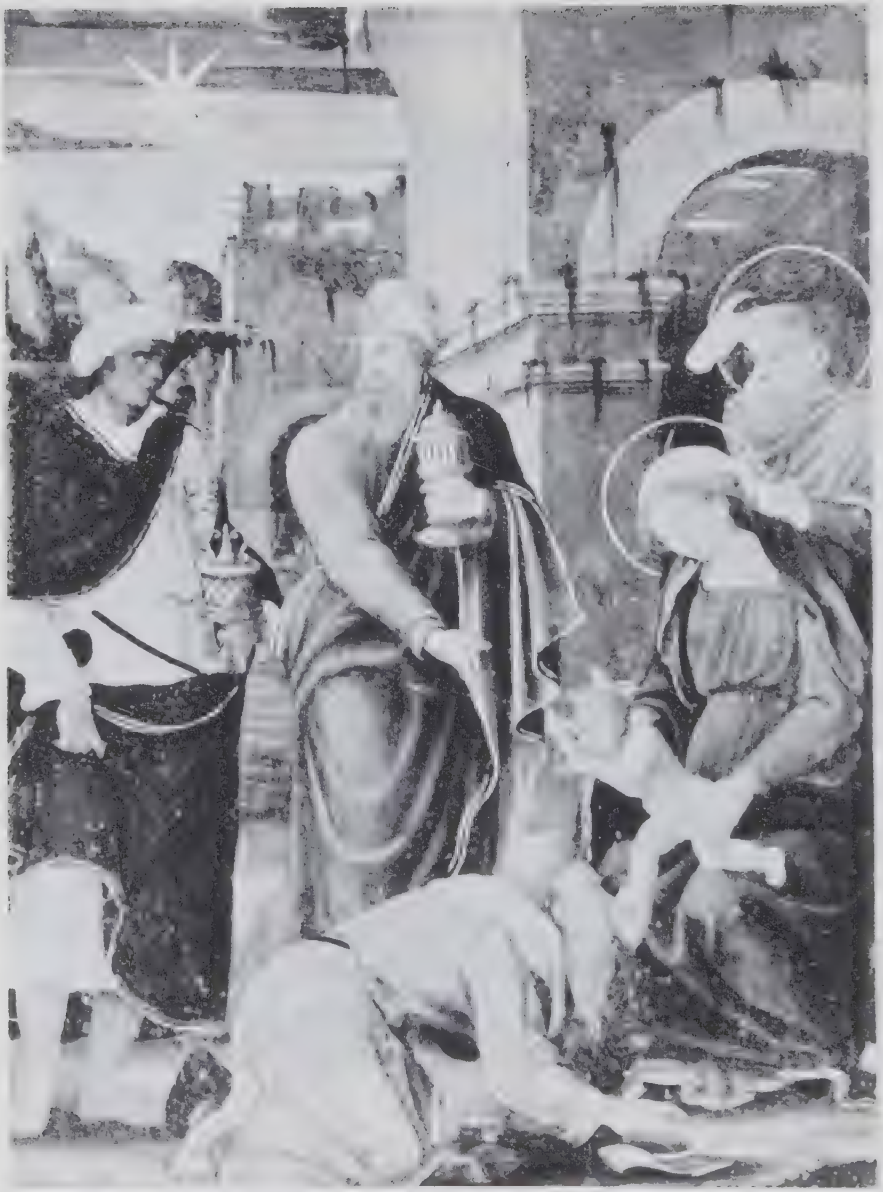

FIG. 81. JAIME FORNER. EPIPHANY. CONVENT, PEDRALBES, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

among the assortment of works of art which were accumulated in the convent of Pedralbes at Barcelona, having once decorated the edifice or strayed into it from unrecorded sources, and which are now preserved in the museum that the institution at present constitutes. No more authentication is required than the conformity of the Virgin in head and body to his favorite feminine type, as in the Malanyanes St. Agnes and her companion or the presumptive St. Ursula in the retable at Sitges, which will immediately occupy us. The composition of the same theme in this retable, as well as in the altarpiece of Tamarite de Litera, is very similar, and the kneeling Magus at Sitges is practically duplicated in the corresponding Pedralbes figure, with a kind of countenance used also for the prominent pagan potentate in the left background of the Malanyanes compartment depicting the virgin martyr's decollation. The resemblance to the Tamarite rendering extends even to the lively gesture of the Child. Rather heroically massive forms such as those of the three standing participants in the scene are not uncommon in the master's production.

I am glad that I had recognized affinities with Forner in a retable of the Seven Joys of the Virgin now in the chapel of the Hospital de S. Juan Bautista at Sitges, before its cleaning and the detailed photographs kindly given me by Don Juan Ainaud de Lasarte convinced me that this great Catalan scholar was right in actually ascribing it, as he generously told me, to the painter who is the subject of the present chapter, although I myself must interject the proviso of a much larger intrusion of the master's shop than in his other works. Formerly in the pilgrimage church of Sta. María del Vinyet in the town, the retable was transferred to the Hospital in 1912 or 1913; but Carolina Benaprés, who alone has devoted any research to the subject,[32] states that the retable was originally in the parish church and thinks that it might just possibly be connected with documents of 1544 which show, unhappily without giving the painter's name, that an altarpiece was then being made for this church in honor of the Virgin of Vinyet, i.e., of Our Lady as an object of cult in the near-lying sacred edifice. Since the parish church is dedicated to Sts. Bartholomew and Thecla and already possessed its retable by Nicolás de Credensa over the high altar doing homage to these members of the heavenly host,[33] a subordinate altar must have been the spot graced by the retable of 1544.

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[32] In an article in the periodical of Sitges, *L'Amic de les arts*, August 31, 1927, pp. 78–80.

The original main compartment of the retable in the Hospital has been lost, and for it there has been substituted an architectural niche of the Renaissance containing a statue of the Hospital's patron, the Baptist. The Joys of the Virgin chosen for the surrounding narrative panels are in this case [34] the Annunciation, Nativity, Epiphany, Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost, and (above the niche) the Coronation. In the predella, the Pietà is set between six compartments of saints, each seated on a bench (Fig. 82). Four of these are of common occurrence and regular iconography, Sts. Peter, Paul, Anne, with the Virgin and Child to make the subject of the *Anna selbdritt*, and the archangel Raphael, with the young Tobias. Each of the figures at the middle on either side, however, is unusual in certain respects, and, since they both carry a ship as an emblem and since the Virgin of Vinyet was invoked especially by travellers on the sea,[35] we may deduce that the retable was partly intended as a votive offering for the protection of mariners. The hallowed bishop at the left can hardly be anyone else than the episcopal St. Erasmus or Sant'Elmo of Formia in Italy, the outstanding patron of Mediterranean sailors, here not confused, as sometimes in Spain, with the Dominican San Pedro González, who was called also San Telmo and who, when represented in this dual personality, exhibits a ship as an attribute.[36] The balancing figure on the right is a virgin martyr, and, although I cannot recall, or find any mention of, a canonized maiden of this category whose emblem is ever a ship, it is not difficult to concur in the guess of Carolina Benaprés that she may be St. Ursula, who had a long nautical history.

The carving of the frames is still Gothic, and the traditional character of the compositions, retaining the predilection of the Spanish Middle Ages for symmetry, might likewise suggest at first sight a dating very early in the sixteenth century. The saints in the predella are also aligned on simulated stone seats quite in the old-fashioned way; but the forms themselves throughout the retable are soon perceived to correspond with those of the exponent of the mature Renaissance, Jaime Forner. Ainaud's authority alone is sufficient to establish

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[33] See above, p. 165.

[34] See vol. VIII, p. 294.

[35] J. Ferrando Roig, *La Virgen del Vinyet*, Barcelona, 1941, pp. 16–18.

[36] Vol. X, p. 284.

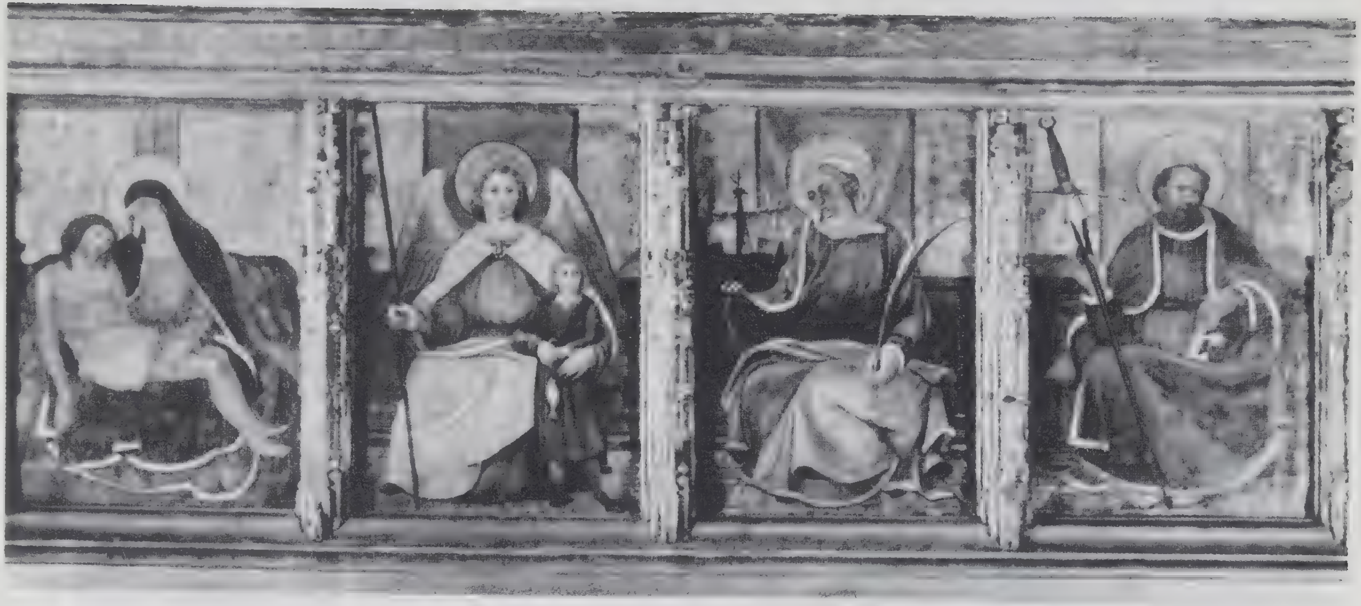

Fig. 82. JAIME FORNER. SECTION OF PREDELLA OF RETABLE. HOSPITAL DE S. JUAN BAUTISTA, SITGES
(Courtesy of Don Juan Ainaud de Lasarte)

the retable in Forner's canon, but for the sake of giving the reader an opportunity to confirm the Catalan critic's judgment I will enumerate a few of the sundry parallelisms to the painter's other works. Of his many similar representations of Christ of the Passion, the instance in the Entombment of the Argentona altarpiece scarcely varies from the Saviour in the Pietà of the predella, the section of the retable where, in contrast to its main body, we most descry Forner's unassisted brush. The Virgin in the *Anna selbdritt* and the putative St. Ursula are derived from the same kind of woman as the St. Agnes repulsing her suitor in the Malanyanes altarpiece, and it is perhaps only the hand of an assistant that slightly modifies the type in the Mary of the Annunciation, Nativity, and Epiphany. The St. John in the Ascension and Pentecost reiterates this very Apostle in the Flagellation of the Malanyanes retable, and a further specimen of the same sort of head is found in the Magdalene of the Crucifixion in this series of panels. There is a resemblance, especially in the draperies, between Gabriel of the Annunciation and the angel protecting St. Agnes in the brothel, and the helmeted, sleeping soldier in the foreground at the left in the Resurrection is repeated in the Argentona version.

With all this material at hand for comparison, we are now ready to prove, by demonstrating the existence of the same style in the retable at Marcevol (Fig. 83), that the Jaime Forner of Barcelona is none other than the painter of this name active in Roussillon at an earlier stage in his career. The paintings in the structure over the high altar of Marcevol that belong to the contract of 1527 are: the scenes of the Annunciation, Nativity, Ascension, and Pentecost; in the present disposition of the pieces, at a higher level the Resurrection flanked by a fragment of an originally complete representation of the Epiphany and by a figure of the canonized pope, St. Linus; [37] at the summit the sole form of the Crucified in a landscape; and a predella with the Pietà between half-lengths of Sts. Peter, Sebastian, Eulalia, and (?) Benedict. The centre of the retable is occupied by a statue of the Madonna which the contract orders from Forner himself, whom we have found to have practised also the art of sculpture. Only the predella has kept its original frames, archaistically Gothic as at Argentona, Tamarite, and Sitges, but fragments of the carved borders of the other compartments are stored behind the altar.

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[37] See below, p. 432.

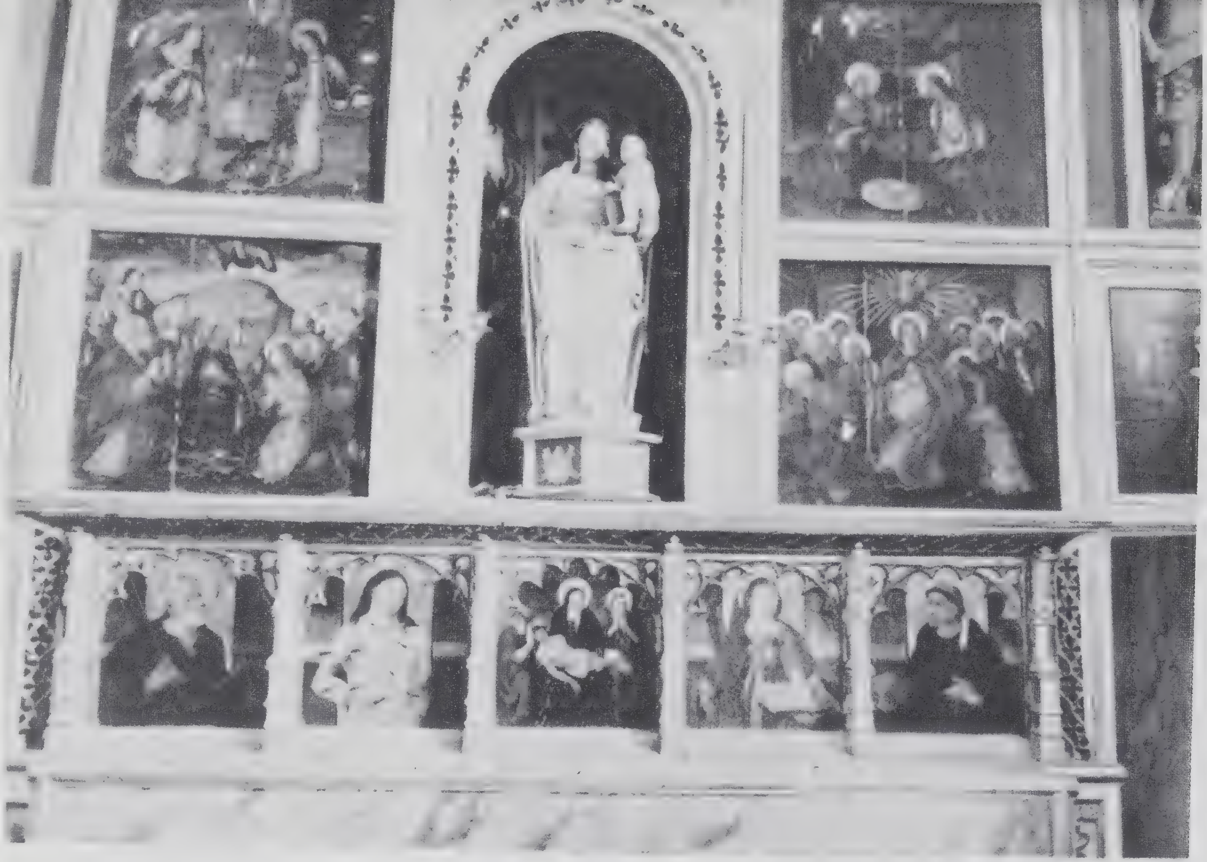

FIG. 83. JAIME FORNER. RETABLE OF THE VIRGIN. NOTRE DAME DE LAS GRADAS, MARCEVOL
(*Courtesy of Professor Marcel Durliat*)

The conjunction of a style generally like that of the Jaime Forner of Barcelona with a document assigning the Marcevol retable to a painter of the same name is almost enough in itself to show that we have to do with a single personality, but the equation is securely established by many detailed analogies. The most conclusive is found in the St. Sebastian, who in anatomy, pose, and inclination of the head more than prophesies the Christ of the Malanyanes Flagellation and only to a less extent the Saviour in the Argentona version of the theme. The actual countenance of St. Sebastian is very similar to the lineaments of St. Agnes rejecting her lover. The rather unusual placing of the Virgin in a profile posture at the centre of the composition of the Ascension, with St. John at the right beside her, appears also in the Sitges retable, which in the St. Raphael of the predella exhibits a figure with exactly the bland stare of the St. Eulalia. Nearly quite as telling are the correspondences between the Virgin of the Pietà and her figure in the Malanyanes Via Dolorosa, between her treatment in the Annunciation and the St. Basilissa angelically rewarded for chastity in the Argentona altarpiece, or between the St. John in the Pentecost and the same Apostle on the Argentona tabernacle. The reader, if he wishes, can pursue almost unlimitedly the process of discovering minor correlations, as of the St. John in the Pietà to this participant in the Malanyanes Crucifixion or in the Argentona Lamentation and as of the more aged persons, particularly of St. Peter, both at Marcevol and in the master's later achievements.

CHAPTER IX

PEDRO GASCÓ

We should naturally have reserved Juan Gascó's son, Pedro (in Catalan, Perot), for a later volume, since he is an out-ond-out Italianate mannerist, but it will make for greater lucidity if we consider him at the same time as we study his father. It is impossible, however, to follow the son's career with the ordered accuracy or to document his works with the clarity that have guided our examination of Juan Gascó, because the elder Gudiol never wrote the article on him which in his monograph devoted to the father [1] he stated that he hoped to compose. The references to Pedro in this monograph and in other writings of Gudiol reveal that he possessed extensive records of the son's life and artistic production, but death overtook him before he could give to the public more than a very exiguous amount of this material and even so only in brief allusions and summaries without quoting the actual documents. Pedro's style, however, is so easy to recognize that even the two works that Gudiol's allusions definitely authenticate enable us to attribute to him on internal evidence a considerable number of other extant paintings and thus to obtain a well-rounded conception of the little niche in Spanish art into which he fits.

In a short article on recent acquisitions of the Museum at Vich in the *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans* of 1908 [2] Gudiol, without citing the documents, states as the limits of Pedro's recorded activity 1522 to 1546, but the earliest published mention of him occurs in his father's will of 1529.[3] Among the incidental allusions to the son in the Catalan scholar's monograph on the father, there is contained the information [4] that Pedro from 1538 to 1541 agreed to add sections to Juan's retable for the Carmelite monastery at Vich.[5] The year 1538, on January 12, was signalized also by the one document that Gudiol has summarized, in the yearly *Memoria* of the Vich Museum,[6] as es-

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[1] P. XXIX.

[2] P. 569.

[3] See above, p. 12.

[4] P. X.

[5] See above, p. 50.

[6] *El Museu Arquelogich-Episcopal de Vich, Memoria,* 1923, pp. 9–10.

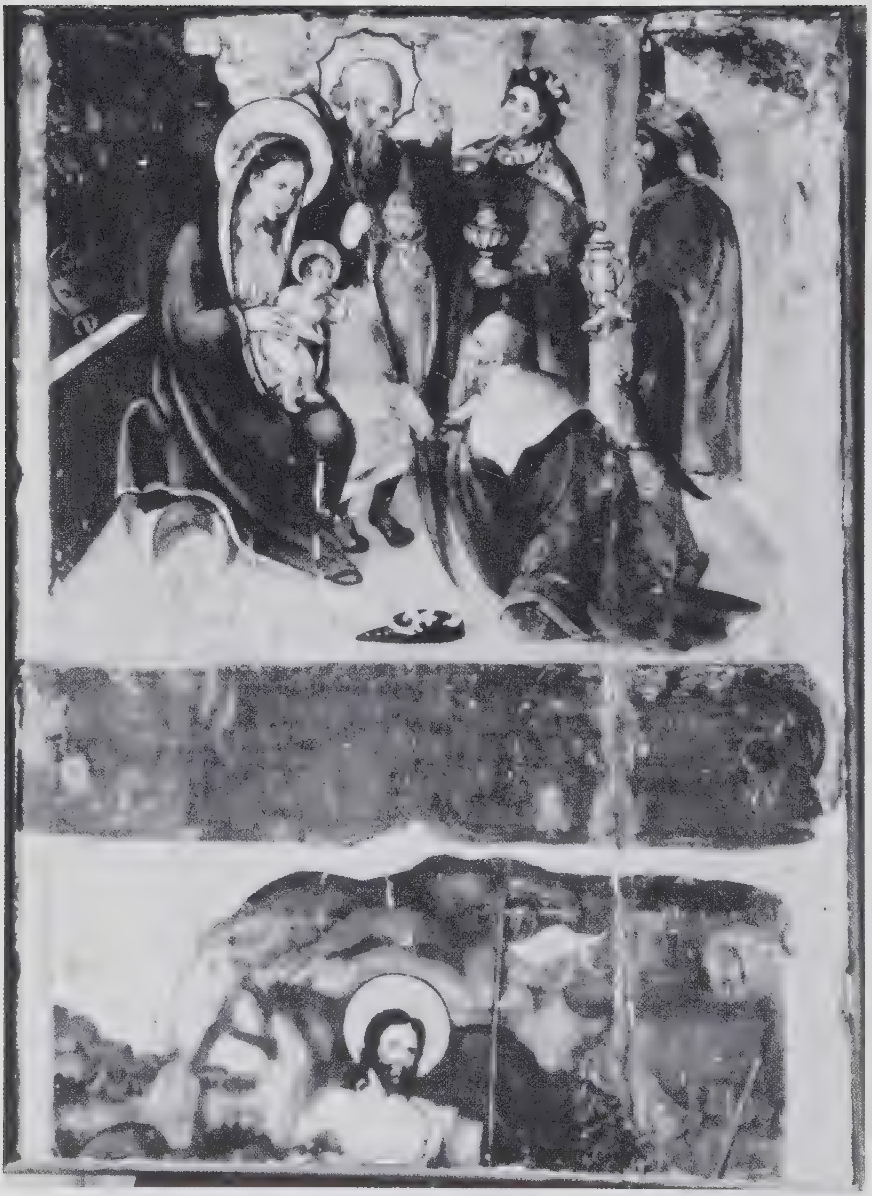

FIG. 84. PEDRO GASCÓ. EPIPHANY AND RESURRECTION, FRAGMENT OF RETABLE FROM TAVERTET. MUSEUM, VICH
(*Photo. Serra*)

tablishing Pedro's authorship of an extant work, a contract to do a retable of Our Lady of Sorrows for the church of Tavertet, just northeast of Vich. The extant work is a mere fragment, now in the Vich Museum, of the upper left section of the retable, preserving no more than a representation of the Epiphany and, underneath, the top of the otherwise destroyed scene of the Resurrection (Fig. 84). In the above-mentioned article in the *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, Gudiol categorically lists as a creation of Pedro a Holy Family, with the young St. John, in the Vich Museum (Fig. 85); and, since I take it that he had sound authority to substantiate the attribution and since at all events its style entirely accords with that of the Tavertet fragment, I will use also the Holy Family as a foundation for rearing the edifice of the artist's personality. A later date for Pedro than any known to Gudiol is provided by the contract of the artist, together with his brothers also belonging to the profession, Francisco and Sebastián, signed on June 15, 1549, to do a lost retable of the Virgin for the church of S. Félix at Torelló.[7] It is not plain whether through document or mere inference Gudiol[8] describes Pedro as trained by Juan and continuing the paternal manner, but in any case his basic style was not derived from his parent, who, however, would naturally have instructed him in such indecisive rudiments of the craft as how to draw, to use the brush, and to prepare the pigments. Now and then a very few of Pedro's types might possibly but not necessarily be interpreted as reflecting those of his father, but in general his paintings disclose only unimportant reminiscences of Juan's achievements, wind-blown hair, for instance, or, when he retains gold backgrounds, the tooled patterns.

In the documented fragment from Tavertet Pedro emerges as handling absolutely characteristic Spanish mannerism with talents of about the same degree of no more than moderate merit that Juan had exhibited in adopting the earlier Renaissance. The aspect which mannerism here particularly assumes is an addiction to rather haggard countenances, and it may have been his provincial environment that in general saved him largely from the movement's affectation of posture and gesture. The attenuation of forms that belongs to the essence of mannerism is better illustrated in other works of his. The style gives the impression of having been acquired by Pedro else-

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[7] Fortiá Solá, *Historia de Torelló*, Barcelona, II, 1948, pp. 37–38.

[8] Monograph on Juan Gascó, pp. XVI and XXIX.

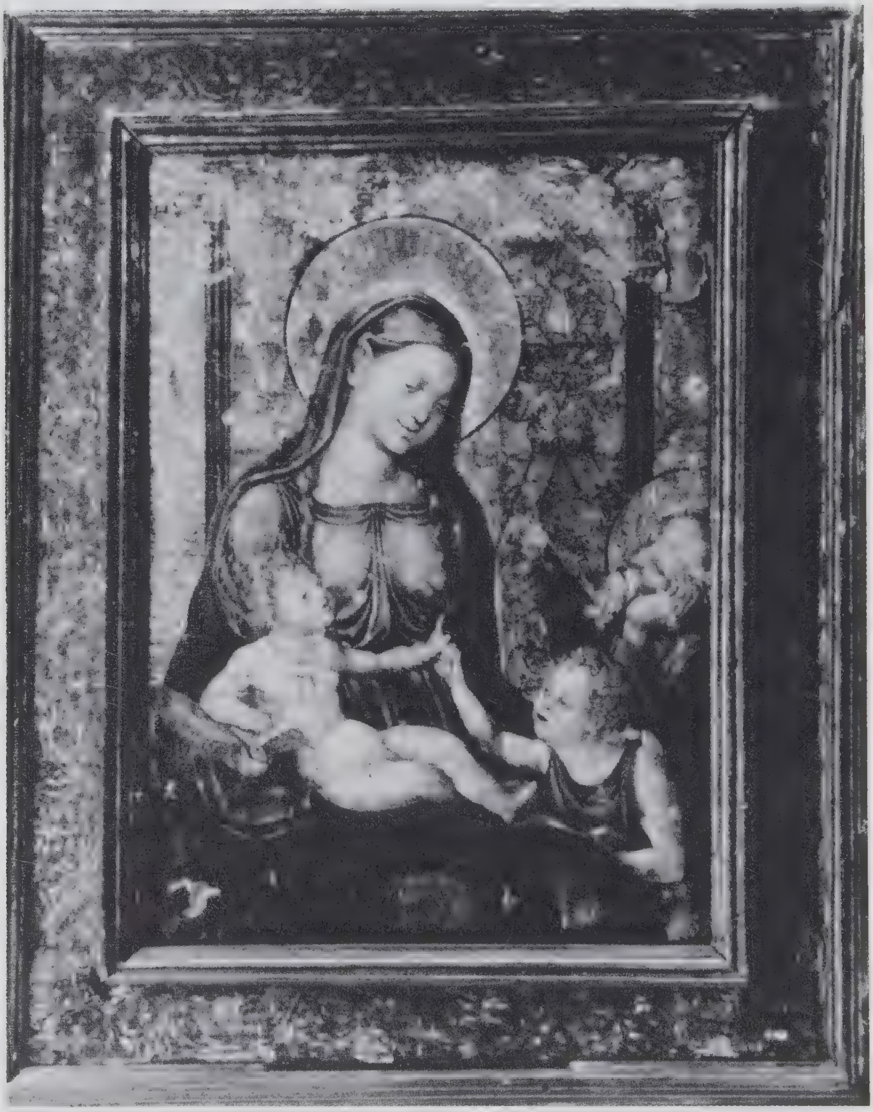

FIG. 85. PEDRO GASCÓ. HOLY FAMILY. MUSEUM, VICH
(*Photo. Serra*)

where than in Catalonia, perhaps from Aragon, but it resembles more closely Castilian mannerism of the period, with the corollary that, possibly at his father's suggestion, he would have gone for his training to western Spain whence Juan had originally emigrated. Or his mode of painting may reflect an initiation into mannerism within the confines of Italy itself, whither some of his other productions, particularly in his last years, supply us with stronger evidence for taking him. It may be that we ought to understand the types of persons, particularly the old men, as descended through one or two generations from Leonardo da Vinci, but in the rest of his output there are often fused with this conceivably Leonardesque strain obvious borrowings from Raphael or at least the Raphaelesque tradition. It will subsequently appear that he may have been familiar with the attainments of such Florentine mannerists as Bugiardini, Franciabigio, and, at the end of his life, especially Pontormo. One might wring from the Tavertet fragment also slight indications of an acquaintance with the Antwerp mannerists' works, which were imported in such large quantities into Spain, but we shall not find in any of Pedro Gascó's creations absolutely unmistakable substantiation of such Flemish contacts. The golden skies in the fragment retain Juan's design of rosettes.

It is above all in the representations of the Holy Family, which were a specialty of Pedro much in demand by his patrons, that the Raphaelesque debt is tangible. The very fact that he did such separate devotional pictures, not parts of retables, is witness to his Italianism. In the series belongs the example in the Vich Museum that I am regarding Gudiol's mention as establishing in Pedro's canon, but its authorship is also sufficiently declared by the analogy of the St. Joseph to the spouse of the Virgin in the documented Epiphany from Tavertet and to the kneeling Wise Man. The composition is taken, perhaps only at second hand, from such works of Raphael as the Alba Madonna (in the National Gallery at Washington) or the Garvagh Madonna (also known as the Aldobrandini Madonna) in the National Gallery at London, but, since Pedro adapts the suggestions with a certain amount of praiseworthy freedom, he may have had in mind likewise Leonardo's drawing for the *Anna selbdritt* in the London Academy. The types of Our Lady and of the two children are also Raphaelesque in derivation, that of the Virgin aiming at more sweetness than the Italian prototypes but in the

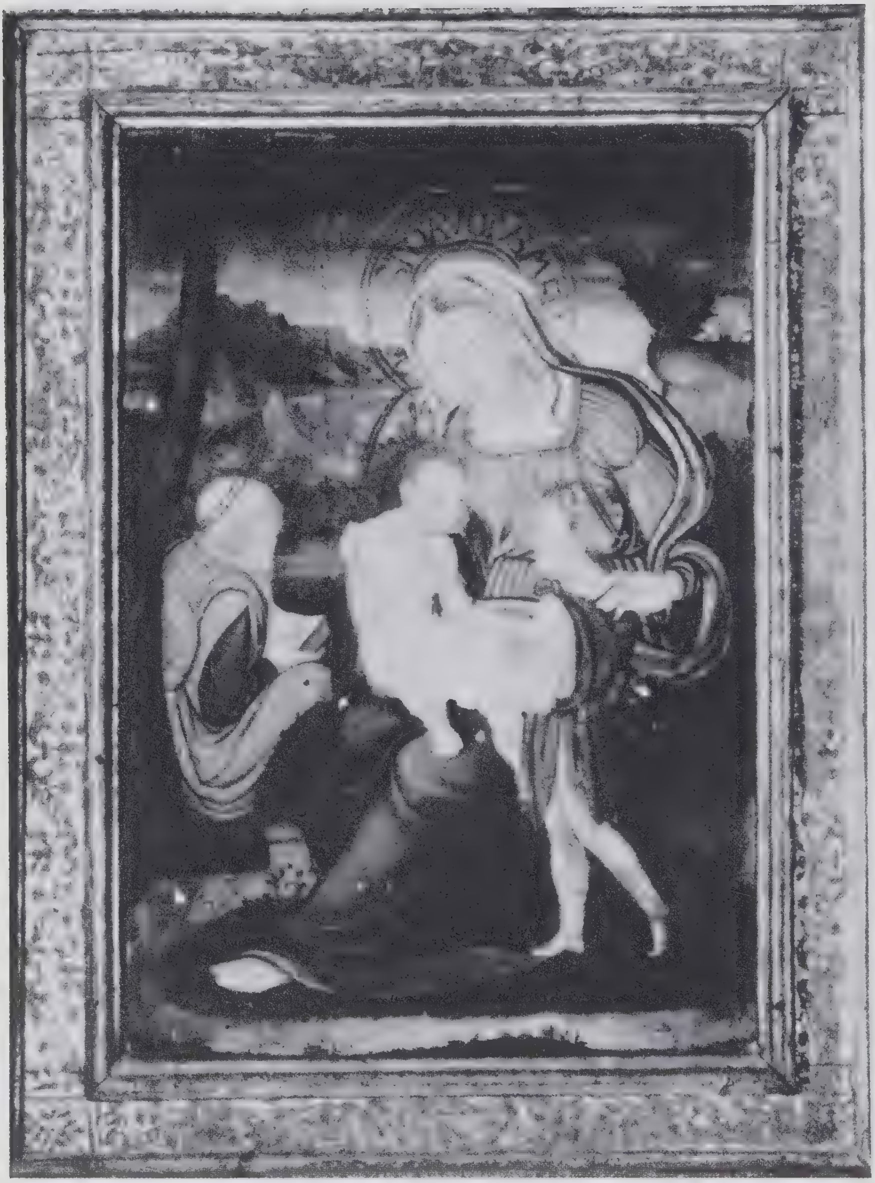

Fig. 86. PEDRO GASCÓ. HOLY FAMILY. MUSEUM, VICH
(*Photo. Serra*)

process assuming the unfortunate expression of a simper. Angulo[9] has pointed out a dependence of the panel upon Dürer's renderings of the theme, the engraving, Bartsch no. 44, dated 1494–1496, and the woodcut, Bartsch no. 98, coming from the year 1526; but it is really only the St. Joseph who is derived from these sources and who in his nearer approximation to the corresponding figure in the later print forbids us to assign an earlier year than 1526 to the picture.

The Virgin is seated at something over half length against a brocaded hanging, at the sides of which are strips of a gold background still incised with the old *motif* of rosettes, but in his repetitions of the theme Pedro often depicts the actors at full length and transports them into landscapes. One of these versions is also in the Vich Museum, differentiated from the other by the adoption of a disposition of the Virgin's legs to which Raphael was addicted and by a naturalistic representation of St. Joseph as casually seated on the ground at the left with his back toward us and engaged in the perusal of a book (Fig. 86). In the third and most interesting of the examples, belonging to the collection in the Sala Capitular of the cathedral at Barcelona (Fig. 87), Pedro arrives at a manneristic style curiously but, of course, fortuitously resembling that of Luis Morales, particularly in the elongation of the forms and their modelling. The composition practically repeats that of the version in the Vich Museum authenticated by Gudiol, with St. John handing a cross to the Holy Child and with the St. Joseph an actual replica, but a comparison reveals in the Barcelona rendering a closer dependence upon what seems to be the sort of Florentine mannerism embodied, for instance, in Bugiardini or Pontormo. Furthermore, as in the second specimen in the Vich Museum, another divergence from the first version is the substitution of a landscape and a real sky for the conventional background of brocade and gold. In neither painting nor in many of his other works does Pedro exhibit much talent or charm as a landscapist, but the vista in the Barcelona panel possesses at least the interest of apparently reflecting the coast of northern Catalonia, with its plains irregularly punctuated by sheer masses of rock. Subordinate incidents, in minute scale, are introduced into the ample stretch of country, at the right St. Christopher crossing the stream with his sacred burden and at the left a number of soldiers engaged in a search, suggesting that the whole picture, despite the presence

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[9] *Archivo español de arte*, XVII (1944), 329.

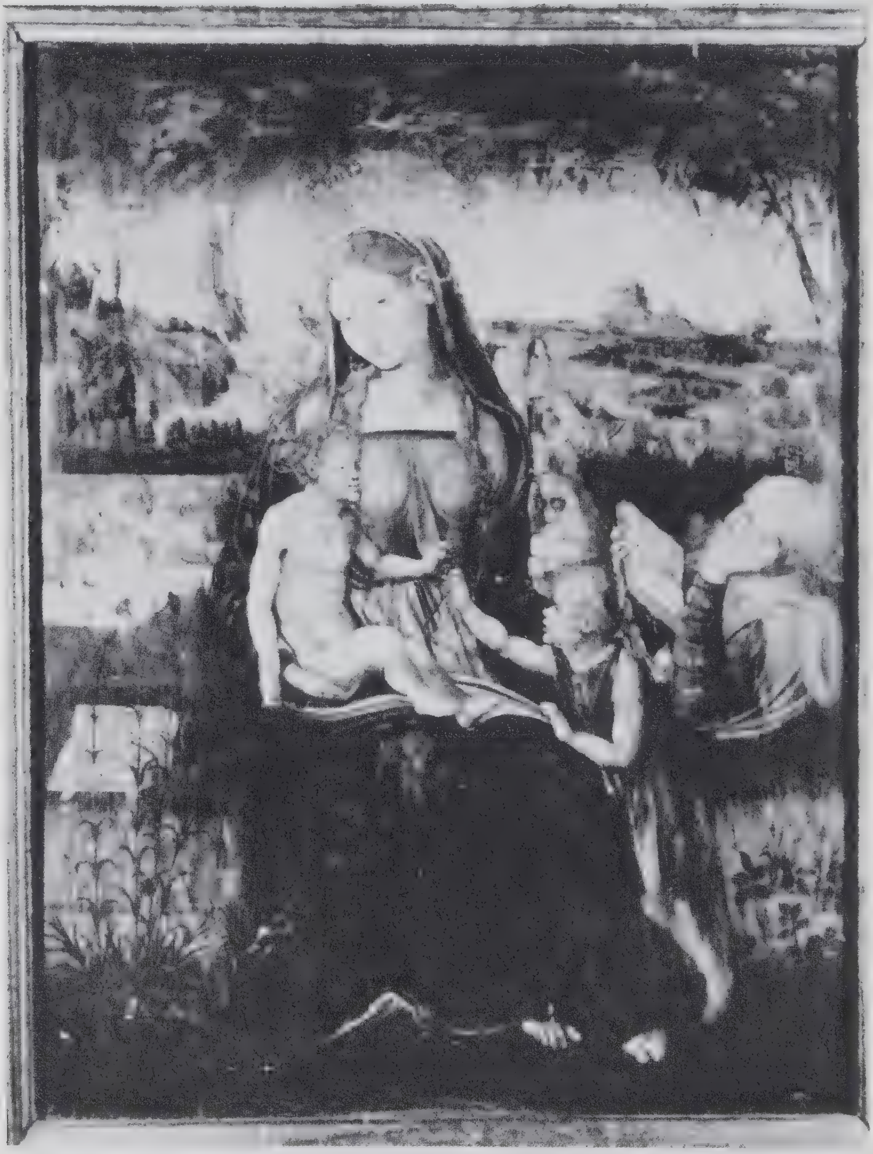

Fig. 87. PEDRO GASCÓ. HOLY FAMILY. CATHEDRAL, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

of the young Baptist, was partially conceived as the Rest in the Flight into Egypt, during which the Holy Family was vainly pursued by Herod's bailiffs. Pedro has indeed paid more attention to nature in this panel than was his wont, covering the ground at one side of the Madonna with a rosebush and at the other side with growing pinks, which half hide the book that she has been reading.

The theme of the Holy Family is somewhat modified by Pedro in still another painting in the Vich Museum, which repeats his father's composition for the Virgen de la Leche, with the Child touching a large cross held by a fluttering angel,[10] but the son adds the form of the young Baptist (Fig. 88). The Madonna is again reduced to half length, as in the piece for which Gudiol vouches, but landscape now constitutes the setting.

The *motif* of the large cross, angel, and Baptist is reitcrated by Pedro in a version in the Orriols Collection at Vich (Fig. 89), but he imports from his other renderings the resting Joseph and extends the bodies once more to full length, though reverting to a gold background diapered with the shop's old pattern of predilection, the floral circles.

The Holy Family illustrated in Figure 88 is not the only work of Pedro Gascó in the Vich Museum harking back to his father's production, since the collection comprises a door of a cupboard for sacred objects that the son painted, like the specimen by Juan, with Prophets and Sibyls. In distinction, however, from the paternal prototype, the forms appear at full length, and the Sibyls predominate in number over the Prophets. The sentiments expressed by their banderoles foretell in each instance the Passion. Of the six compartments, only the pair at the topmost level are reserved for Prophets, David whose scroll quotes Psalms, XXII, 16, and Jeremiah whose inscription bears the often adduced verse of Lamentations, I, 12. The predictions on the banderoles of the four Sibyls below are again, as in Juan Gascó's door,[11] taken from Lactantius:[12] at the central level, for the Cumaean Sibyl (at the left), "Dabunt autem Deo alapas manibus (incestis)" (Fig. 90), and for the Phrygian Sibyl (at the right), "Et morte morietur tribus diebus somno suscepto"; and at the bottom, where the lower parts of the bodies have been lost by the

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[10] See above, p. 43.

[11] See above, p. 31.

[12] *Divinae institutiones*, IV, 18 ff., and VII, 18.

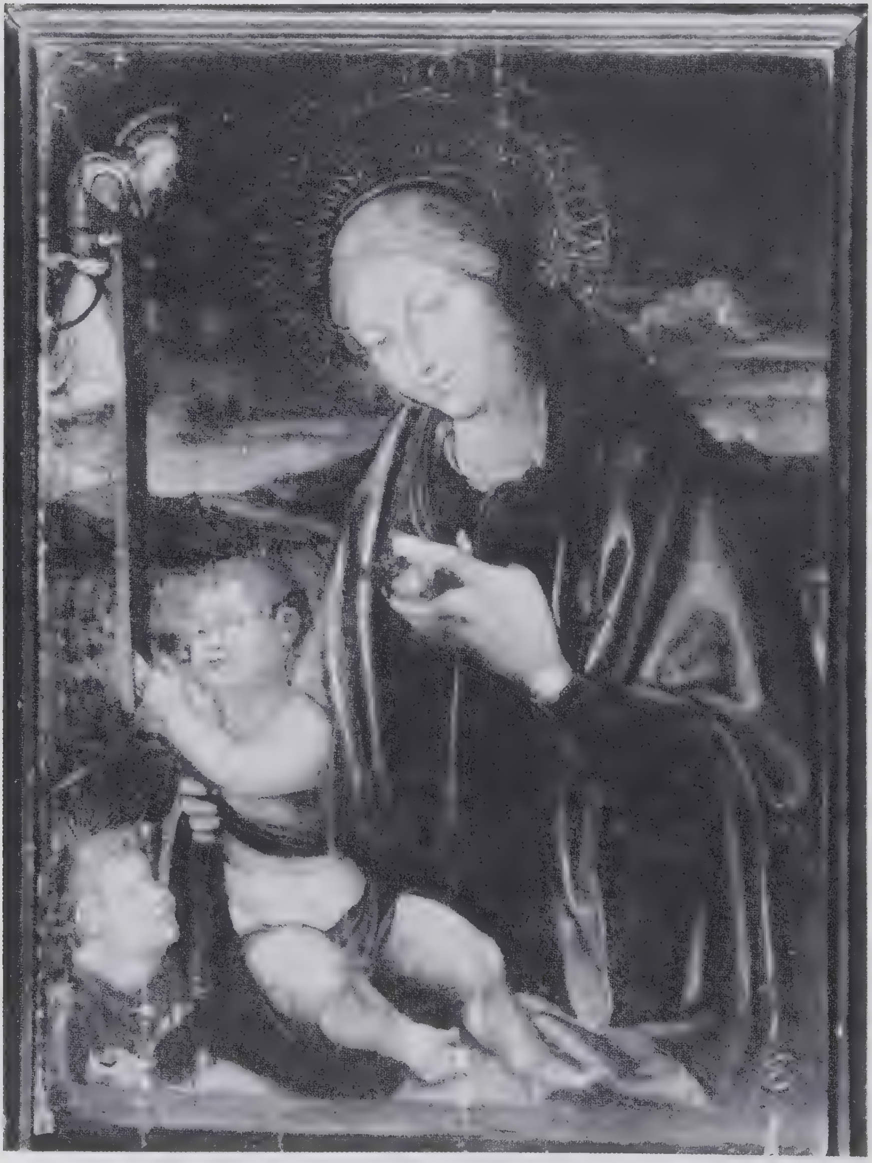

Fig. 88. PEDRO GASCÓ. MADONNA, CHILD, AND THE YOUNG ST. JOHN. MUSEUM, VICH
(*Photo. Thomas*)

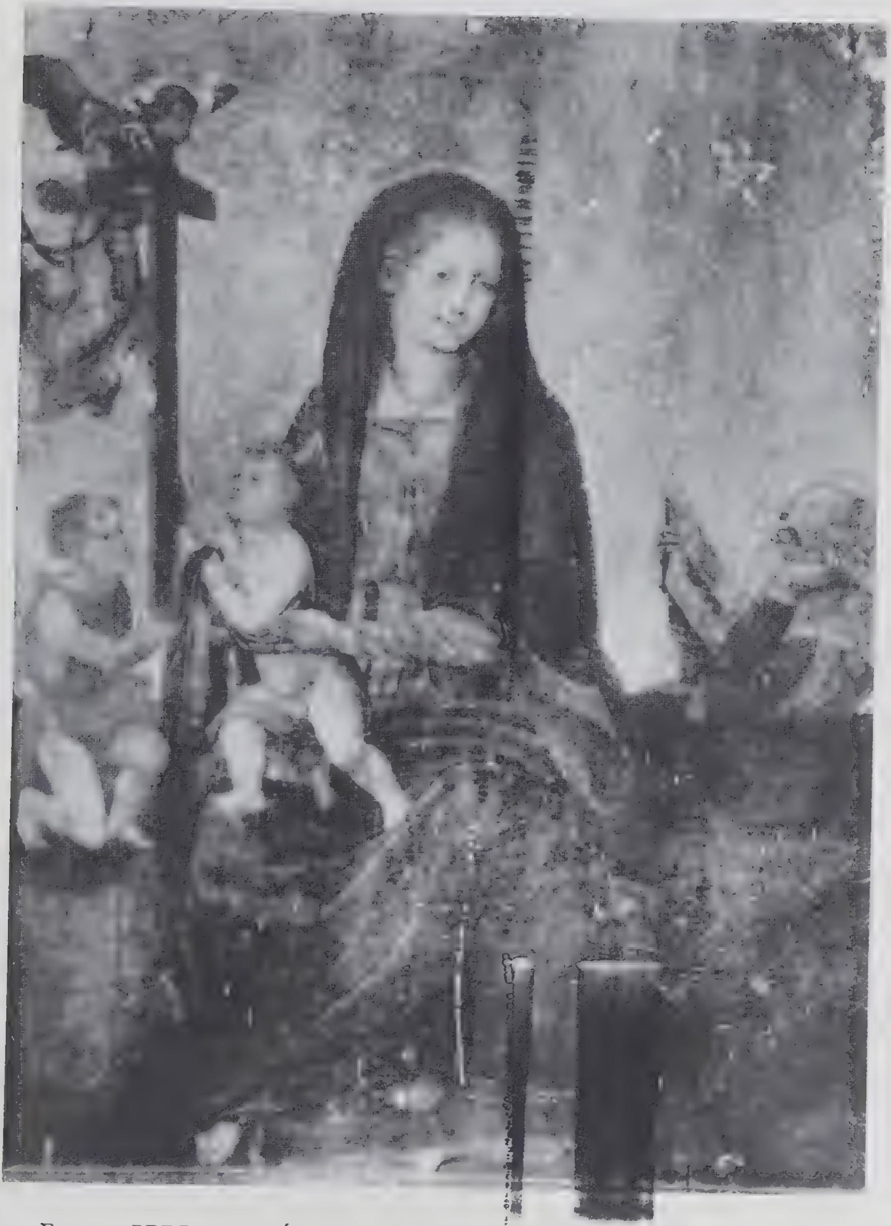

FIG. 89. PEDRO GASCÓ. HOLY FAMILY. ORRIOLS COLLECTION, VICH
(*Photo. Mas*)

panel's deterioration, for the Hellespontine Sibyl (at the left), "Ad cibum autem fel, ad sitium (*sic*, an error for *sitim*) acetum dabunt," and for the Erythraean Sibyl (at the right), "Colaphos accipiens tacebit et corona spinea coronabitur."

The analogies of David to Pedro's old men and of the Hellespontine Sibyl to his feminine types are enough to place the door among his certain productions, but even this countrified master is here stimulated by his theme to rise to some slight degree of stern monumentality that his other works do not exhibit. In most personages on the door he is even partially able to put over to us in countenances the effect of fatidic afflatus, but his limited capacity prevented him from articulating successfully the posture and gesture by which, in the Phrygian Sibyl, he sought to trasmit this impression. The Cumaean and Erythraean Prophetesses seem to witness to an acquaintance, perhaps only at second hand, with Michael Angelo's Delphic Sibyl. The gold backgrounds are tooled with a brocaded pattern.

Continuing our examination of paintings by Pedro Gascó that stand in some sort of relation to his father, we come next, in the Vich Museum, to a battered panel the only connections of which with Juan are that it has been falsely ascribed to him and that it includes a saint, Sigismund, depicted by the parent but otherwise rare in Spanish iconography — a large, central compartment of a retable in which the standing effigy of the canonized king is paired with that of St. Vincent (Fig. 91). There are no absolutely exact counterparts in Pedro's output for either figure, but the picture is so indelibly impressed with the cachet of his general style that only he could have been its author. The chiaroscuro of both faces is entirely his, and St. Vincent has much of the manneristic haggardness of the first standing Magus in the Tavertet Epiphany. His features and expression indeed are not unlike those of the Virgin in this scene, and above him is the overhanging tree that Pedro likes to introduce at the side in the foreground of his pictures. The background provides what is perhaps his pleasantest bit of landscape.

The bridal chests of the period were often decorated with paintings, as we perceive in a series of examples in the Muntadas Collection at Barcelona, and the Vich Museum contains a specimen for which the craft of Pedro Gascó was called into service. On one end the happy couple are depicted as busts, and the inside of the cover is divided into two compartments (Fig. 92) embellished with the sub-

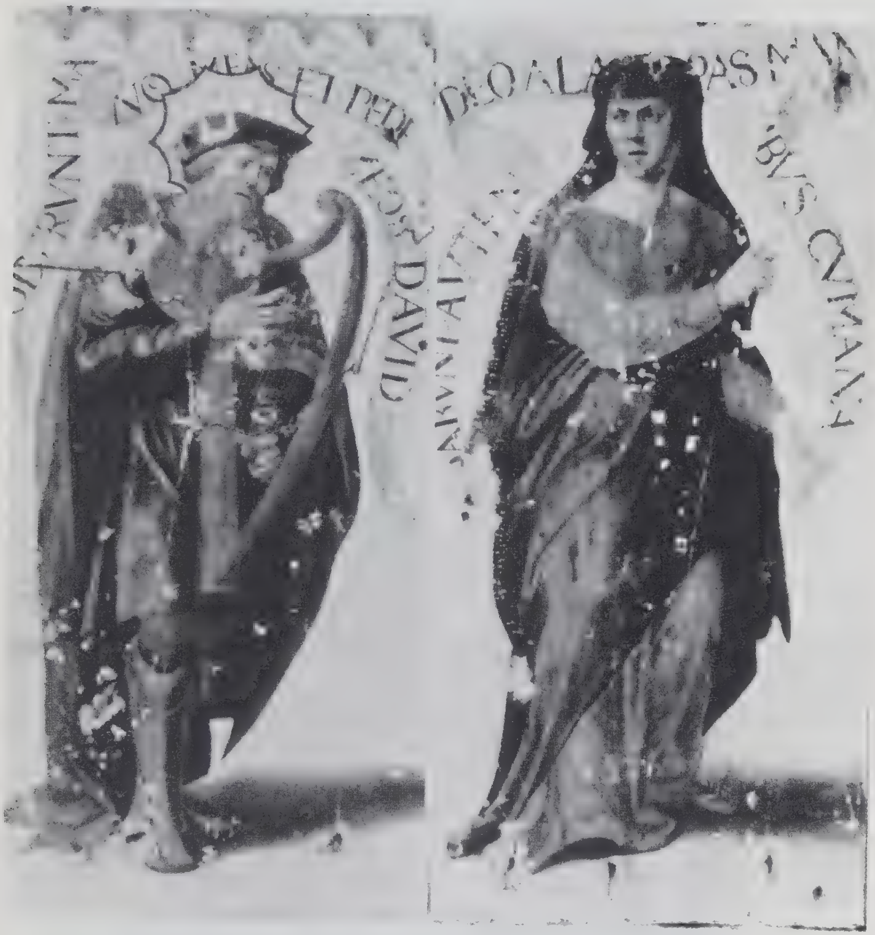
DAVID
CVMANA

FIG. 90. PEDRO GASCÓ. DAVID AND THE CUMAEAN SIBYL, COMPARTMENTS OF A DOOR. MUSEUM, VICH
(*Photo. Serra*)

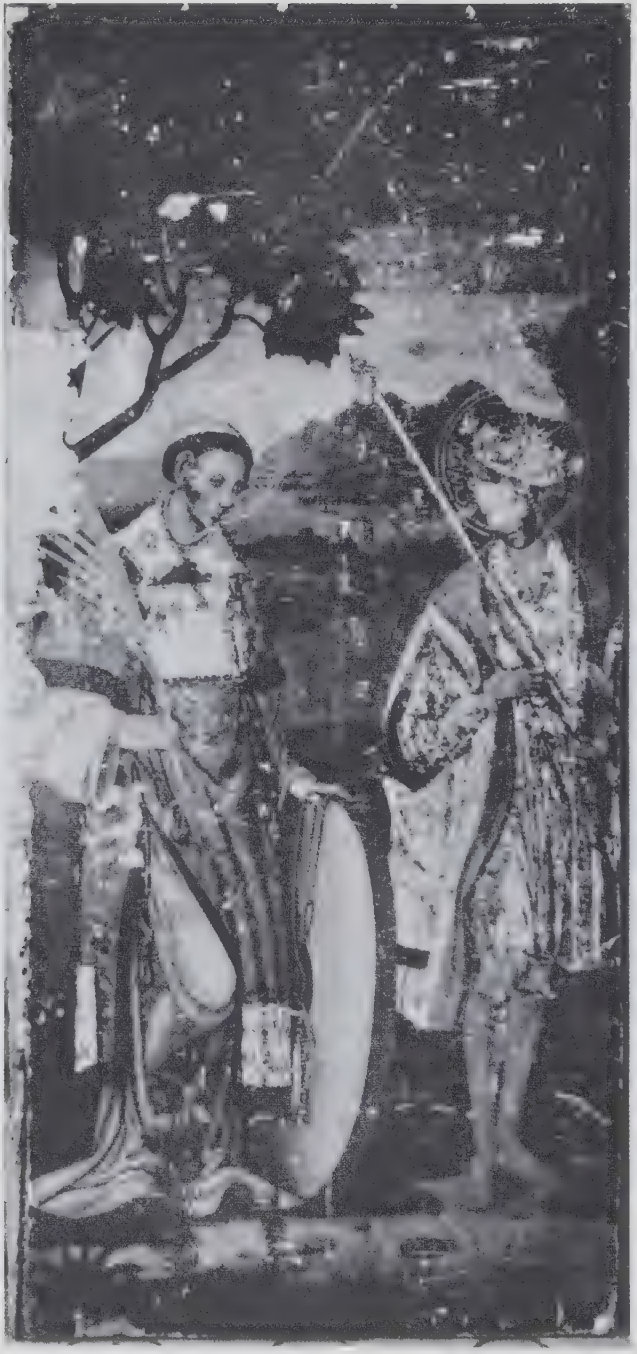

Fig. 91. PEDRO GASCÓ. STS. VINCENT AND SIGISMUND. MUSEUM, VICH
(*Photo. Serra*)

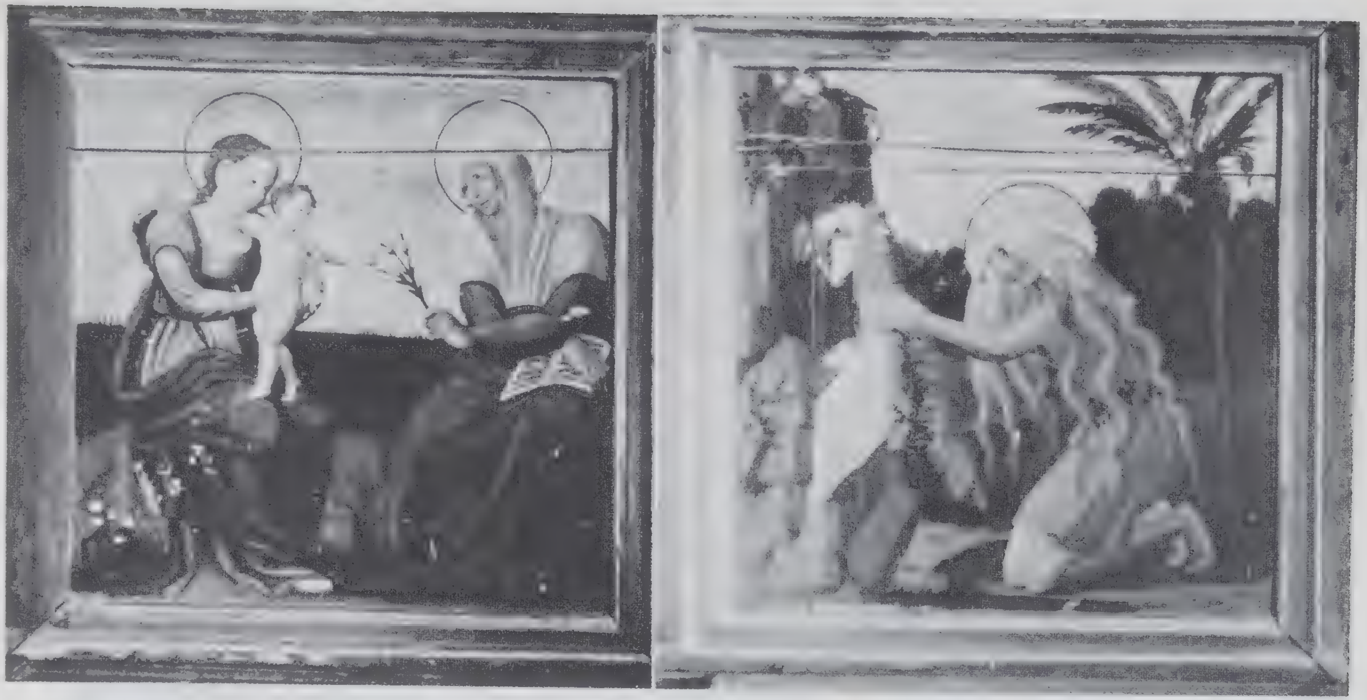

Fig. 92. PEDRO GASCÓ. *ANNA SELBDRITT* AND ST. ONUPHRIUS, DECORATIONS OF A CHEST. MUSEUM, VICH
(*Photo. Mas*)

jects of the *Anna selbdritt* and St. Onuphrius [13] kneeling at his desert shrine, perhaps signifying that the bride and groom were named after the Virgin's mother and the great anchorite. Both of these sacred themes are executed exactly in the more manneristic phase of Pedro's art incorporated in the Tavertet fragment, and their gold backgrounds are patterned with the same rosettes. On the head of the Child in the *Anna selbdritt*, Pedro apes his father's idiosyncrasy of tousled hair.

The paintings on the chest provide the closest analogues for two panels of the sorrowing Mother and St. John in the Vich Museum (Fig. 93) manifestly executed by Pedro Gascó and evidently intended to serve as the background for a sculptured Crucifix. The Virgin is well-nigh a replica of her mother as depicted on the chest, and both forms are clad in draperies the folds and modelling of which correspond to those in the *Anna selbdritt,* as well as on the Cumaean Sibyl of Pedro's door. The landscape unfolds the usual vista that he presents to us when not sticking to the archaic gold, and over St. John there spreads the telltale tree.

At San Esteban de Bas, where we have found sections of an altarpiece of St. Stephen by Juan Gascó, there exist, in the rectory, a series of panels by his son the heterogeneous subjects of which do not forestall the possibility that they may have once been parts of a single retable which Pedro executed, since even the contract for Juan's lost retable in the church of the Merced at Vich [14] betrays, among many other instances, how varied were the themes sometimes included in such assemblages.[15] First, there is an enthroned effigy of a papal saint, which may have been the principal compartment. Next comes a scene from the New Testament, the Baptism (Fig. 94), in which the angels are depicted not as adoring or holding Christ's garments but as accompanying the ceremony on musical instruments; and there follows an event from sacred legend, St. George slaying the dragon. The preserved pieces include even two episodes from the elder dispensation interrelated with each other by the angelic *motif,* the visit of the three angels to Abraham (with Sarah lurking in the doorway) and the young Tobias conducted by Raphael. Pedro's authorship is revealed by such factors as: in the Baptism, the likeness of the angel

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[13] Or possibly St. Paul the Hermit.

[14] Gudiol's monograph on Juan Gascó, 38.

[15] See above, p. 221.

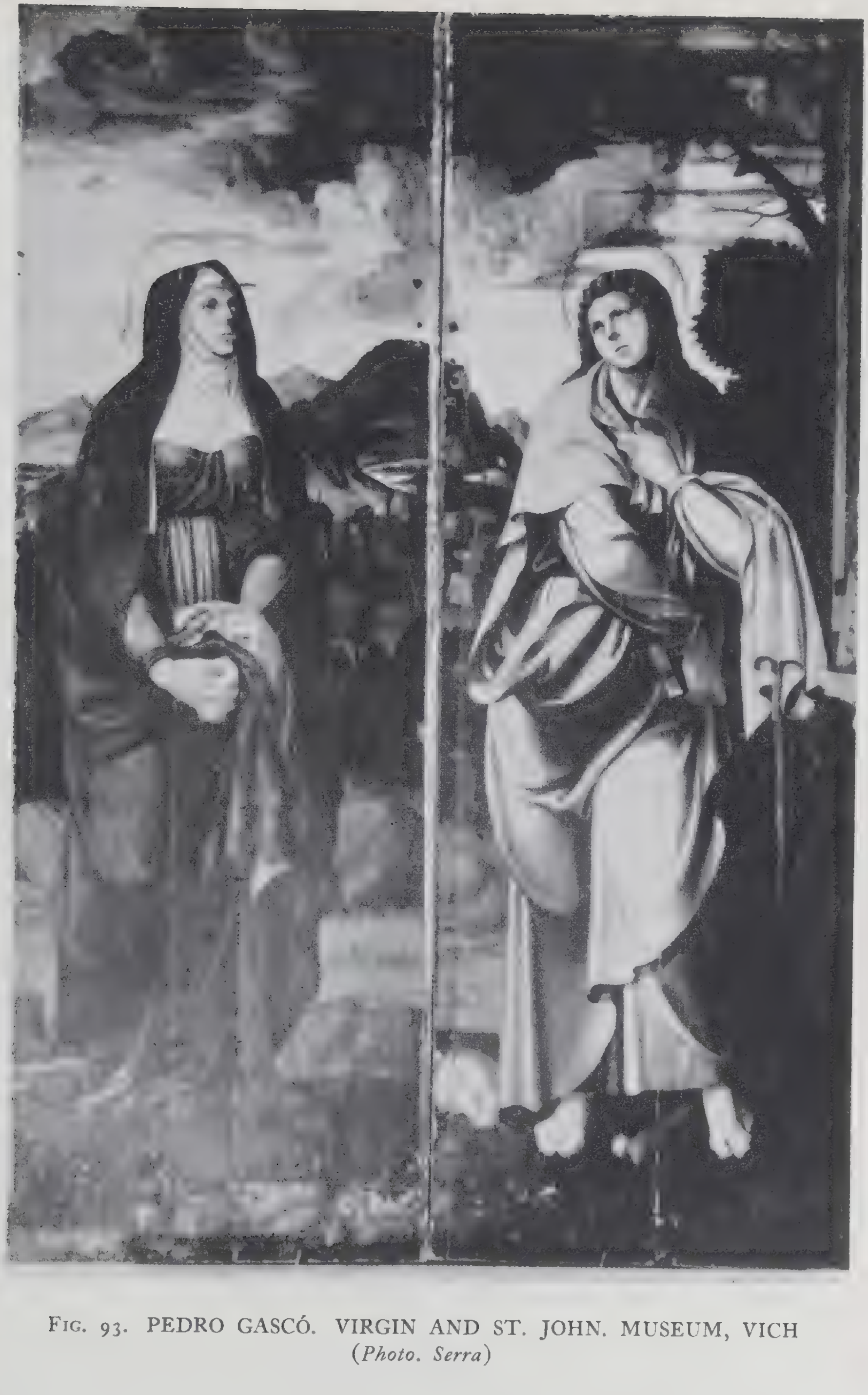

FIG. 93. PEDRO GASCÓ. VIRGIN AND ST. JOHN. MUSEUM, VICH
(*Photo. Serra*)

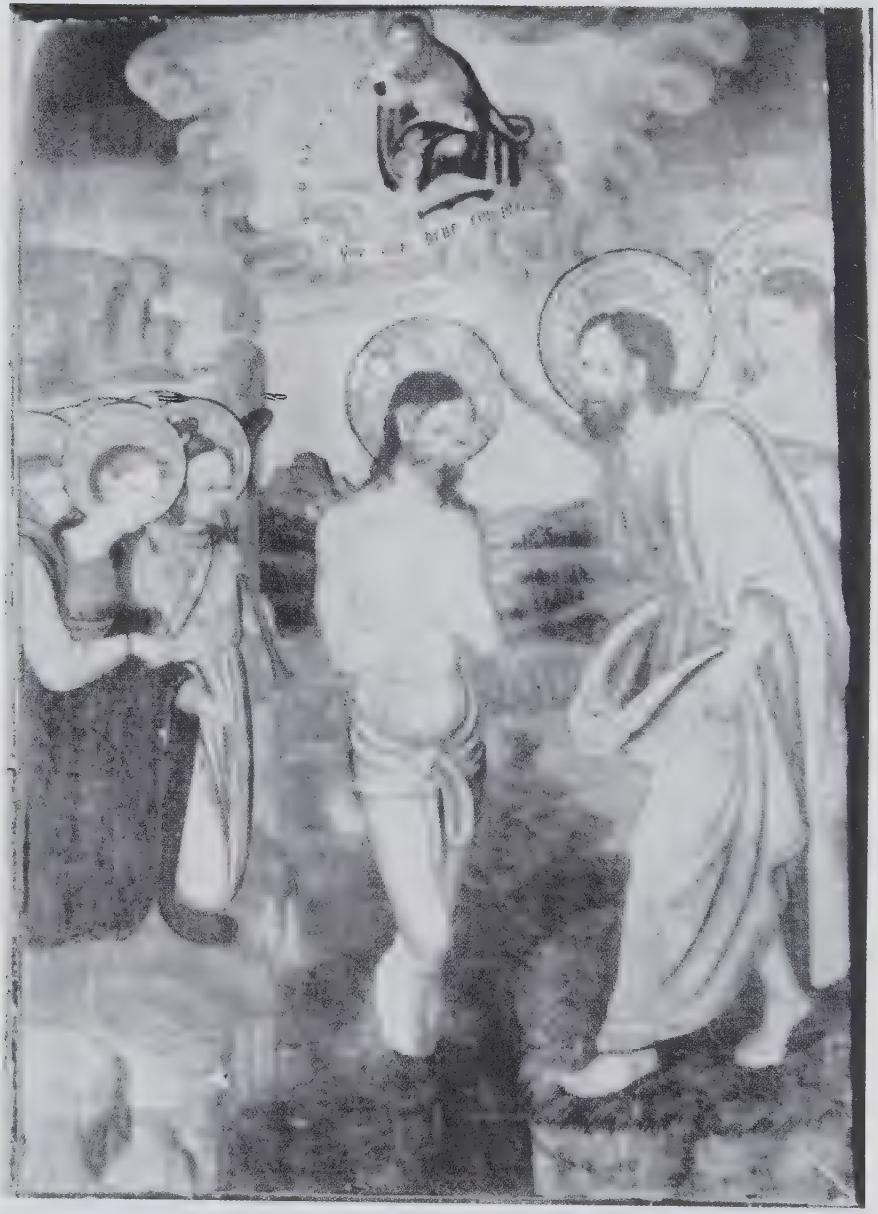

FIG. 94. PEDRO GASCÓ. BAPTISM, SECTION OF RETABLE. HOUSE OF PRIEST, SAN ESTEBAN DE BAS
(*Photo. Mas*)

behind St. John to the Virgin of the Holy Family in the Vich Museum in which St. Joseph sits with his back towards us; the correspondence of the St. John to the cadaverous types of the Epiphany from Tavertet; the similarity of the Abraham to Pedro's other old men, for instance, the kneeling Magus in the Tavertet fragment; and the facial analogy of Tobias to almost any of the painter's women, especially to the Virgen de la Leche in the Museum of Vich. The Raphael and one of the angels in the Baptism possess the windblown tresses affected by both the father and son in the Gascó family. Representations of St. George worsting the dragon are likely to resemble one another in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, but Pedro's rendering conforms so very closely to the great example by Bernardo Martorell [16] that, although some hundred years separates them, we can scarcely doubt that the later artist was consciously imitating the older's composition, thus witnessing to the great stir which Martorell's masterpiece had made in Catalonia.

So far as I know, none of my predecessors has perceived what seem to me very obvious facts, i.e., that Pedro Gascó executed a retable of the Virgin in a chapel on the left side of the nave in the *parroquia* at Castellón de Ampurias and that it belongs to the ultimate stage of his development. The principal compartment has disappeared, but it probably contained either a statue or painting of Our Lady, since in the sixteenth century the chapel bore the title of the Assumption. Seven panels by Pedro remain, six lateral compartments representing the Nativity of the Virgin, her Presentation in the Temple, the Birth of Christ (Fig. 95), Epiphany, Purification, and Assumption, as well as the Crucifixion in the central pinnacle.[17] Among the multiple proofs of Pedro's authorship, it will be enough to select some of the most unescapable. In the Nativity of the Virgin, the woman lifting the curtain behind the bed nearly reproduces, in pose, robust body, and features, the Erythraean Sibyl of his door in the Vich Museum, and the midwife holding the infant in the foreground resembles the Hellespontine Sibyl. St. Joachim, in his daughter's Presentation in the Temple, is one of Pedro's characteristic old men such as the kneeling Magus in the Tavertet Epiphany, and St. Anne scarcely differs from her figure on the bridal chest in the Museum of Vich. In the

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[16] Vols. II, pp. 393 ff., and VIII, pp. 614 and 628.

[17] J. Sutrá y Viñas (*Vida cristiana*, XVI, 1928–1929, pp. 242–243) is surely wrong in thinking that the Crucifixion is not by the same hand as the other sections.

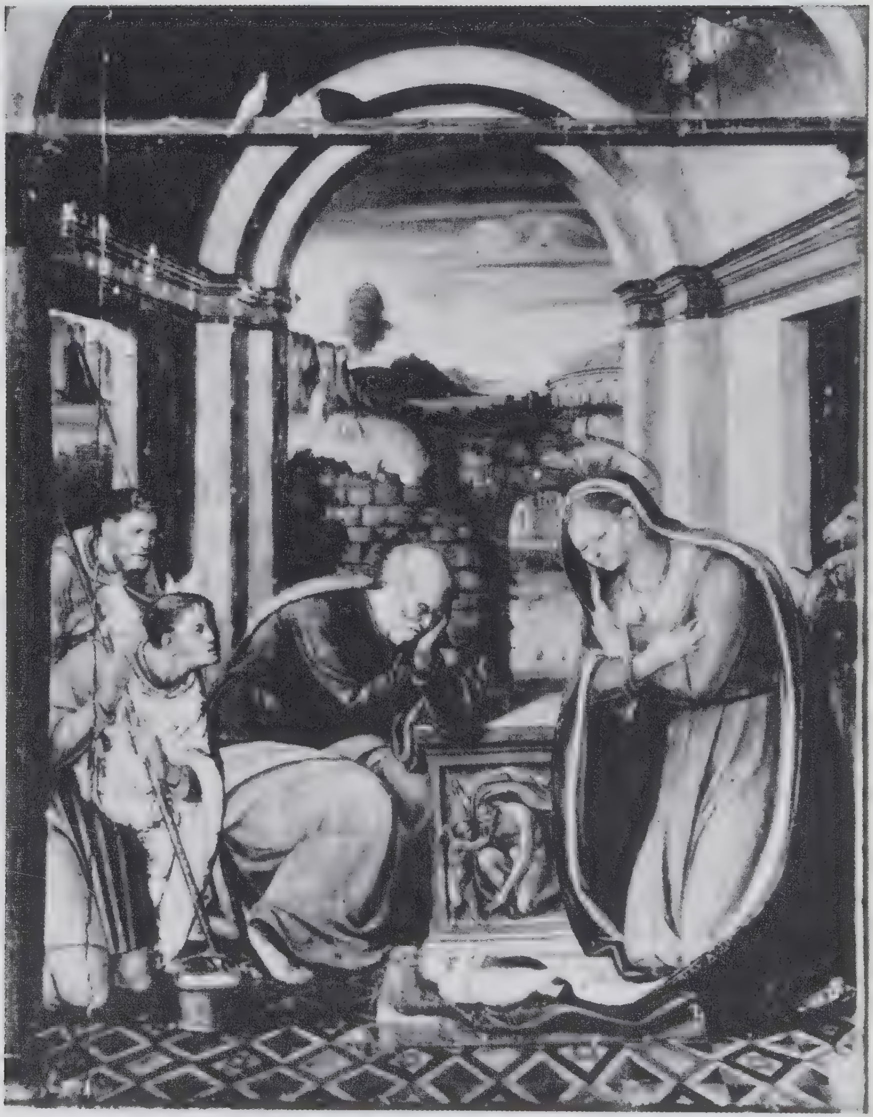

FIG. 95. PEDRO GASCÓ. NATIVITY, SECTION OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, CASTELLÓN DE AMPURIAS
(*Photo. Mas*)

Birth of Christ the Virgin is precisely the same person as in the Holy Family that Gudiol authenticates.

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the style is slightly diverse from the manner displayed in the majority of Pedro's other works and that the level of attainment is somewhat higher. We are thus confronted with a phenomenon corresponding to the change and amelioration that eventually happened in the production of his father, and the nature of the craft in the retable of Castellón de Ampurias justifies the deduction that similarly the alteration occurred towards the end of Pedro's life. The elongation of the figures, their draperies, and sometimes their postures suggest that one of the causes of the alteration was a more intimate contact with the Florentine mannerists, especially Pontormo, than we have yet perceived in his works, and it is hard to elucidate the increased Italianism except on the theory of a visit to Italy at this time in his life, if he had not indeed enjoyed an earlier sojourn in the sister peninsula the results of which were now coming more to the surface. The anomaly of making the Epiphany into a scene at night may derive from the Antwerp mannerists' fondness for nocturnal effects; but there is little else in the retable to point to such an orientation, and the types are Hispano-Italian rather than based upon Flemish adaptations of Italianism.

The new and livelier developments in Pedro's style may have been also and principally due to the fact that he had the aesthetic perception to imitate, as Angulo has observed,[18] the fine compositions of Dürer's woodcuts of the Presentation of the Virgin and the Purification in the German's series of the Life of Mary, more closely in the latter than in the former subject. Partly likewise because of the dependence upon Dürer there now emerges a much more pronounced concern with settings of architecture of the Renaissance, but it is from some other source than Dürer or perhaps by his own invention that he introduces into the scene of the Birth of Christ the detail of St. Joseph leaning wearily upon an ancient marble decorated with a mythological relief. Amidst a number of indications of a greater alertness of mind than Pedro generally bothered to assert, he perhaps learned from the German's prints to pique our interest, as also at times in the St. Josephs in his representations of the Holy Family, by turning the backs of some of his actors towards us, not only in the two com-

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[18] *Archivo español de arte*, XVII (1944), 328. Angulo does not attribute the retable to Pedro Gascó.

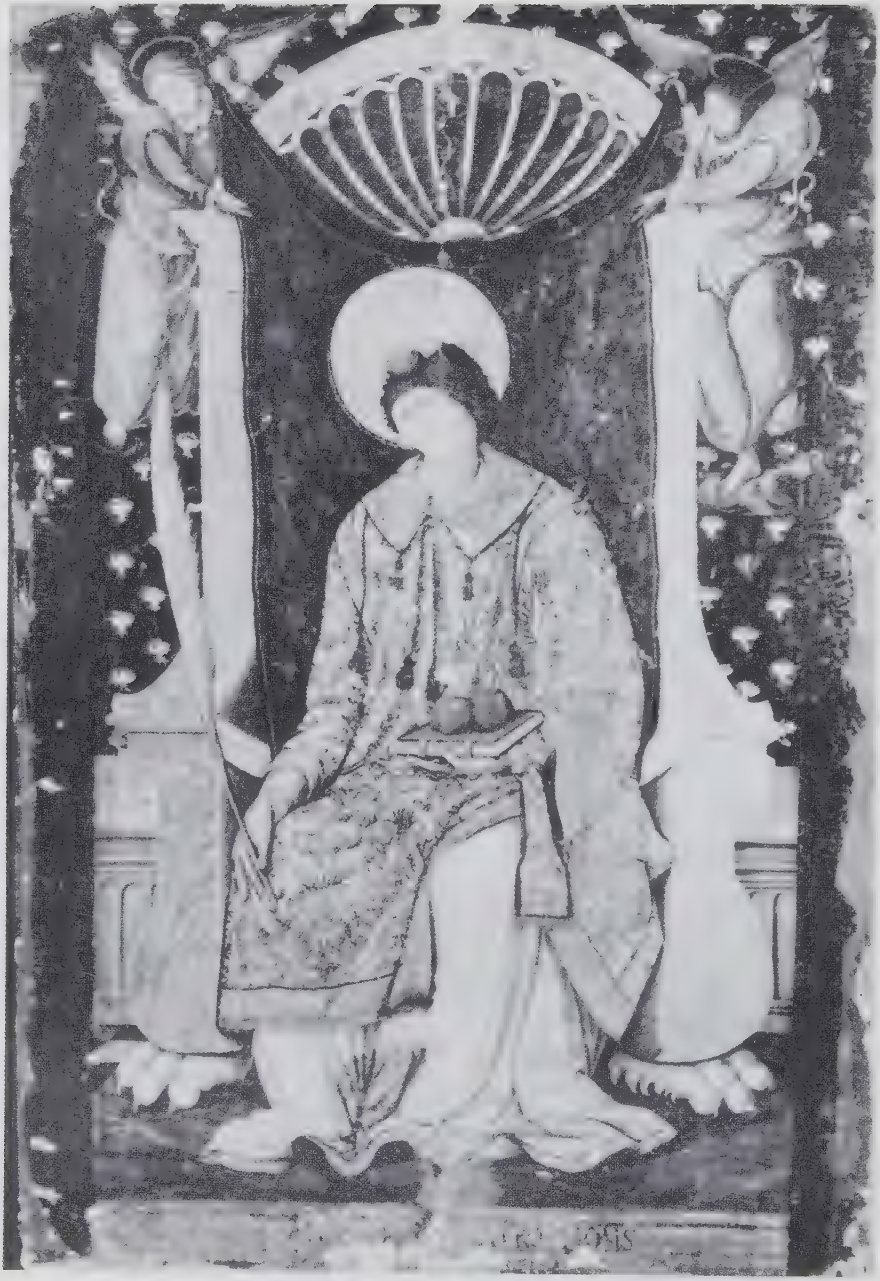

Fig. 96. PEDRO GASCÓ. ST. STEPHEN, CENTRE OF RETABLE. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, GERONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

positions that he takes from Dürer but also in the Nativity of the Virgin and the Assumption.

In accordance with the general greater effort that he appears to have exerted at Castellón de Ampurias, even the landscapes of the Birth of Christ and of the Assumption transcend in some degree the dull average with which he ordinarily contented himself in this phase of his art. He owed few or none of the significant essentials of his style to his father; but we have constantly found him remembering subordinate details of Juan's achievements, and in the Crucifixion at Castellón de Ampurias Pedro, now at the end of his own life, once more honors the paternal memory by depicting the Magdalene not only as clasping the cross in the posture and gesture often employed in his parent's versions of the theme but even as very much the same type of woman.

It is especially the similiarities to the paintings at Castellón de Ampurias that establish in the canon of Pedro Gascó the remains of a retable of St. Stephen that from the church at San Juan las Fonts, just north of Olot, have been gathered into the Diocesan Museum at Gerona. The pieces comprise the central compartment of the Protomartyr enthroned under a canopy held by two fluttering angels (Fig. 96), the surmounting Crucifixion, and panels of Sts. Paul and Barbara seated in landscapes.[19] Although the Crucifixion varies somewhat in composition from the rendering at Castellón de Ampurias, the suffering Christ is practically identical; the St. John, Magdalene, and redeemed thief belong to one of Pedro's favorite types of human beings, embodied, for example, in the midwife leaning over St. Anne and in her companion holding the newborn child in the Castellón Nativity of the Virgin; and the holy woman standing conspicuously at the right of the cross is duplicated by the attendant presenting the cage of doves in the Castellón Purification. The enthroned St. Stephen also more or less falls into the same class of types as the St. John, Magdalene, and redeemed thief, but the conformity to Pedro Gascó's standards by no means ends with the analogies to the Castellón retable. The angels supporting the textile above St. Stephen, for instance, resemble closely the Virgen de la Leche in the Vich Museum, and the above-mentioned holy woman at the right in the Cruci-

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[19] The Gerona Museum contains two panels of the disputation and lapidation of St. Stephen which, although they derive from the same church, were painted by a mere daubing peasant at the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century.

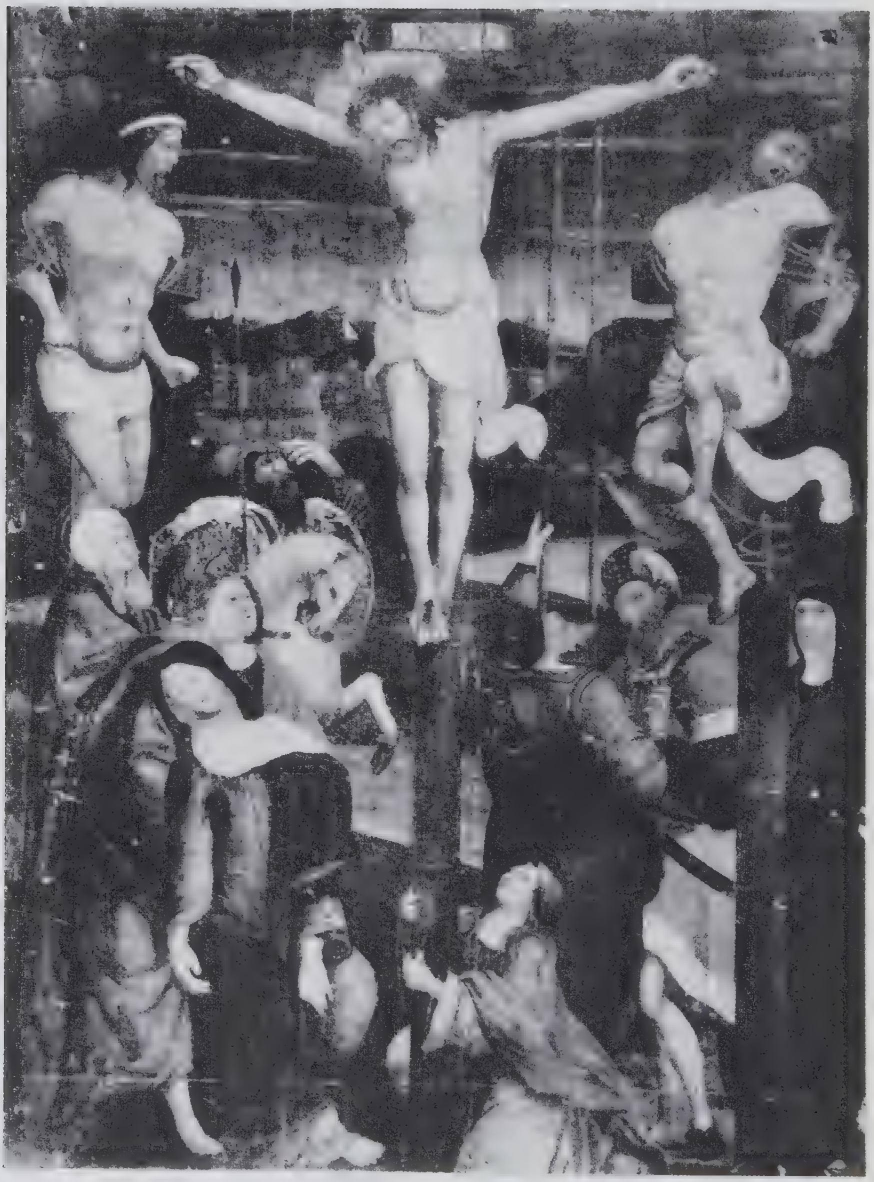

Fig. 97. PEDRO GASCÓ. CRUCIFIXION. PRIVATE COLLECTION, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

fixion incorporates the master's frequent addiction to haggard countenances, signalized particularly in the Tavertet Epiphany. A curiosity in the Crucifixion is a portrait of a youth as the decoration of the shield of one of the soldiers, scarcely a likeness of Pedro Gascó himself, since the retable at San Juan las Fonts must have been one of his latest works, but possibly preserving for us the features of the donor or of a member of the donor's family.

The parallelisms to the renderings of the Crucifixion in the retables of Castellón de Ampurias and of San Juan las Fonts carry a version of the theme belonging to a private collection at Barcelona (Fig. 97) into the number of Pedro Gascó's authentic works and into the same late and very mannered phase of his career. Moreover, it is said to come from the great but now ruined monastery of San Pedro de Roda, close to which Castellón de Ampurias lies. The Magdalene and the group of the Virgin and St. John are practically repeated in the panel from San Juan las Fonts, and the holy woman above the Virgin has a counterpart in the Crucifixion at Castellón de Ampurias. Even the other compartments at Castellón provide many analogous types. For instance, the St. John in the Crucifixion that now concerns us has the sort of face, as of a full moon, framed in curly locks, that characterizes both this Apostle in the Assumption and the youth beside the priest in the Virgin's Presentation. The two thieves are treated rather differently by Pedro Gascó in all three versions of the Crucifixion, and in the example in the private collection he has attempted to transmit to us the despairing agony of the unregenerate malefactor by exaggerated and mannered contortions to which his craft was not equal. With one of the flashes of technical experimentation by which, as we have seen, he occasionally illumines what must be acknowledged his rather uninspired modes of procedure, he brings the cross of this thief into the very foreground of the picture, so that the figures behind it are partly hidden, and, using it as a starting point, he arranges the other two crosses in an oblique line of recession.

A number of the works that we have studied demonstrate the popularity of Pedro Gascó in the extreme north of the part of Catalonia that still remains within the Spanish borders, and it should therefore not surprise us to find a panel that, if the vaguely reported provenience is correct, was done for some destination at Prades in the slice of Catalonia belonging to France, an Epiphany now in a private collection at Perpignan (Fig. 98). His rights to the picture are

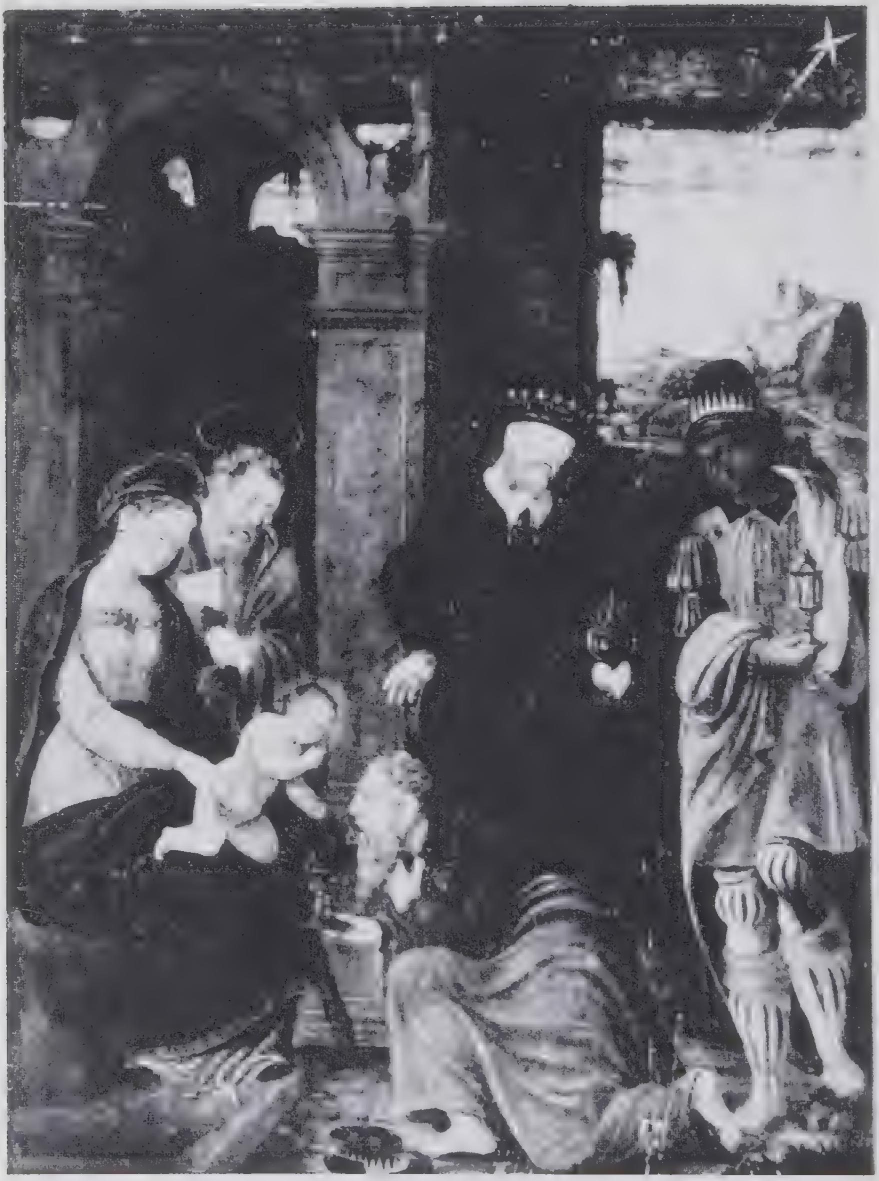

Fig. 98. PEDRO GASCÓ. EPIPHANY. PRIVATE COLLECTION, PERPIGNAN
(*Courtesy of Professor Marcel Durliat*)

abundantly apparent. Among his many representations of the Madonna and Child that are arrestingly similar to their figures in the Perpignan Adoration of the Magi, the most compelling proof is afforded by the example in the Holy Family in the Vich Museum long ago ascribed to Pedro by Gudiol. The fervently devout, kneeling Magus is scarcely differentiated from the Abraham at San Esteban de Bas, and the raptly expressive, standing, Caucasian King is closely paralleled by the David on the door in the Museum at Vich. For the landscape, the reader may be referred especially to the vista behind the Holy Family in the cathedral of Barcelona. One of his most carefully executed achievements, the painting is calculated to elevate somewhat our estimate of Pedro Gascó's talents when he wished to exert himself.

It is hard, if not impossible, to refuse to him a fragment of an altarpiece, representing Sts. Roch and Christopher, that has entered the Barcelona Museum from the Moxó Collection in this city (Fig. 99). Both figures belong to precisely the class of human beings utilized for the Christ and St. John of the Baptism at San Esteban de Bas, and St. Roch's angel recalls the member of the celestial chorus in this panel who plays the viol. The profile of St. Roch himself is like that of the redeemed thief in the Crucifixion which we have studied in a private collection at Barcelona. The trade-marks of the Gascó shop, the flying forelocks, are visible on the angel as well as on the Child carried by St. Christopher.

Pedro or one of his immediate followers must have executed a panel of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Carreras Collection, Barcelona (Fig. 100). The composition for the theme at Castellón de Ampurias is different, but a minor detail is at once to be noted, the architecture of the Temple which exhibits a partial similarity to the section of it seen in the right background of the Castellón version. From the edifice at the left there hang bits of overgrowing foliage exactly as on the ruin in the Epiphany at Perpignan. The St. Anne in the Castellón Presentation is somewhat contaminated with the sickly piety of the Virgin's mother and the woman above her in the panel that now concerns us; but there are many closer approximations in his other works to this almost simpering religious expression, one of Pedro Gascó's defects, for instance in the Madonnas in his series of renderings of the Holy Family. With this expression he often combines a mawkish casting of the eyes upward, as in

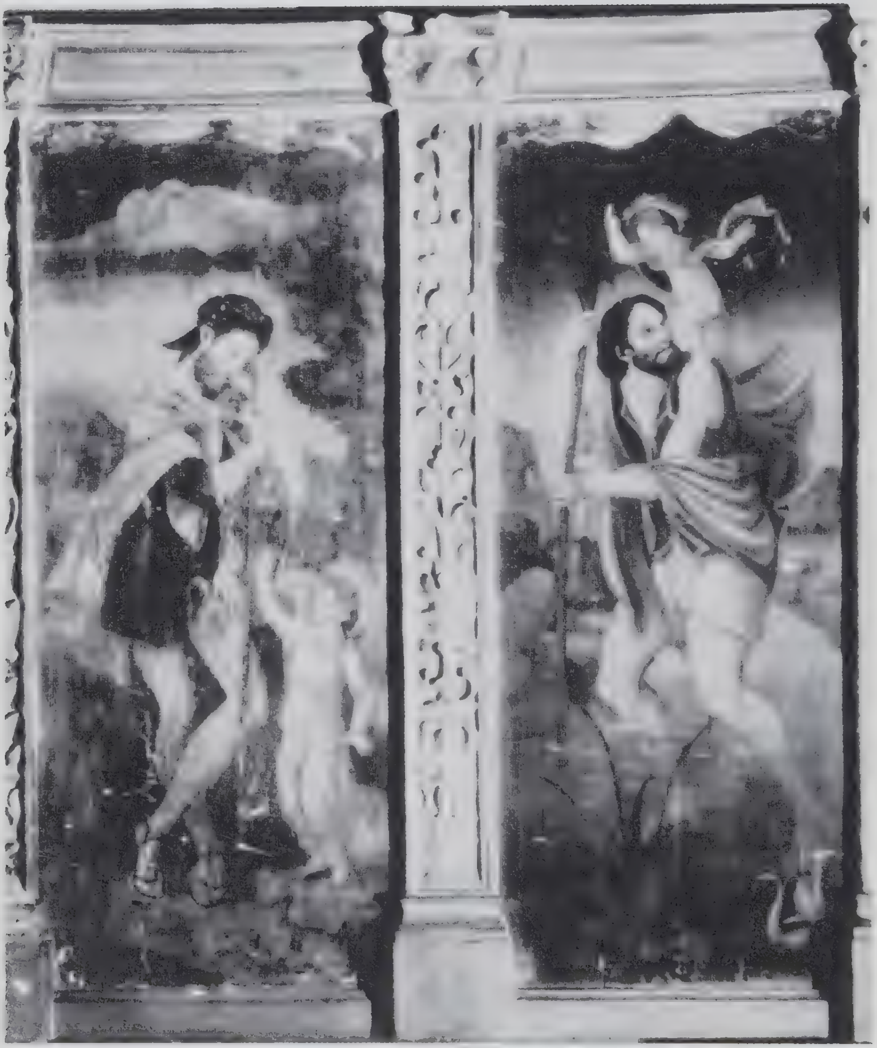

FIG. 99. PEDRO GASCÓ (?). STS. ROCH AND CHRISTOPHER. MUSEUM OF CATALAN ART, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

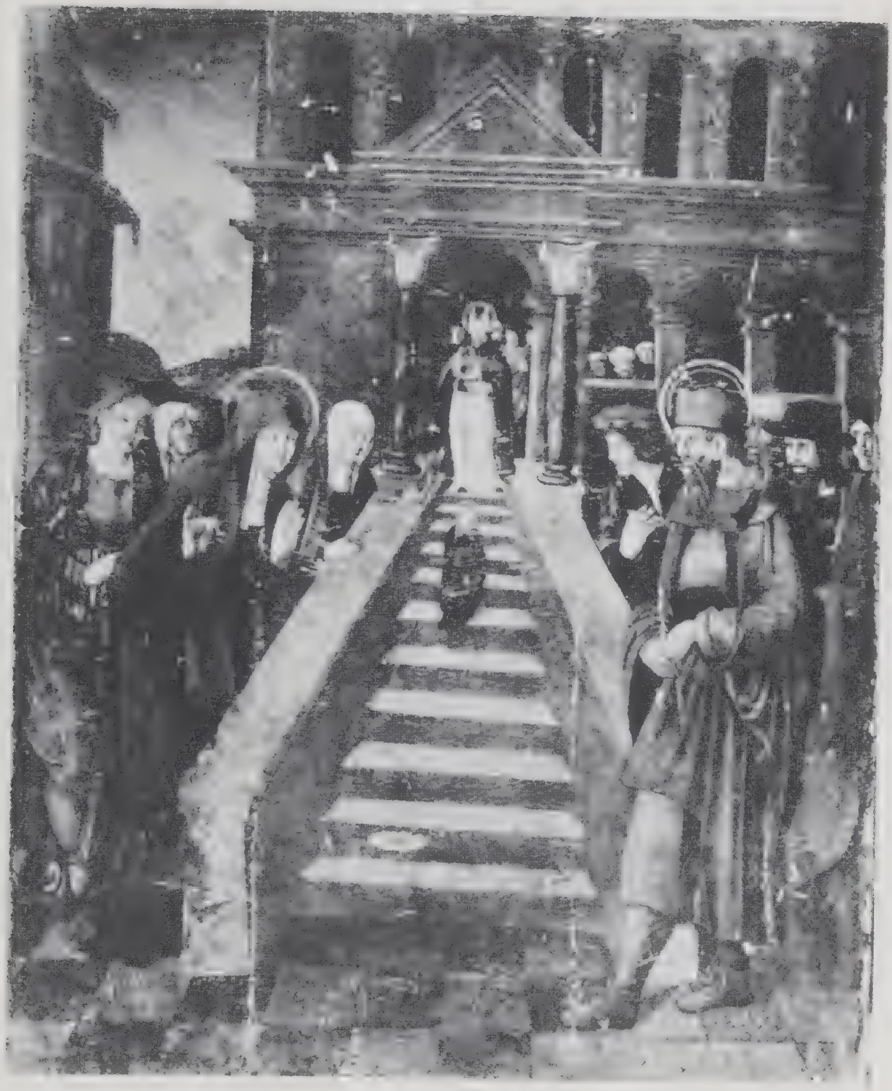

FIG. 100. PEDRO GASCÓ OR A FOLLOWER. PRESENTATION OF THE VIRGIN. CARRERAS CANDI COLLECTION, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

St. Anne and her hooded companion with a hand on the balustrade and as, at San Esteban, in Tobias and, at Castellón, in the midwife bending over St. Anne's bed. Especially to be remarked is the analogy of the companion, in strained religious ardor, to Pedro's representation of St. Anne on the bridal chest in the Vich Museum. The prominent attendant at the left behind St. Anne in the Carreras panel is a favorite feminine type with Pedro both in countenance and disposition of the hair, illustrated conspicuously by the Madonna in the Vich Holy Family guaranteed by Gudiol. The St. Joachim falls precisely in the class of such bearded men of piercing glance as the St. Joseph in the documented Epiphany at Vich or the kneeling Magus in the Perpignan rendering of this theme. Nor is there lacking one of the youths with whom he likes to punctuate his crowds, here leaning forth behind the Virgin's father. The author, whether Pedro Gascó himself or a faithful imitator, should never have tried the academic stunt of occupying the whole centre of the composition by projecting directly at us the staircase that little Mary climbs, for he was not armed with enough Italian science to solve the difficult problem of the perspective.

CHAPTER X

JAIME FONTANET THE ELDER

Chiefly a maker of stained glass but also a painter of altarpieces, this master was one of the most prominent figures in the artistic *milieu* of Barcelona during the first half of the sixteenth century, but, like many of his compeers both in Spain and the rest of Europe, he has suffered the unhappy fate of being practically unknown to us in pictorial style. His one documented retable over the high altar of the parish church at Molíns de Rey, just west of Barcelona, has perished, and from what, as the records seem to show, was his more prolific output in stained glass, there have remained to us only three windows in the apse of the Barcelona church of Santos Justo y Pastor, achievements that, by reason of the difference in medium, forestall a very accurate conception of his attainments in painting on panel or cloth. He came from a family that originated in the town of Iborra, northeast of Cervera, and had already produced an outstanding worker in glass and painter, Gil Fontanet; and whether a son or some other younger relative, Jaime first emerges to the light of history when, on January 2, 1508, we find him, as a member of the society of painters at Barcelona, paying his share in the expense of a non-extant retable that the organization was causing to be constructed in honor of their patron, St. Luke, in the church of Sta. María de la Merced in the city.[1] I will not encumber our pages with rehearsing his commissions, his honorable activity in the guild of bridle-makers (where the painters were enrolled as well as in the society of St. Luke), or his transactions in business, since all these items can readily be found in the bibliography comprised in the underlying note,[2] but I confine myself to the retable and the windows recorded at the beginning of the present paragraph. He had died by March 27, 1550,[3] when there is listed as his heir his son of the same name, Jaime Fontanet the younger, who followed the paternal profession and to whom there

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[1] See above, p. 170, and below, p. 495.

[2] El Conde de la Viñaza, *Adiciones*, etc., II, 201; and J. M. Madurell in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, I, 3 (1943), 39 and 43; II, 3 (1944), 18; and V, 3–4 (1947), 258, 318, and 326.

[3] *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, II, 3 (1944), 21, n. 23.

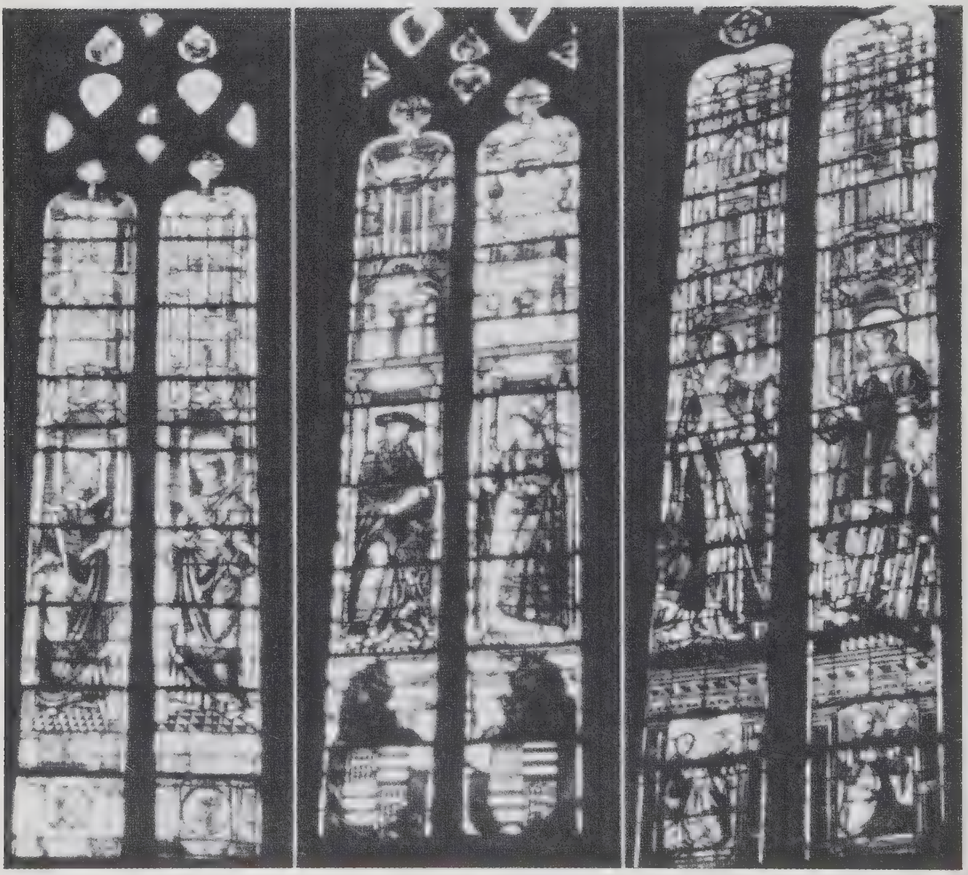

FIG. 101. JAIME FONTANET. WINDOWS. CHURCH OF SANTOS JUSTO Y PASTOR, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

must refer all documentary notices after this date about an artist so called. Indeed some of the references immediately prior to the early spring of 1550 may well have to do with the son, as appears certainly the case in a Jaime Fontanet's assistance in the polychromy of the retable at Lloret de Mar, the paintings in which were executed by Pedro Serafí,[4] since in 1555 Jaime Fontanet II demanded payment for the job that a painter of this appellation had contracted to do in 1548 or just before.[5]

The retable of Molíns de Rey is an irreparable loss. The Catalan sculptor, Bernardo Batlle, agreed on March 13, 1526, to make the central statue and carved frames in the altarpiece, and Jaime Fontanet was asked on October 29, 1531, to carry out the painted sections and the polychromy. The Crucifixion was to be in the usual spot, the main pinnacle; the two lower lateral compartments were to contain scenes from the story of St. Michael; the subjects of the two upper spaces at the sides are left in the contract to the joint arbitrament of the lady of the manor at Molíns de Rey, Doña Hipólita de Requeséns and of the officers of the town; on the tabernacle were to be depicted the customary themes for the spot, Christ between the mourning Virgin and St. John, whereas again the lady and the local authorities were to choose the figures for the flanking predella; and the stipulations comprise even the traditional representations for the doors beside the altar, Sts. Peter and Paul. There was likewise consigned to our master the painting of a sacred personage and an escutcheon on each *guardapolvo*. Fontanet was ordered also to paint (in fresco?) above the retable two angels and to exercise his other profession in making three windows for the apse.[6]

It is only in this profession that his memory is preserved to us in a concrete achievement, three windows, like those of Molíns de Rey, in the apse of Santos Justo y Pastor at Barcelona, labors that the records of the church show him to have executed in 1522 [7] (Fig. 101). Each of the windows displays the paired and standing forms of saints, set in shrines of still Gothic architecture in the two lateral pieces, but, in the central specimen, of structures of the Renaissance in accordance with the transitional nature of Fontanet's art. In this central space the two saints are Jerome and Augustine (or Ambrose?), and, like the other windows, it includes a smaller zone beneath each sacred personage, here filled with the escutcheon of the donor, the rector of the church, who was also the great archdeacon of the cathedral and notable patron of the arts, Luis Desplá y Oms, portrayed dourly but at a relatively youthful age by Bermejo in the guise of the commissioner of this master's Pietà, now in the cathedral and dating from as much earlier as 1490.[8] The shield under both saints is upheld by a Prophet (?) in half length. The window on the left is reserved for deceptively feminine-looking effigies of the edifice's patrons, the youthful martyrs and brothers, St. Justus and Pastor, holding as emblems the executioner's knives that were the instruments of their decollation; [9] and the lower zone, where the decorative *motifs*, as at the bottom of the other lateral window, have passed into the Renaissance, contains two heads of warriors (imagined as Jewish heroes or kings?). The standing figures in this other window, at the right, are Sts. Blaise and Lawrence; and kneeling donors fill the lower register. In the right compartment are shown two clerics, one of whom would be Luis Desplá portrayed more benevolently than by Bermejo and as an older man, since he survived only two years more, until 1524; [10] and to the left compartment is relegated a lady accompanied by a gentleman who may not be a priest, both of them doubtless kin of the rector.

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[4] See above, p. 212.

[5] See Madurell in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, II, 3 (1944), 13–15, especially n. 8 on p. 15.

[6] See Madurell, *ibid.*, V, 3–4 (1947), 258, 318, and 326.

[7] Madurell, *ibid.*, II, 3 (1944), 21, n. 23.

It is indeed a pity that no other works of Fontanet have survived or at least been recognized, for he manifests himself here an artist of considerable stature, retaining perhaps more than any of his rivals the slim elegance and delicate spirituality of Huguet. If any creations of his, paintings or windows, should some time emerge, they ought to be easy to recognize, because the Sts. Jerome and Lawrence possess a distinctive kind of countenance, narrow and with pronounced cheek-bones. On a subsequent page I shall propose the dim possibility that he might have done a panel of six figures of saints in the cathedral of Barcelona, with so little conviction, however, that I have not dared to place the discussion anywhere else than in the chapter on works of unascertained authorship.

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[8] See my vol. V, p. 108.

[9] See vol. VII, pp. 242 and 777.

[10] In vol. V, p. 108, I wrongly gave the date of his death as 1523.

CHAPTER XI

LESSER CATALAN PAINTERS OF THE PERIOD

1. Juan Gatón

So slight is this individual's talent and so slight the number of his works which have come down to us that he would scarcely be worth our notice if he did not stand forth, in contrast to so many anonymous Masters of This or That, through the preservation of his actual name. We arrive at his artistic personality by the documentation of two panels of St. Augustine and St. Monica now in the Museum of Vich (Fig. 102). On November 12, 1520,[1] he acknowledges payment for a panel of St. Augustine that he had executed at the order of the cleric of Manresa, Juan Torra, and at the same time he agrees to do a companion-piece of Augustine's mother, St. Monica, both pictures probably destined, though it is not specifically so stated, for Sta. María de la Seo in the town, a church in which Torra held the office of canon-sacristan. The effigy of St. Monica was to be surmounted by a pinnacle embodying some event from her son's life, which has perished or at least has not reached the Vich Museum; and the likewise now untraceable panel of "the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ" for which he was remunerated together with the St. Augustine may well have been a Crucifixion correspondingly used as a pinnacle above the great Doctor of the Church, since it was a subject commonly appearing at the summit of sacred works of art, whatever their principal theme.

Our further notices of Gatón fail to authenticate any other extant works. He was married in the cathedral of Barcelona on January 12, 1509; with the painters Pedro Terré and Jaime Cardona, he gave an opinion, on May 9, 1515, in regard to the merits of the polychromy that Joan de Burgunya had done on the frames of the retable in Sta. María del Pino at Barcelona; [2] and he is still described

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[1] With the exception of the notice of Gatón's marriage, published by José Mas in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras*, Barcelona, VI (1911–1912), 310, the data will be found in Joachim Sarret i Arbós, *Art i artistes manresans*, Manresa, 1916, pp. 28–33, as well as in his *Historia religiosa de Manresa*, Manresa, 1924, p. 138, and in J. M. Madurell in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*. I, 3 (1943), 86.

[2] See above, p. 80.

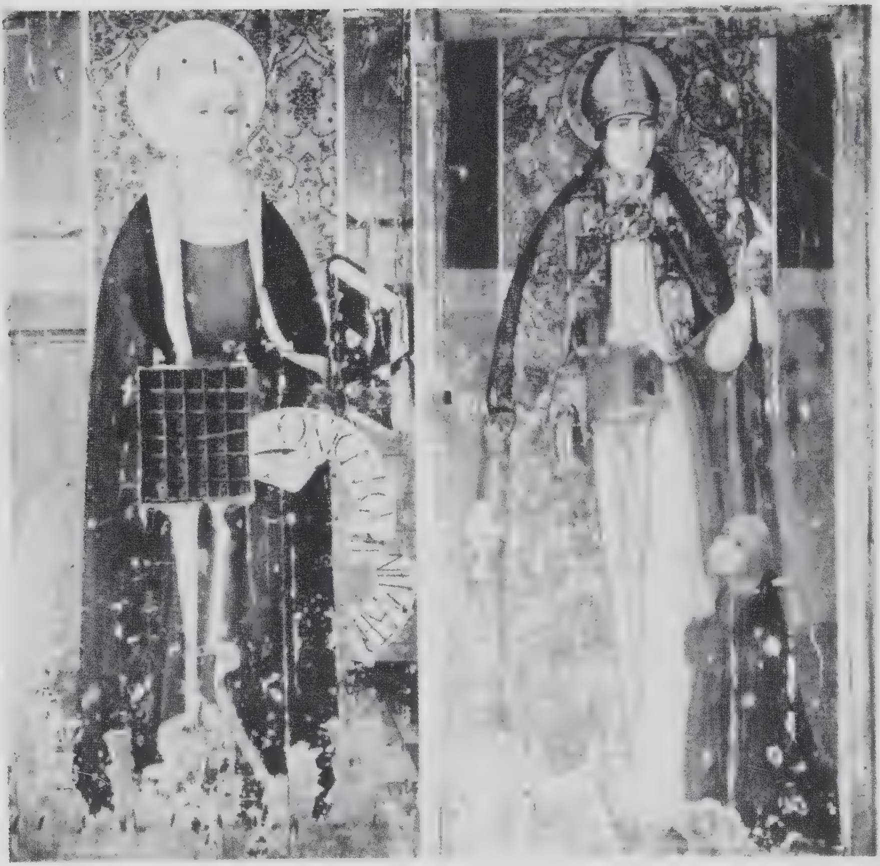

Fig. 102. JUAN GATÓN. STS. MONICA AND AUGUSTINE. MUSEUM, VICH
(*Photo. Thomas*)

as a citizen of this capital when on July 20 and August 28, 1517, he was paid by the treasurer of Manresa, whither he had transferred his residence, for a (lost) retable of St. Christopher. The year 1520 was a busy time for him, since, in addition to the pieces ordered by the canon Torra, he painted the tabernacle in Sta. María in Manresa, for which he was remunerated on May 3,[3] and he contracted on August 27 to gild and to decorate with figures the uprights and *guardapolvos* of a retable in the Carmelite church of the town. These works have disappeared from our knowledge, but it is significant that in the Carmelite document he is already called a citizen of Manresa, where he kept an establishment to the latest date to which the archives carry him. In a former volume [4] we have had occasion to reject the attribution to Gatón of two panels of the Nativity and Epiphany that at least until the second decade of the present century existed in the parish church of Vilatorrada, just north of Manresa, an edifice for which he contracted in 1523 to do a retable of the two St. Johns. Our final allusions to the painter reveal him on July 4, 1527, and March 27, 1536, as engaged in transactions of real estate in Manresa, although in the record of the latter deal he is entitled a citizen not only of this town but also of Barcelona, either because he divided his time between the two places or because he proudly wished his earlier connection with the capital to be recalled.

St. Augustine and his mother are represented in narrow, vertical panels almost two metres in height, considerably injured,[5] the original use of which in the church at Manresa is disclosed neither by the document nor by the nature of the pictures themselves. In the old mediaeval way, rigid, brocaded fabrics hung in front of parapets still serve as settings to the effigies. Above the parapet of St. Monica there is limned a delicate stretch of hills that resembles (probably just by chance) the nature and pictorial manner of Piero della Francesca's landscapes; and it is likely that in corresponding spots behind St. Augustine repaint conceals a similar vista. He is accompanied by the kneeling figure of the donor, the canon Juan Torra, in compara-

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[3] The document states that the commission for the tabernacle had originally been given to a painter García Guarda, who had died. If this name is a scribe's mistake for Huguet's follower Gabriel Guardia (vol. VII, p. 333), it would probably extend Guardia's lease of life to *c.* 1520, since no long time would naturally have intervened between his decease and Gatón's assumption of the order.

[4] VII, p. 409.

[5] The panel of St. Monica has been further mutilated by the employment of its central portion, at a subsequent time, for a receptacle of some sort (a reliquary?).

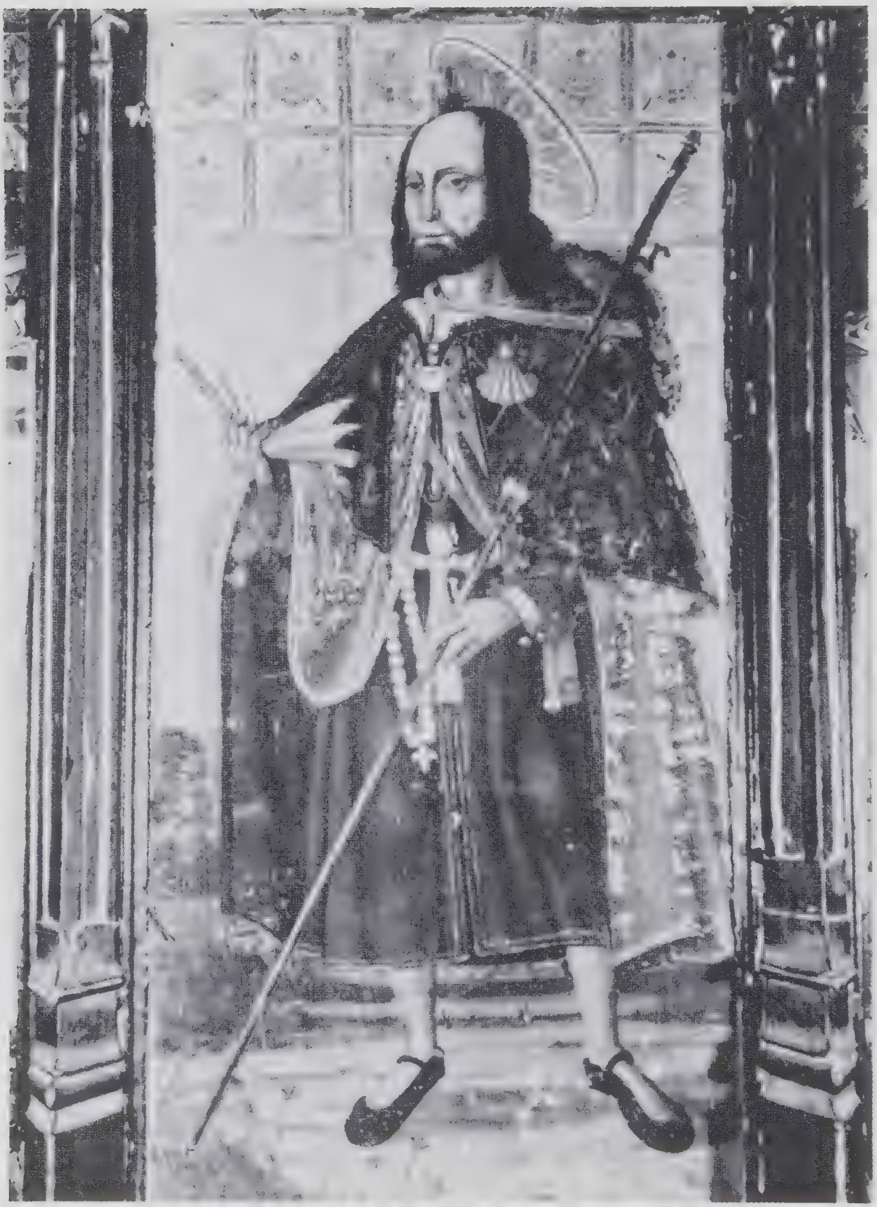

Fig. 103. ST. JAMES MAJOR, CENTRE OF RETABLE, BY A PAINTER UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF JUAN GATÓN (?). PARISH CHURCH, CENTELLAS

(*Photo. Mas*)

tively reduced size, and St. Monica is identified by an inscription on a banderole. The style manifested in the panels constitutes a belated and not very competent persistence of the Catalan manner of the end of the fifteenth century, with little more to betoken the dawn of the Renaissance than the less stiff and less primitive execution of the sacred personages simulated as embroidered on the orphreys of St. Augustine's cope, which itself, however, continues the old emphasis of the school of Catalonia upon brilliant brocades as formal, decorative elements in compositions. The figure of the donor looks to be a more incisive portrait than the average of Gatón's attainments would have justified us in expecting from him.

At Centellas, on the road between Manresa and Vich and therefore in a situation where we should have guessed that strains from the two cities might meet, the parish church contains a retable obviously painted by an imitator of a master active at Vich, Juan Gascó, and yet apparently exhibiting affiliations with the modes of Gatón. Except for a pinnacle of the Last Judgment, the main body of the retable consists of single, standing effigies of saints, James Major in the principal compartment (Fig. 103), Cosmas and Damian at the upper level on the sides, and an unidentifiable pope and Roch in the lower tier. The predella aligns half-lengths of seven further canonized personages, who, like the principal figures above, are relieved against gold backgrounds diapered with Gascó's *motif* of ornamented squares and lozenges. The practice of Gascó is followed also in the partial variation of the inner ornaments of the squares, and for Santiago the pattern of the ornament appropriately takes the form of a design based on the pilgrim's shell and staff.

A number of the figures, especially the Santiago, the St. Damian, and the pope, are so arrestingly similar to Gatón's Sts. Augustine and Monica in hard, unrelenting character of the countenances and in stony glare of the eyes that he could be declared the retable's author, were it not for the emergence also of disconcerting differences. The chief of these differences is the markedly broad and stubby canon of the human form in contrast to the elongated proportions of the Sts. Augustine and Monica as well as of the figures embroidered on the former's cope. We could argue that the elongation might have been occasioned by the unknown purpose which the documented panels served and by accommodation of the figures on the orphreys to the verticality of their positions, or it could be maintained that an artist,

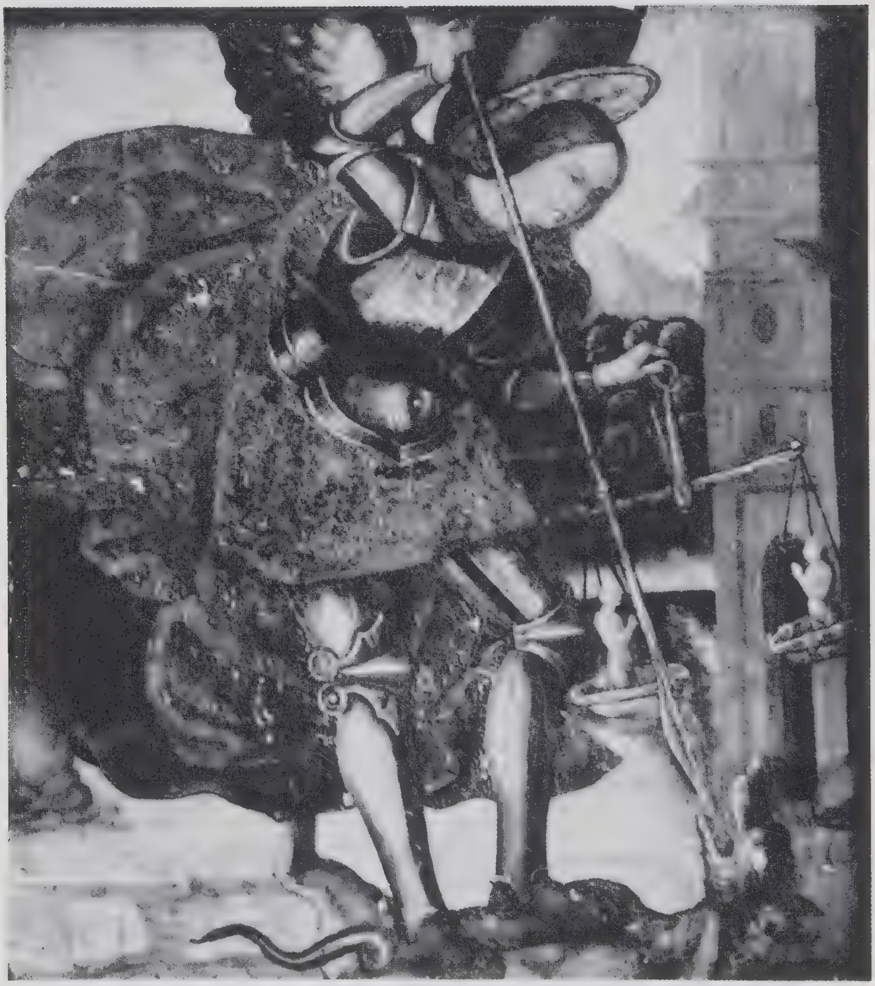

Fig. 104. ST. MICHAEL, BY A PAINTER UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF JUAN GATÓN (?). BATLLORI COLLECTION, BARCELONA (*Photo. Mas*)

particularly so rustic a one as the man responsible for the Centellas retable, might in general vary the proportions of the body from commission to commission. There are, indeed, further analogies in the retable to the Manresa panels, as, for instance, a certain resemblance of the mortals rising from the dead in the Last Judgment to the portrait of Juan Torra; and yet, if we apply the sternness of scientific connoisseurship, the evidence at our disposal permits no more definite an assertion than that the retable was produced in the circle of Juan Gascó by a craftsman who seems to have stood in some sort of relation to Juan Gatón. If this craftsman was indeed Gatón, he had enrolled himself as a follower of Gascó to a more tangible extent than the two documented panels reveal.

It is as little more than a mere suggestion that I propose the Centellas painter, whoever he was, for the dubious honor of having executed a St. Michael in the Batllori de Orovio Collection at Barcelona (Fig. 104), although the many hours that I have perhaps foolishly wasted in studying the picture have discovered no other Spaniard of the period into whose manner it so neatly fits. The analogy in stocky physique and in lumbering technical endowment is obvious. The proportions of the body are comparable especially in the St. Roch of the Centellas retable, behind whom also the drapery billows forth arbitrarily in much the same way. The small St. Michael in the Centellas Last Judgment has a different kind of countenance, but it is to be noted that the pose is nearly identical, even in the jerky bend at the waist and the defective foreshortening of the torso and elevated right arm. The facial type cannot be paralleled in the Centellas altarpiece, but in a large effigy of the archangel it might have been expected that the author would have called into play what powers he possessed for depicting beauty of person. The halo is worn in the jaunty mode of the saints in the altarpiece, and even its figuration is not too diverse.

2. The Premiá Master (Bernardo Goffer, Jerónimo Goffer, or Antonio Marqués?)

Although the painter whom it now falls to our lot to discuss may equal any one of the three personalities named above, the complicated evidence is so inconclusive as to oblige us to resort to the indefinite pseudonym, the Premiá Master, who, after all, might even be identical with some other artist than the triad mentioned but whom no discovered document has yet introduced into the problem. The balance perhaps tips a little in favor of Jerónimo Goffer. The Premiá Master, whose style places him in the very early years of the sixteenth century, takes his title from the fact that two of his works, both now in the Diocesan Museum, Barcelona, come from S. Pedro, the parish church of Premiá de Dalt, northeast of Barcelona; and Jerónimo's father, Bernardo Goffer, who hailed from Germany (which in the terminology of the time might include Flanders) or at least belonged to a German family already established in Catalonia, is documented to have done a retable for this edifice between 1496 and 1500.[6] Now, by records that stretch from 1502 to 1510 we are informed[7] that Bernardo and Jerónimo Goffer were united in the execution of the retable of St. Martin over the high altar of the parish church at San Martín de Provensals, a suburb of Barcelona; but, since the father died in 1502,[8] the lion's share in the undertaking must have been carried out by the son. The retable perished in the revolutionary disturbances of 1936, and, although we possess a photograph of 1928 [9] showing that it was a work of *c.* 1500, the reproduction is so dim as to reveal nothing of use for studying its author, except in one small detail, the head of the saint in the left door of the altarpiece. Very significantly, this head turns out to be impressively similar to that of St. James Major in a fragment by the Premiá Master from Premiá [10] and only somewhat less analogous to that of St. Peter on a retable's door from Moguda of which there is good reason for believing that the Premiá Master was the author.[11] The evidence, of course, is very slight and entirely insufficient for proving that the Premiá Master was Jerónimo Goffer, but it does carry some small weight to support the proposition. We should have to make, in addition, the venturesome assumptions that either one of the preserved works from Premiá surely by the Premiá Master is connected with the documents of 1496–1500 and that even as early as this the son was executing the major part in the commissions received by his father and had already adopted the manner of the early Renaissance. It is likely that Bernardo, whose activity stretches back as far as 1460,[12] never progressed beyond mediaeval modes, whereas Jerónimo can be traced in the records as late as 1526.[13]

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[6] J. M. Madurell in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, II, 3 (1944), 37. In the various documents the surname has been read as Goffer, Gaffer, and Boffer, but the first spelling is now generally thought to be correct. That Jerónimo was the son of Bernardo is affirmed by Madurell, without stating his authority, in *Colegio Notarial de Barcelona, Estudios históricos y documentos de los Archivos de Protocolos*, I (1948), 123.

[7] J. M. Madurell in the publication of the Colegio Notarial de Barcelona mentioned in the immeditaely preceding note, p. 123. Sanpere y Miquel (*Los cuatrocentistas catalanes*, I, 313) asserts that the town of San Martín de Provensals was the source of the retable of St. Martin in the Museum of Catalan Art, Barcelona, which I analyzed in volume VII, pp. 409–412, and a provenience from the parish church of this town has hitherto been unanimously accepted; but the present scholarly director of the Museum, Don Juan Ainaud de Lasarte, writes me that he is not cognizant of any certain proof of the allegation. In any case, the style of the retable in the Museum dates it fairly early in the second half of the fifteenth century, so that it cannot be the one documented as having been done by the Goffers at the commencement of the Cinquecento. If there is any real foundation for the predicated derivation from the parish church of San Martín de Provensals, we might escape the difficulty by assuming the strange phenomenon of the retable of 1502–1510 having so soon been substituted over the high altar for the example now in the Museum; or the possibility, since the church is dedicated to St. Martin, that the example in the Museum was a second production honoring him, not over the high altar, but in some chapel. Inasmuch, however, as Sanpere specifies no further than a provenience from the town of San Martín de Provensals, the retable in the Museum might have come from some other place in the village than the parish church. For Sanpere's wrong attribution of the Museum retable to Antonio de Llonye, see below, p. 682.

[8] In the lists of officers of the guild of bridle-makers at Barcelona, in which the painters were enrolled, he is mentioned as deceased in 1502. His artistic prominence is illustrated by his frequent election to offices in the guild, beginning with 1487: see J. M. Madurell in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, II, 2 (1944), 67–69.

In the case of Jerónimo's rival for identification with the Premiá Master, Antonio Marqués,[14] we can rely on no stylistic comparisons, however slim, since really authenticated works of his are not known; but we are compelled to turn to mere possibilities in the documents. On August 23, 1504, he contracted to do a retable of unspecified themes [15] for the parish church of Premiá, which, instead of the altarpiece ordered from Bernardo Goffer, might conceivably be one of the two extant works from the edifice by the Premiá Master. The more extensive of these works is a whole retable depicting the Seven Joys

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[9] I owe the photograph to one of the many generosities of Don Juan Ainaud de Lasarte.

[10] See below, p. 277.

[11] See below, p. 280.

[12] Sanpere, *op. cit.*, I, 8, 9, 91, 92, and 278; J. M. Madurell in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, II, 3 (1944), 36–37; and my vol. VI, p. 547.

[13] J. M. Madurell in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, I, 3 (1943), 42, and II, 3 (1944), 42–43.

[14] For the data on Marqués, see Sanpere, *op. cit.*, II, 206 and LIX–LXII; Madurell in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, I, 3 (1944), 39–40, and II, 3 (1944), 37–38; and José Gudiol Ricart and Juan Ainaud de Lasarte, *Huguet*, Barcelona, 1948, p. 29.

[15] The document comprises only the heading of the contract.

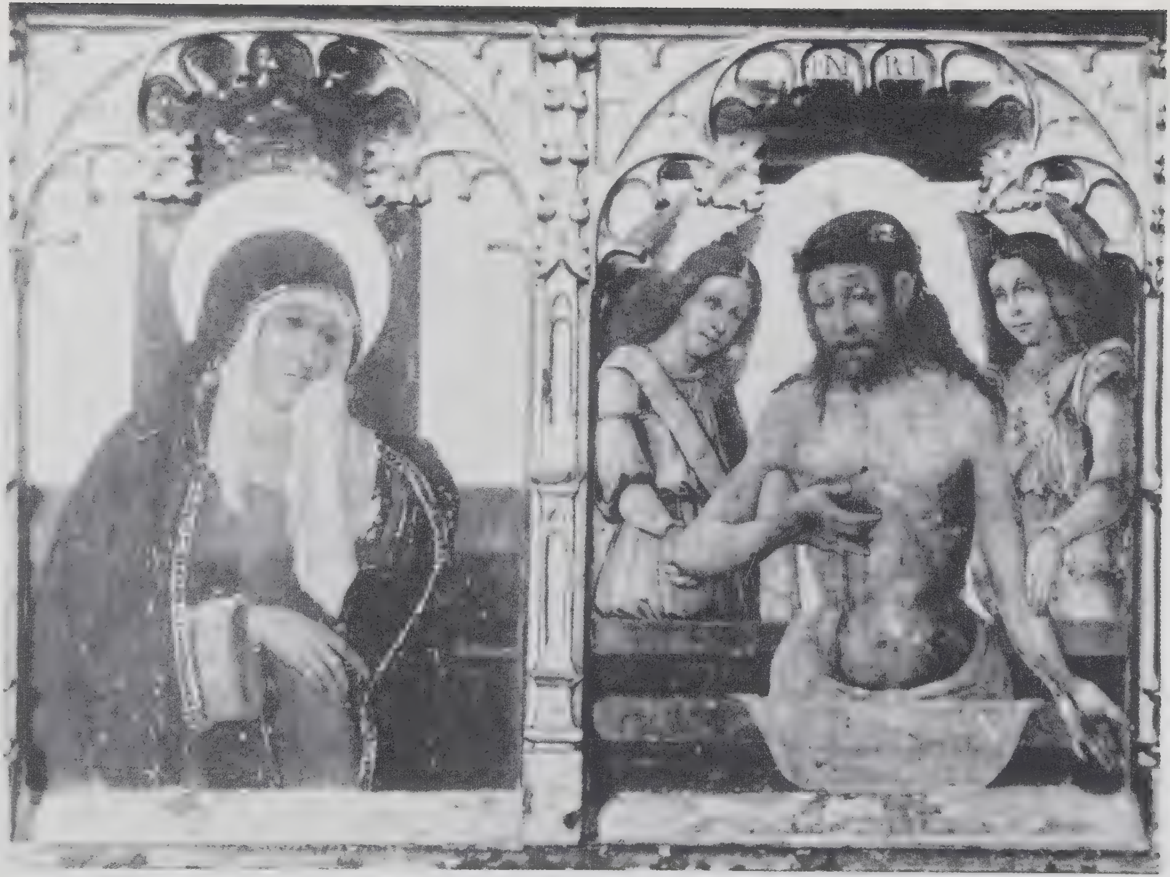

FIG. 105. THE PREMIÁ MASTER. SECTION OF RETABLE OF THE JOYS OF THE VIRGIN. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

of the Virgin; and, since Marqués is documented to have received in 1503 the commission for the lost retable over the high altar of the church of La Merced at Barcelona also devoted to the Virgin's Joys, it might be urged, I fear not very convincingly, that he had gained a reputation for retables of such themes and so was asked to do another for Premiá. Finally, there is always the chance, not, I think, a very likely one, that a considerable number of retables were being made for the church at the time, and that the two preserved works from Premiá by the Premiá Master are examples by an artist other than Jerónimo Goffer or Antonio Marqués and not recorded in the archives as employed in the town. It is curious, when we consider the rival claims of Marqués and Jerónimo Goffer to be equated with the Premiá Master, that both Bernardo Goffer and Marqués served in 1494 as experts in the financial difficulties after Huguet's death concerning the payments to his daughter Eulalia for his contributions to the retable of Sarriá.

As set up in the Diocesan Museum, Barcelona, when last I saw it, the central compartment of the retable of the Seven Joys contained an earlier, Gothic statue of the Madonna, probably a substitution for a carved image of her, contemporary with the paintings. Román Arnet, writing in 1882,[16] describes a figure of Christ upon the cross, presumably meaning a piece of sculpture, as ensconced in this compartment of the retable, which, he says, was then to be seen in the sacristy of the church at Premiá, but this, as unsuited to the principal section of a monument honoring Our Lady, must also have taken the place of the original occupant of the niche. The themes chosen for the paintings of the Virgin's Joys [17] are: at the ends of the predella, the Annunciation and Nativity; at the sides of the statue, the Epiphany, Resurrection, Pentecost, and Assumption; and, in the pinnacle, the Coronation. The only other parts are the three panels in the predella's middle, the Christ of the Mass of St. Gregory flanked by the mourning Mother and St. John, all rendered in half length but in larger scale than the forms in any of the narrative panels (Fig. 105).

We see in the retable a painter of average gifts just emerging from the restrictions of the primitive into the more correct modes of representation that marked the Renaissance. He is not ambitious for novelties in composition, but it is difficult to perceive any very con-

[16] In *Butlletí de la Associació d'Excursións Catalana*, IV (1882), 16.

[17] For some variation in the subjects of the Joys, see my vol. VIII, p. 294.

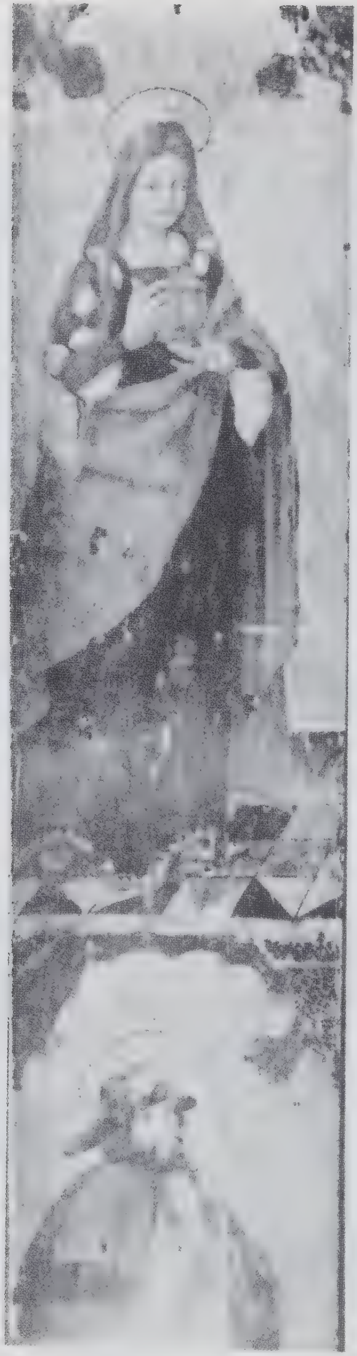

Fig. 106. THE PREMIÁ MASTER. STS. MARY MAGDALENE AND JAMES MAJOR, FRAGMENT OF RETABLE. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

crete indebtedness to his mediaeval predecessors in the Catalan school and thus to deduce under whom he was trained. If a relationship to the school's past is really to be detected, it would be rather to the coterie of the Vergós family than to Huguet and his circle; but the types of the Premiá Master, although not strongly individualized, are distinctively his own. Within the limits of the traditional compositions he has a peculiar, centrifugal manner of showing us some of his actors in profile looking away from the focus of interest, as in the case of the bearded Magus, a soldier at the left in the Resurrection, or two of the Apostles in the Pentecost. The gold backgrounds are still maintained; but they are merely incised with a foliate pattern, and indeed nowhere in the retable do the old embossings continue their ostentatious history. Nevertheless, the contract drawn up a year before, 1503, for the lost altarpiece of La Merced with Antonio Marqués, who *may* be the same as the Premiá Master, demands accentuation by raised and gilded stucco.

The second work from Premiá de Dalt, attributable on internal evidence to our Master, is a mere relic of some other retable, a vertical panel from the uprights or *guardapolvos*, displaying (if we read downwards) the standing figures of St. Lucy, the Magdalene (Fig. 106), and St. James Major (the last preserving only the upper part of the form). We cannot derive the fragment from the retable of the Seven Joys, which is complete in itself. The unity of authorship is sufficiently demonstrated by the likeness of St. Lucy to the left of the two angels supporting Christ in the retable's predella, by the practical identity in the heads of the Magdalene and of the Virgin in the Coronation, and by the analogous treatment of the gold backgrounds. As a valid argument for equating the Premiá Master with Marqués we can hardly resort to the points that in the contract for the church of La Merced particular emphasis is laid upon the stipulation that Antonio was to do three saints on each of the *guardapolvos* and that consequently perhaps decorations of such sections of altarpieces were regarded as one of his specialties.

There is a possibility that we ought to discern the Master's craft in another fragment in the Diocesan Museum, Barcelona, the provenience of which from Tiana, close to Premiá de Dalt, affords an objective reason, however slight, for the attribution, since the employment of an artist in one place not infrequently resulted in his summons to a near-lying town. Though of considerably larger size, it is

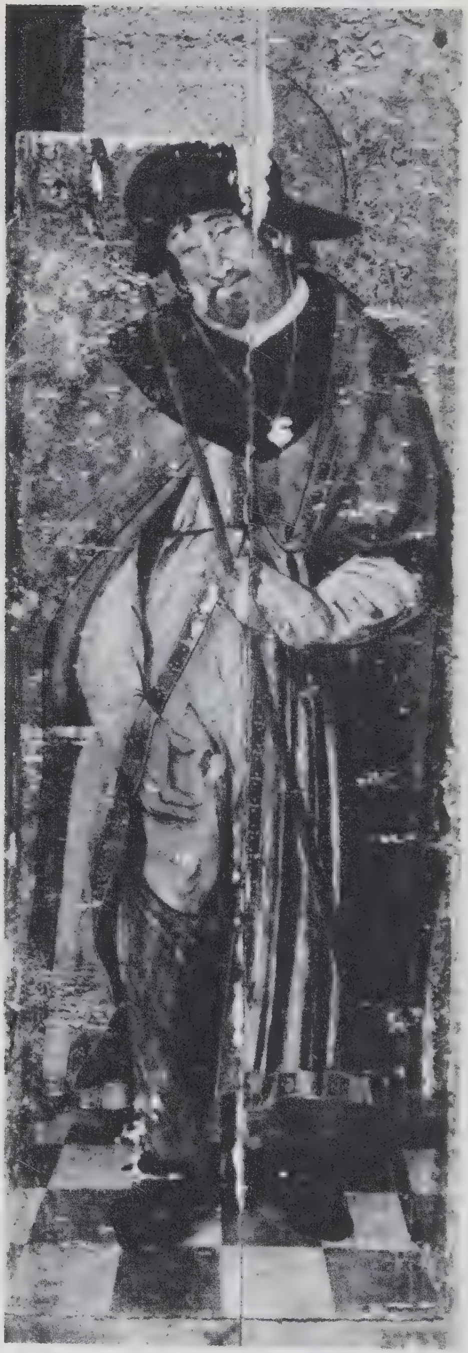

FIG. 107. THE PREMIÁ MASTER (?).
ST. ROCH, FRAGMENT OF RETABLE.
DIOCESAN MUSEUM, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

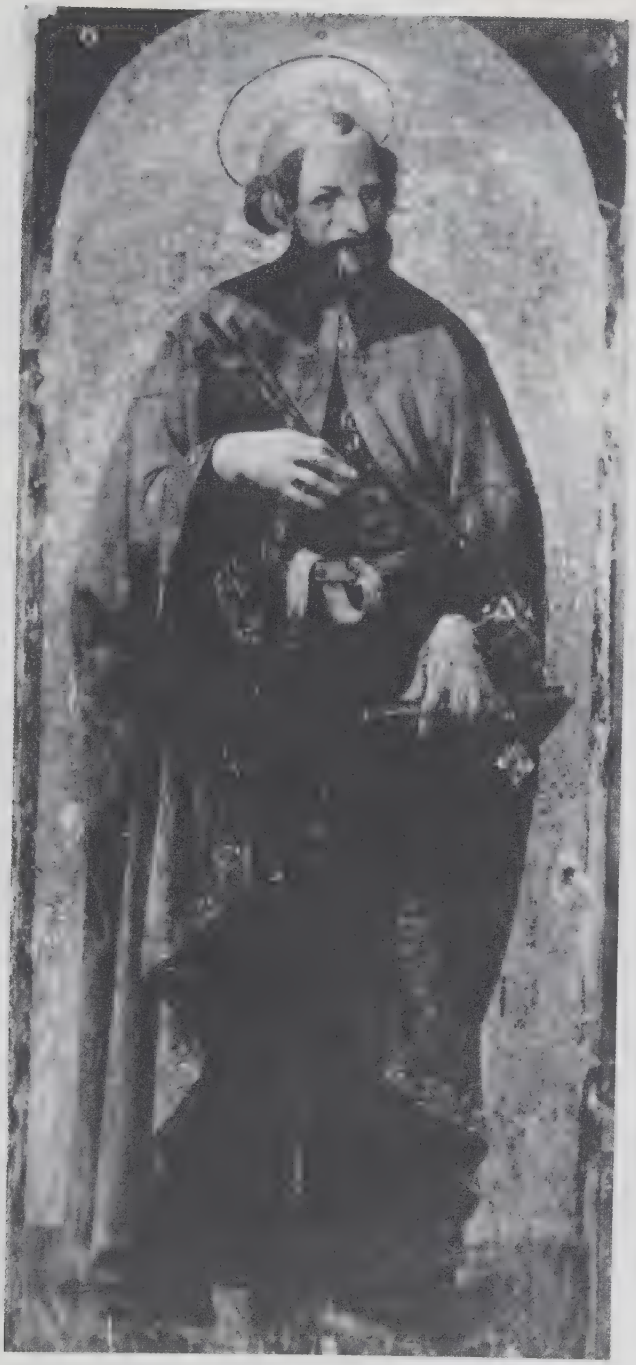

Fig. 108. THE PREMIÁ MASTER (?). ST. PETER, DOOR OF A RETABLE. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

like the upright piece from Premiá in that it consists of a vertically disposed series of three saints, Roch at the top (Fig. 107), Damian next below, and Jerome at the bottom. The evidence is not sufficiently extensive or concrete for a definite assignment to the Premiá Master, and yet there is enough not to make the proposition absurd. The general pictorial manner and the character of the gold backgrounds are similar, and there are even detailed correspondences. The sickish expression of piety in the St. Roch is almost duplicated in the Apostle directly to the Virgin's left in the Pentecost of the retable of the Seven Joys; customarily both he and St. James Major wear a pilgrim's hat, but the specimen on his head is an exact duplicate of the one that distinguishes Santiago in the Premiá fragment; and Santiago's upward glance is repeated in the Tiana St. Damian.

If we are willing to call the Tiana fragment a work of the Premiá Master, we are provided with good grounds for assigning to him two additional pieces that have entered the Diocesan Museum, Barcelona, from the town of Santa Perpetua de Moguda in the same district, doors from the sides of an altar with their regular subjects, full-length effigies of Sts. Peter (Fig. 108) and Paul. The former Apostle bears a resemblance to the St. Roch from Tiana; and even a further link with the Master can be adduced, a kind of a likeness of the St. Peter to the Santiago on the vertical fragment that the church of Premiá has contributed to the Diocesan Museum. The figuration of the Tiana haloes is repeated, and the gold backgrounds display the pattern that the Premiá Master regularly employs.

3. The Balaguer Master

We lost in the Spanish civil war the vast retable over the high altar of the church of S. Salvador at Balaguer, which incorporated a style similar to that of Jaime Forner and yet not identical with it (Fig. 109). The subjects comprised a cycle from the life of Christ, to whom the church is dedicated, including a predella of the Passion, a half-length of St. Nicholas, and the doors of the altar decorated with the customary themes for these sections, standing effigies of Sts. Peter and Paul.[18] Like Forner, the anonymous author capably

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[18] At my visit to the church in 1930, I carelessly failed to itemize each subject in the retable. In the *Album Meravella* (a photographic publication of the treasures of nature and art in Catalonia), vol. II (1929), p. 191, it is stated that the retable was constituted of twenty-two compartments.

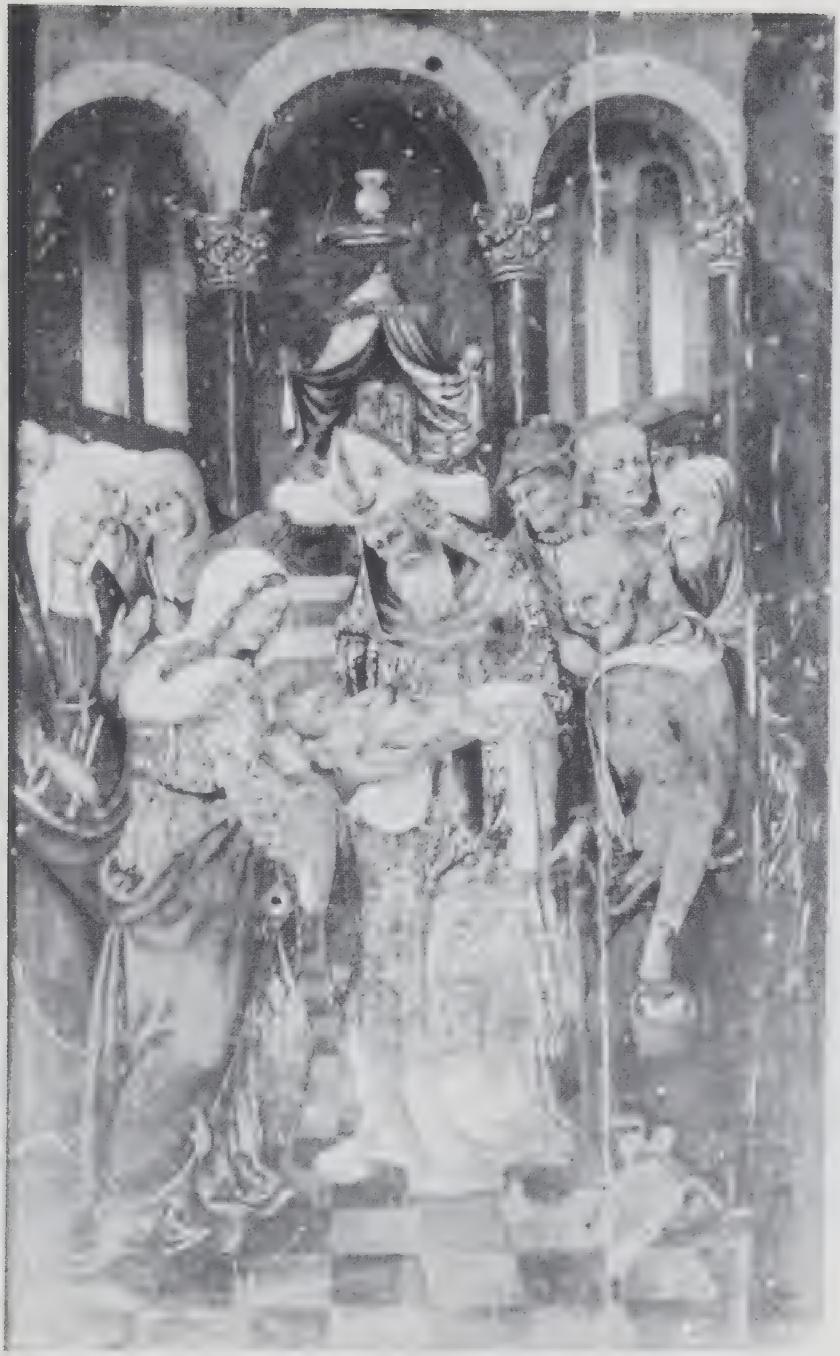

Fig. 109. THE BALAGUER MASTER. PURIFICATION, SECTION OF RETABLE. S. SALVADOR, BALAGUER
(*Photo. Mas*)

handles a manner that has advanced pretty far into the modes of the High Renaissance, retaining from the past little more than brocaded fabrics and the gold of the haloes. The analogy to Forner extends to the adaptations from the compositions of Dürer's prints that Angulo[19] was the first to discern. The scenes of Pilate washing his hands and of the Via Dolorosa follow rather closely the cartoons of the engraved Little Passion of 1512, but with some elasticity in his borrowing the Spanish painter has lifted from the German's representation of the Ecce Homo in the same series the prominent spectator at the lower right and employed him as an onlooker at this spot in his version of the Flagellation. Angulo points out that the Spaniard abjures the harshly Teutonic types of Dürer, and to this transmutation, as well as to smoother draperies, he would have been guided not only by his own Catalan racial tendencies but also by what he knew directly or indirectly of the Italian Renaissance. We should perhaps add to Angulo's list of parallels some degree of indebtedness in the Annunciation to the rendering in Dürer's woodcuts of the Life of the Virgin, which are dated 1502–1505. The composition of the Nativity appears, practically unchanged, in a retable of St. Caprasius by Prudencio and Juan de la Puente, dated in 1533, in the church of S. Miguel at Tarazona[20] in western Aragon; but it is seriously to be doubted that they knew the altarpiece at distant Balaguer, or *vice versa*, and the explanation probably is a joint dependence upon a common source, not, however, any print by Dürer or even Schongauer.

At the other end of Catalonia, in the cathedral of Tortosa, he proves to have done a retable of the Virgin, five compartments of which are preserved and built into a later altarpiece, of 1727, in the chapel of St. Joseph (Fig. 110). The subjects are the Annunciation, Nativity, Epiphany, Pentecost, and the Dormition. The Annunciation actually duplicates in composition (with no nearer approach to Dürer), forms, and setting the Balaguer version; and, although the Nativity and Epiphany are varied somewhat in composition from the renderings at Balaguer, the types, methods, and architecture of the Master are indelibly stamped upon them. The turbaned Magus, for instance, reappears in the Epiphany, albeit in a different pose. Ainaud[21] dates the Tortosa retable about 1520, perhaps because a chapel of St.

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[19] *Archivo español de arte*, XVII (1944), 327.

[20] M. Abizanda y Broto, *Documentos para la historia artística y literaria de Aragón, sigle XVI*, Saragossa, III (1932), 251.

[21] Article cited at the beginning of the chapter on the St. Felix Master.

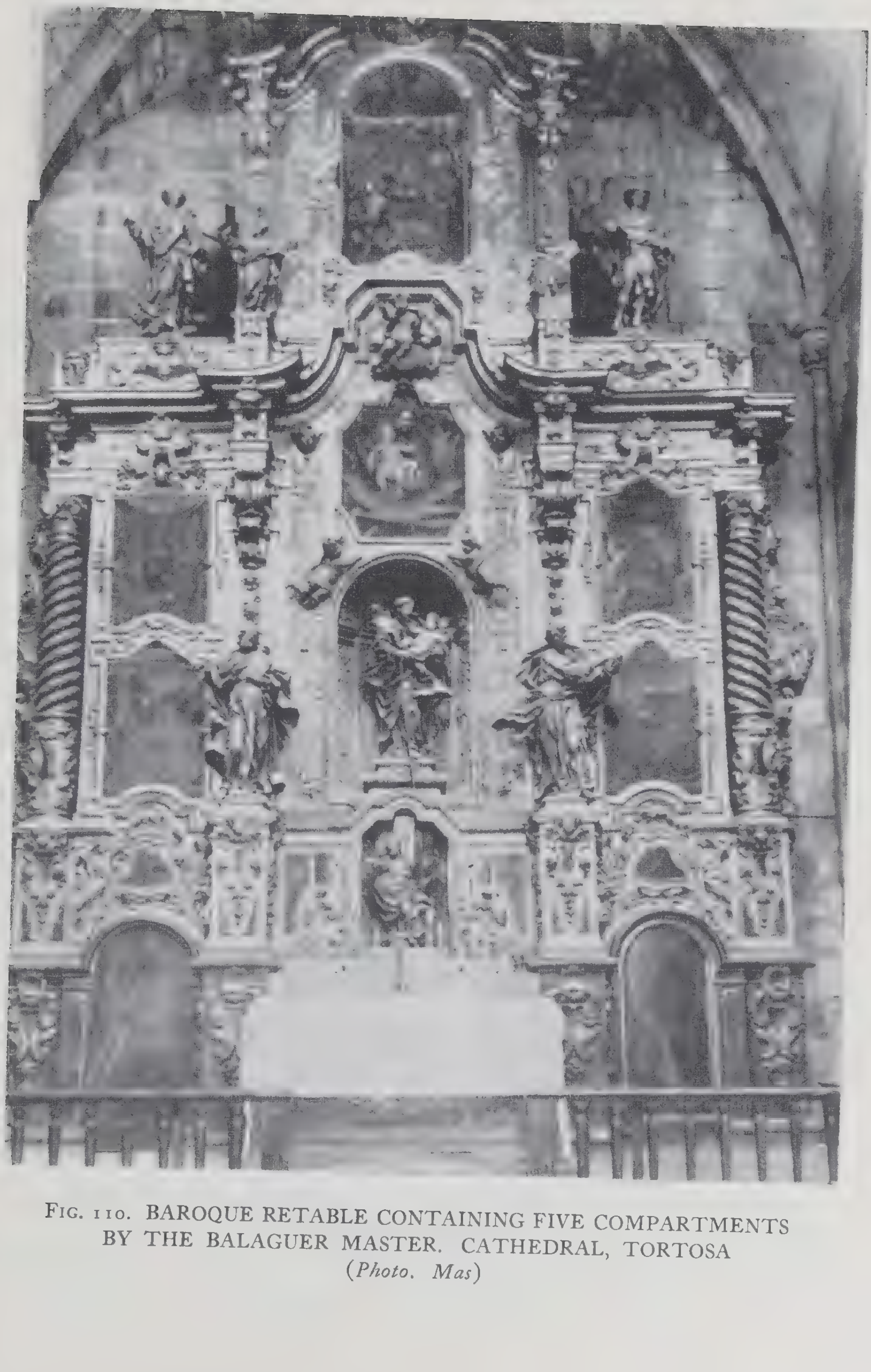

FIG. 110. BAROQUE RETABLE CONTAINING FIVE COMPARTMENTS BY THE BALAGUER MASTER. CATHEDRAL, TORTOSA
(*Photo. Mas*)

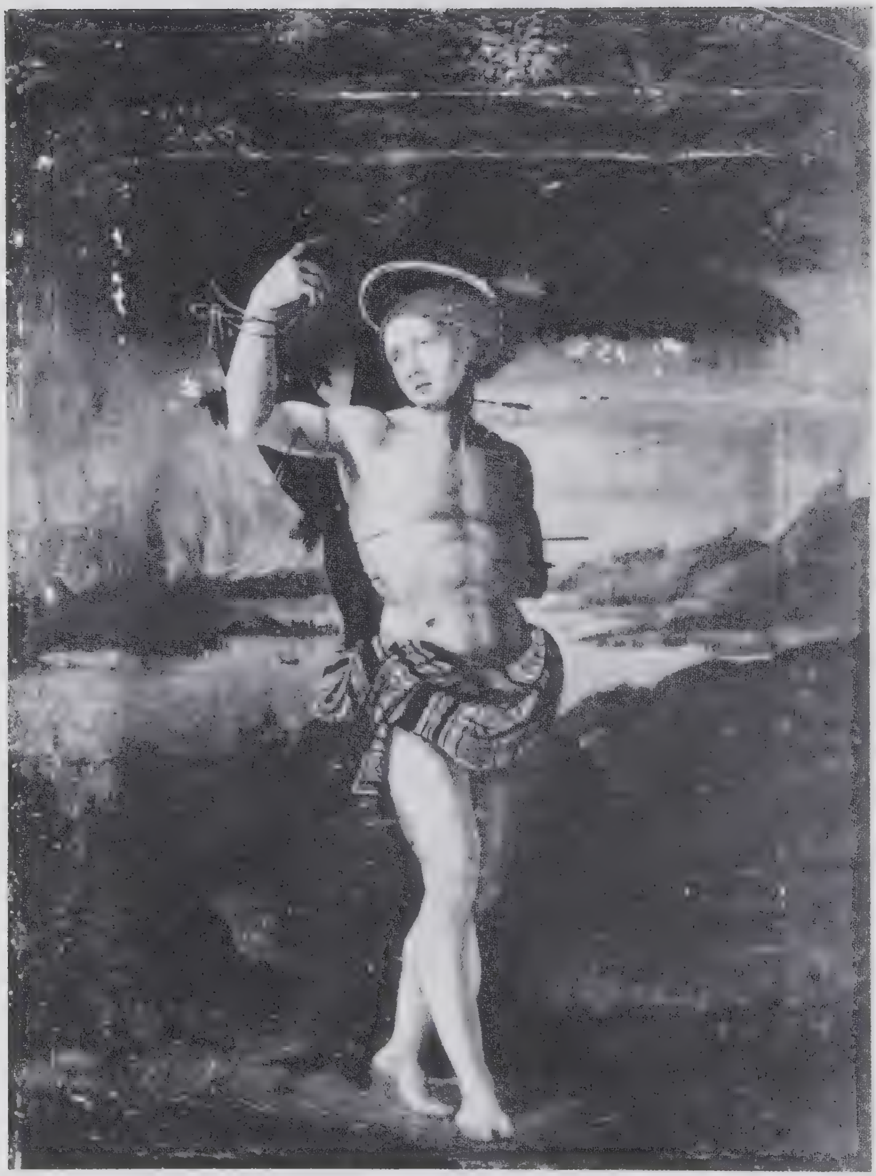

Fig. 111. THE BALAGUER MASTER. ST. SEBASTIAN. CONVENT, PEDRALBES, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

Joseph is recorded to have been constructed in the apse of the cathedral in 1522[22] (not the site of the present chapel of Christ's foster-father); but the themes of the five extant panels suit rather a dedication to Our Lady.

Another work that has come within my cognizance as attributable to the Balaguer Master is a panel of St. Sebastian (Fig. 111), one of the components of a conglomerate retable which from the Diocesan Museum, Barcelona, has been restored to the convent of Pedralbes in the city and of which sections will subsequently engage our attention.[23] With the other parts of the retable it shares the fate of having lost all traces of its original provenience. To concur in the attribution, one need really search no farther than the entire accord of the head and hair of St. Sebastian with those of Gabriel in the Balaguer and Tortosa Annunciations, but to this may be added such considerations as the correspondence in the position of the legs, from the thighs to the knees, between the martyr and the flagellated Christ in the Balaguer retable or the marked analogy in the nature and sombreness of the landscape to the vistas that the Master's other achievements disclose. Perhaps, however, the most cogent proof is found in a small, concrete detail, the loin-cloth of St. Sebastian, a striped fabric cut from the same bale as the sleeves of the Balaguer Gabriel. Similar stuffs are not very uncommon in the Catalan paintings of the period, but the significant point is that, in distinction, for instance, from those used by the Catalan Monogrammist, the stripes in the panel of the Museo Diocesano and in the Balaguer retable are precisely of the same sort and arrangement. The Master is no bungler, and for the sake of constituting a balance to the ground below in the midst of which St. Sebastian stands, he has artfully spread forth above the sufferer the foliage of the tree to which he is bound.

4. The Rosary Master

The title that I have chosen for the oddly formalizing artist now demanding our comment is derived from his outstanding work, a large panel which from the great Catalan monastery of Santas Creus has passed into the Diocesan Museum, Tarragona, and depicts the enthroned Madonna bestowing embossed rosaries upon, at the left, St. Acacius and a delegation of his companions who were put to death

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[22] José Matamoros, *La Catedral de Tortosa*, Tortosa, 1932, p. 144.

[23] P. 313.

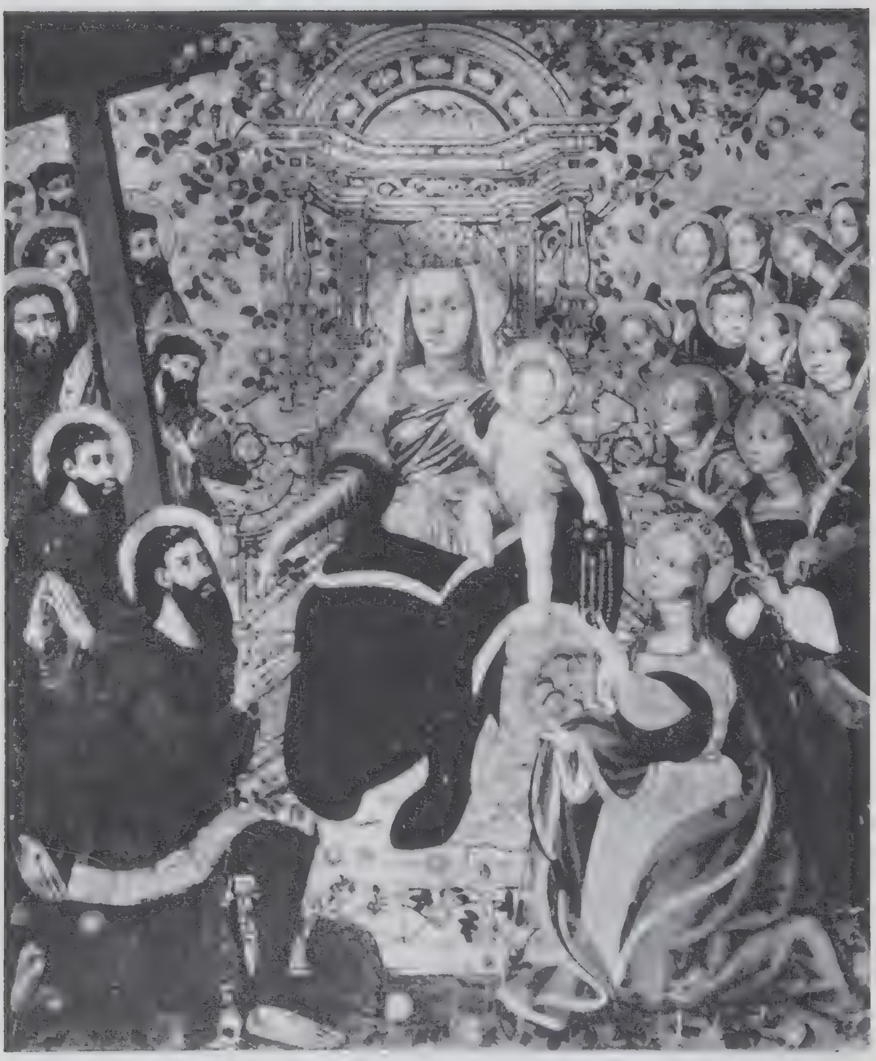

Fig. 112. THE ROSARY MASTER. MADONNA OF THE ROSARY.
DIOCESAN MUSEUM, TARRAGONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

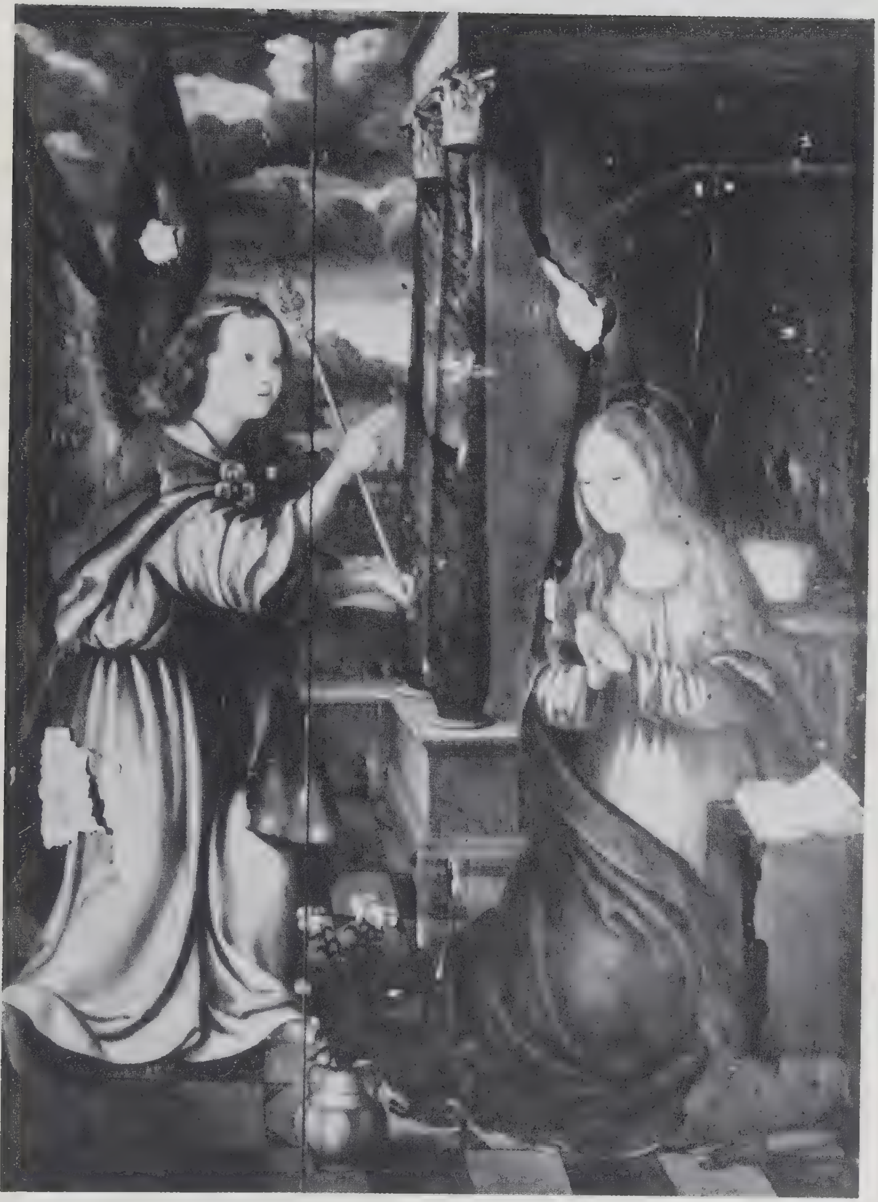

Fig. 113. THE ROSARY MASTER. ANNUNCIATION. CONVENT, PEDRALBES, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

with him on Mount Ararat,[24] and correspondingly, at the right, delivering these objects of devotion to St. Ursula, St. Catherine of Alexandria, and a bevy of other virgin martyrs who lack identifying emblems but may be intended as the former's associates in martyrdom (Fig. 112). The throne of the Virgin, who holds the nude Child, is an ornate Plateresque structure; on its summit, in accordance with the work's dedication to the rosary, two *putti* sport with roses, and sprigs of this flower are lavished everywhere to constitute a background and to decorate the panel's base; the gowns of Our Lady, St. Ursula, and St. Catherine are made of brilliant brocades as in the old mediaeval school, and for the Madonna one of the ostentatious patterns of the brocade is presented in bald frontality according to a frequent practice of the elder days; and gold is still lavished upon haloes, borders of costumes, and the like, the lower edge of St. Acacius's coat of mail being embellished with an inscription of his name. The human figures, however, conform plainly to the pictorial modes of the first half of the sixteenth century and exhibit vague affinities to the manners of such men as the Canillo Master and Jaime Forner. The chief peculiarity of the author is a tendency to stylization, evident, for instance, in an exaggeration of the caprices of contemporary feminine garb and in the beadiness of his personages' eyes.

Another painting securely attributable to him, an Annunciation (Fig. 113), would not have supplied a more accurate pseudonym by which he might be designated, since it is among those works of art now to be seen in the convent of Pedralbes, Barcelona, in regard to which we are uninformed whether they were originally done for the institution or have found their way into it from other sources. We need look no farther than the distinctively beady eyes of Gabriel to be assured that we are in the presence of the Rosary Master, and the uncanny effect is heightened, as in the Child and the women in the picture now in the Tarragona Museum, by the schematic rendering of the eyebrows through a single, sweepingly curved, and abnormally high-raised line as if due to a stroke of a pencil of mascara. Confirmatory factors are not hard to find. Our Lady's countenance in the Pedralbes panel sufficiently resembles the faces of some of the virgin

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[24] For St. Acacius and the ten thousand martyrs of Mount Ararat, see Guérin, *Les petits Bollandistes,* VII, 209 (on the day of their feast, June 22), and my vol. IX, pp. 537, n. 34, and 542, n. 37.

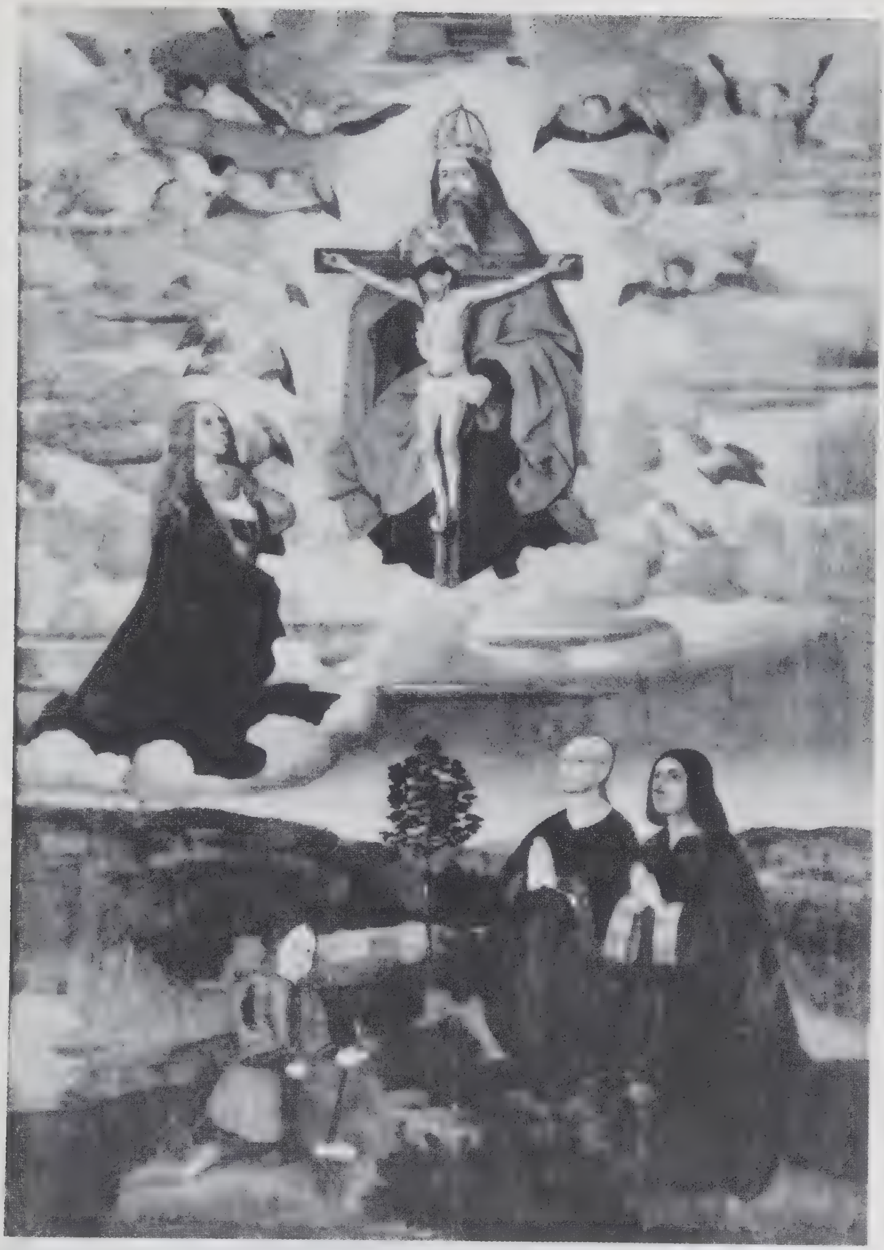

FIG. 114. THE ROSARY MASTER. THE VIRGIN SUPPLICATING THE TRINITY FOR THE DONORS. BELTRÁN Y GÜELL COLLECTION, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

martyrs beside the Madonna of the Rosary; the part and adjoining lines of her hair, as well as the flowing tresses, are often duplicated in the painting from Santas Creus; and it is especially to be noted that her mantle assumes below precisely the undulating contours that we see, in this painting, upon the St. Ursula.

Cumulative proof assigns to the Rosary Master a panel in the Bertrán y Güell Collection, Barcelona, that represents the Virgin kneeling on the clouds and engaged in supplication of the Trinity for a family below on the earth, a husband, his wife, and a little boy, who holds a bird (Fig. 114). The child has the odd, Hogarth-like stare peculiar to the artist; the married couple are distinguished by the long necks of the canonized girls in the panel now at Tarragona; and the Virgin is scarcely differentiated from Mary in the Pedralbes Annunciation.

A very characteristic achievement of the Master has strayed as far as the Museum of Budapest, a panel of an enthroned episcopal saint, not identifiable by any special emblem, a work that must have been once the central piece of a retable (Fig. 115).[25] The bishop's head is no more than a masculine translation of that of the Virgin in the picture which gives the Master his name, whether we look at the almost pathologically glancing eyes, their thin brows, the outstretched neck, or even the actual lineaments of the countenance. The painter's taste for the sumptuous is illustrated by the gorgeous throne, very like the one upon which the Virgin sits, and by the extraordinarily rich vestments and canopy, elements of the kind that we have stressed in describing the panel from Santas Creus.

5. The Master of the Four Saints

In the ticklish business of distinguishing between a number of closely affiliated Catalan painters of the early Renaissance, it is possible to isolate an anonymous personality for whom, since we do not know with surety the provenience of any of his works, I have had to struggle to invent even so ill-defining a sobriquet as the Master of the Four Saints, derived from the subjects of one of his productions in the Museum of Vich. It turns out, however, that the pseudonym is not entirely inept, because, curiously enough, four sacred personages constitute what we have left of another work of his. Like

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[25] The dimensions are 126 centimetres in height by 86 in width.

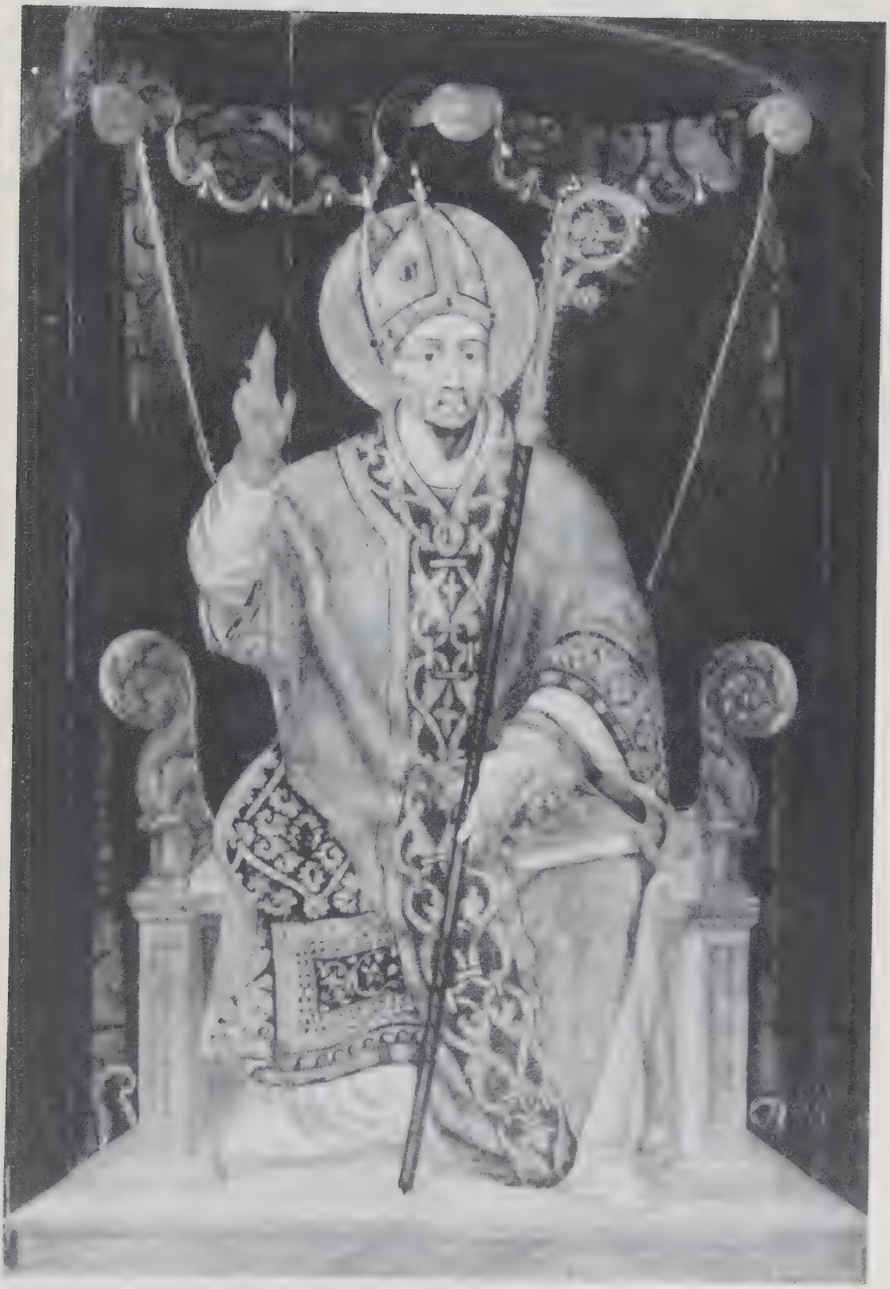

FIG. 115. THE ROSARY MASTER. EPISCOPAL SAINT. MUSEUM, BUDAPEST

several painters for whom we have been obliged to fashion titles, he was probably one of the many Catalan artists mentioned in the records of the times who are identified for us neither by any preserved, documented achievement nor by signature.

The production at Vich constituted evidently two lateral sections of a retable, the rest of which has been lost, and, belonging to the Museum from the time of its foundation, they are of unascertained origin in distinction from the majority of its possessions (Fig. 116).[26] Of the four standing saints, the pair at the left are: a lay woman, without emblems to allow us to recognize her, in front of a parapet above which rises a vista; and, beneath, St. Sebastian against an extensive landscape. The two correspondingly placed saints in the right section, before settings similar to those of their pendants, are Clement, with the emblem of the anchor, and Roch between his frequent companions, the angel and the dog, so that the great protectors against the plague, Roch and Sebastian, balanced each other. The gentle style, edging upon mannerism, is a competent but not thrilling aspect of the modes manipulated by several Catalans of the period, such as Jaime Forner, the Lladó Master, and the Scala Salutis Master, but yet sufficiently individualized to reveal a separate personality. The artist whom the painter most recalls in types is perhaps Pedro Gascó.

Further characteristics are brought out by the second work attributable to him (Fig. 117), fragments of a predella in the Museo Diocesano, Barcelona, possibly, though far from surely, originally at the town of Santa Inés de Malanyanes, which has supplied the same Museum with a documented retable by Jaime Forner. The modernization of the haloes in a way by which the nuns of the convent of Pedralbes, Barcelona, seemed to have liked to bring their old paintings up to date and render them more patently objects of devotion may indicate that the predella was, at least passingly, in their possession. Here again are four saints, now represented in half length, the Madonna holding the Child, once more Sts. Roch and Sebastian, and a Dominican, probably St. Dominic himself. The signs that we are in the presence of the same Master as at Vich are manifold. The Sts. Roch and Sebastian hardly vary from their effigies in the Vich panels; St. Dominic looks out at us with the intense and somewhat watery glance of the St. Clement; and a little branch sprouts forth horizontally from the tree to which St. Sebastian is bound

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[26] In the old Catalogue, nos. 893 and 894 on p. 131.

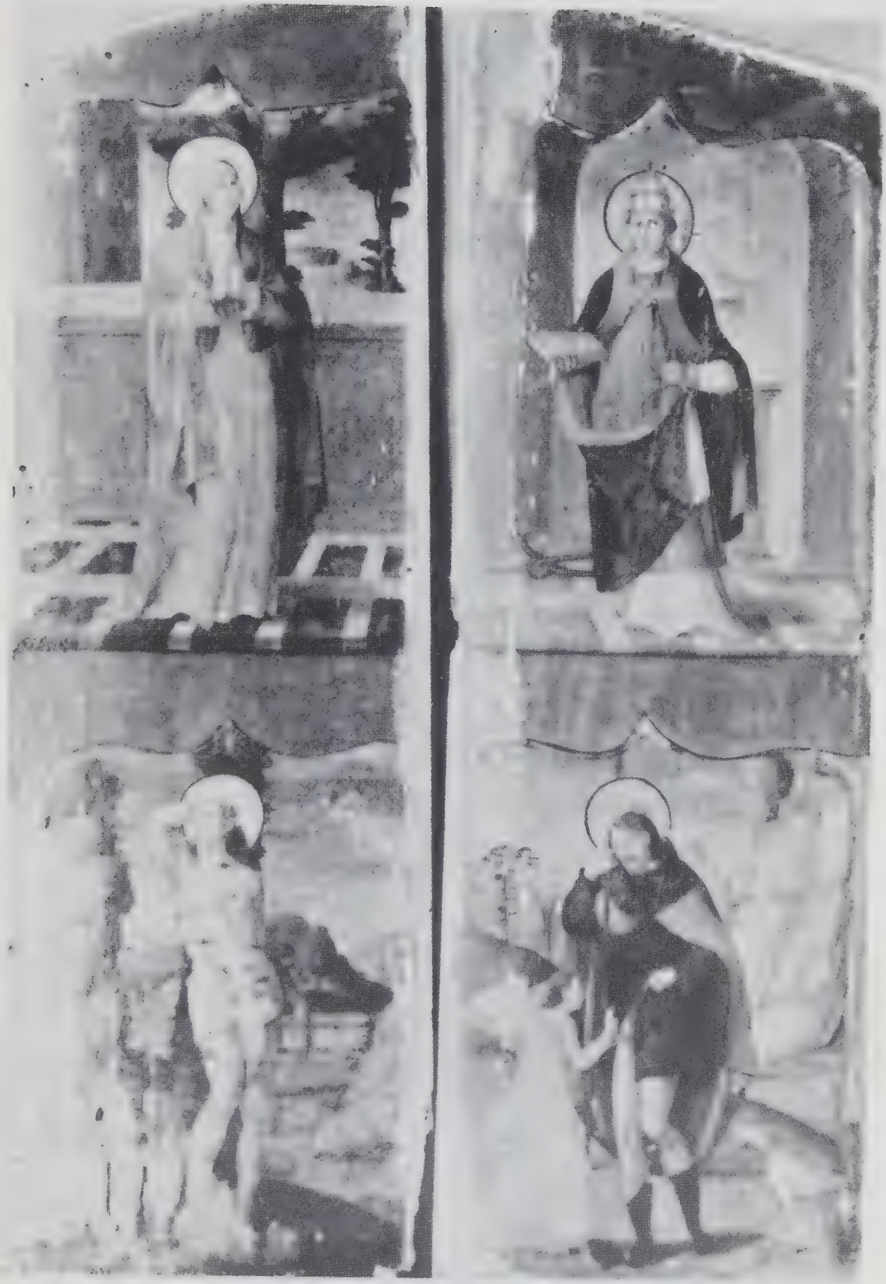

FIG. 116. THE MASTER OF THE FOUR SAINTS. FOUR SAINTS, FRAGMENT OF RETABLE. MUSEUM, VICH
(*Photo. Serra*)

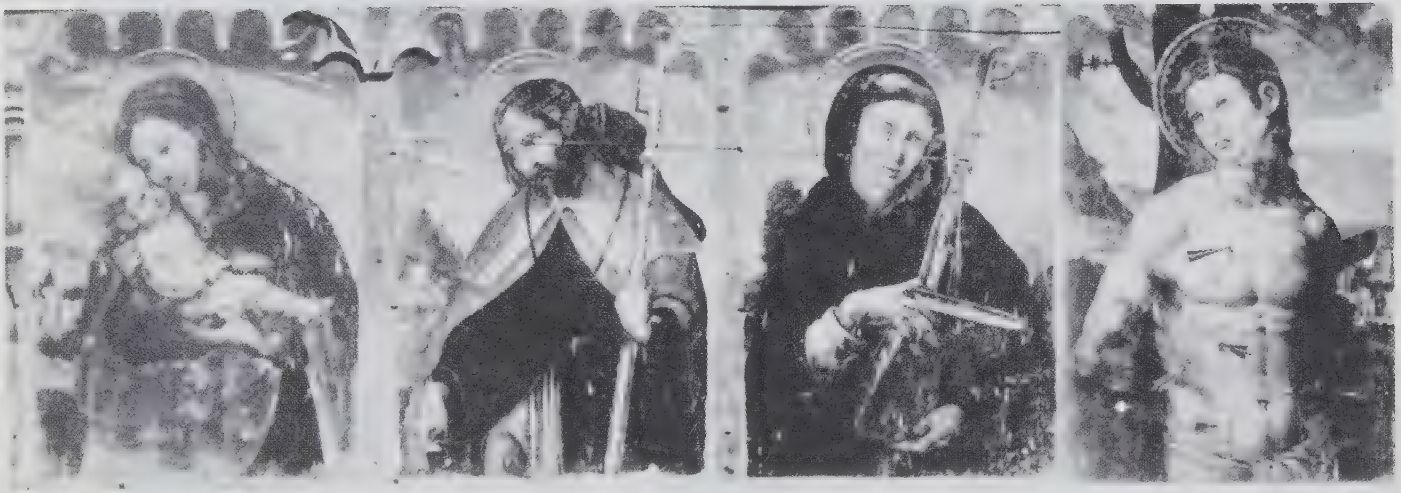

Fig. 117. THE MASTER OF THE FOUR SAINTS. FRAGMENTS OF A PREDELLA. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

exactly as from the trunks in the grove behind the unidentified, hallowed woman in the Vich assembly. The painter sets his sacred personages before more august landscapes than in his other production, wilder mountainous views, in two instances with a great crag jutting up at the left and with edifices, made eery by *sfumatezza*, aligned at its base, creating in this respect a resemblance to the background of the Deposition in the Diocesan Museum, Barcelona, by the Master of the Scala Salutis,[27] who, however, appears to me another individual.

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[27] See below, p. 313.

CHAPTER XII

PAINTERS AT GERONA BESIDES THOSE DISCUSSED IN SECTION I

1. The Lladó Master

In the artistic *milieu* of the province of Gerona, the painter whom I entitle from his retable once in the church of the monastery of Sta. María at Lladó, near Figueras, takes a humbler seat than the St. Felix Master or even the Catalan Monogrammist, and yet he has left us a rather pleasant heritage. The retable was thought to have been one of the casualties of the Spanish civil war, but, except for the predella, it proves to have been saved and is now in the Diocesan Museum, Gerona. Its principal dedication (Fig. 118) is to Sts. Cosmas and Damian, who are anomalously disposed in the structure: instead of balancing each other as usual, one of the two brothers occupies the central compartment, and the other is relegated to the slightly lower and narrower, lateral division at the left. When they are paired on an equality, it is customary to call the saint at the left Cosmas and his companion at the right Damian,[1] but the intent in the Lladó retable may have been to exalt Cosmas at the centre as the first named of the couple. The altarpiece was perhaps a supplicatory offering for escape from illness or a thanksgiving for recovery, since to the twin patrons of medicine there is added, in the right lateral compartment, the defender against the plague, St. Roch. The Crucifixion has its usual position above the principal compartment and is flanked by representations of St. Martin's charity to the beggar and of a scene in which a hermit, whom I cannot identify, encounters, while walking, three kneeling youths.[2] The sections of the predella, so far as preserved before the civil war, depicted the Pietà, St. Christopher carrying the Child, and the Magdalene and St. Lucy seated in landscapes. Over St. Roch's left shoulder there is visible the brim of his pendent hat ornamented with the impedimenta of a pilgrim, two pairs of staffs crossed to make X's, separated by a shell, and these

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[1] Vol. XI, p. 201.

[2] I can see no reason for thinking that it is St. Anthony Abbot, nor is there any event in his life to which the scene corresponds.

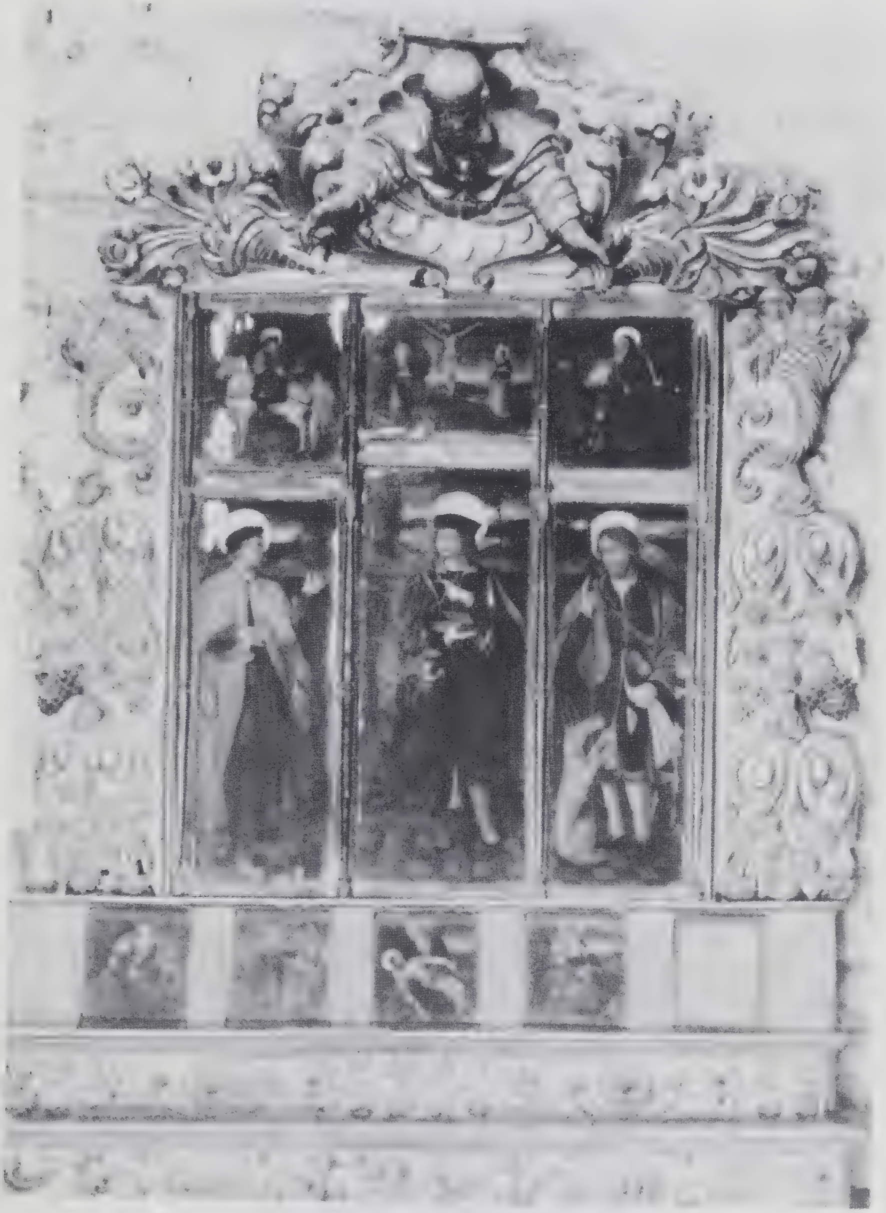

FIG. 118. THE LLADÓ MASTER. RETABLE FROM LLADÓ.
DIOCESAN MUSEUM, GERONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

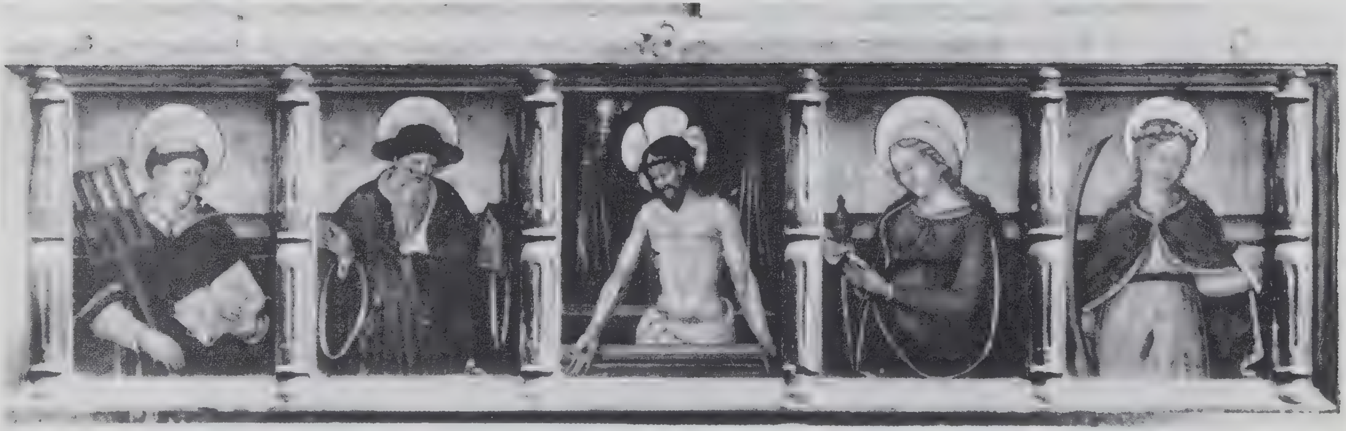

Fig. 119. THE LLADÓ MASTER. PREDELLA. S. FÉLIX, GERONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

followed, after a pair of gourds, one above the other, by crossed keys (the significance of which for a palmer I do not understand), by an erect staff, and again by staffs crossed. The temptation to see a date in these objects, standing for the Roman numerals X and I, must be resisted, since the symbols are common in representations of pilgrims' garb at the time and since, in another retable by the Master, they are used in the same arrangement.

We find ourselves in the presence of a gentle and not incompetent painter, who reveals that he has passed into the beginning of the sixteenth century in little else than a more natural and less schematized conception of the human form in comparison with his predecessors of the end of the Quattrocento. The style is not highly individualized, and yet his retable in the church of Hospitalet will reveal to us interesting facets in his make-up that his other works would not have led us to suspect. One feels that he perhaps enjoyed contact with the Catalan Monogrammist or with the Gascó atelier, but he may quite well have evolved the style on his own initiative from the precedents of the late fifteenth century.

No one, I believe, could fail to discern the same hand in a lone predella in the church of S. Félix in the city of Gerona, containing at the centre the Christ of the Mass of St. Gregory and at the sides, in three-fourths length, Sts. Lawrence, Jerome, Mary Magdalene, and Cecilia[3] (Fig. 119). The general conformity with the methods of the Lladó Master is self-apparent, but the specific proof for the attribution is provided by the analogies of the Magdalene and St. Cecilia to the St. Roch in the retable that gives the artist his pseudonym. If the sex of the Magdalene were changed, she would look very like him, and this is, to a certain degree, because of the identity in the coiffure, which is peculiar to our Master. The tresses falling over the shoulders and the hair combed back in curls about the face are commonplaces in the pictures of the time, but above the curls he introduces, on either side of the part, a larger, rounding lock before the curls begin, a fashion discernible in no other Catalan painter who on any grounds, stylistic or objective, could be brought into consideration

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[3] The defining emblem of the virgin martyr here represented is the crown of roses, which distinguishes also St. Dorothea, but I take the figure in the predella to be St. Cecilia because the dedication of a chapel to her in the cathedral of Gerona and the Catàlan Monogrammist's retable at Molló show that she was popular in the province. St. Dorothea, however, was not without favor in Catalonia, in another province of which, Tarragona, the Master of Pedro de Cardona depicted her: see below, p. 330.

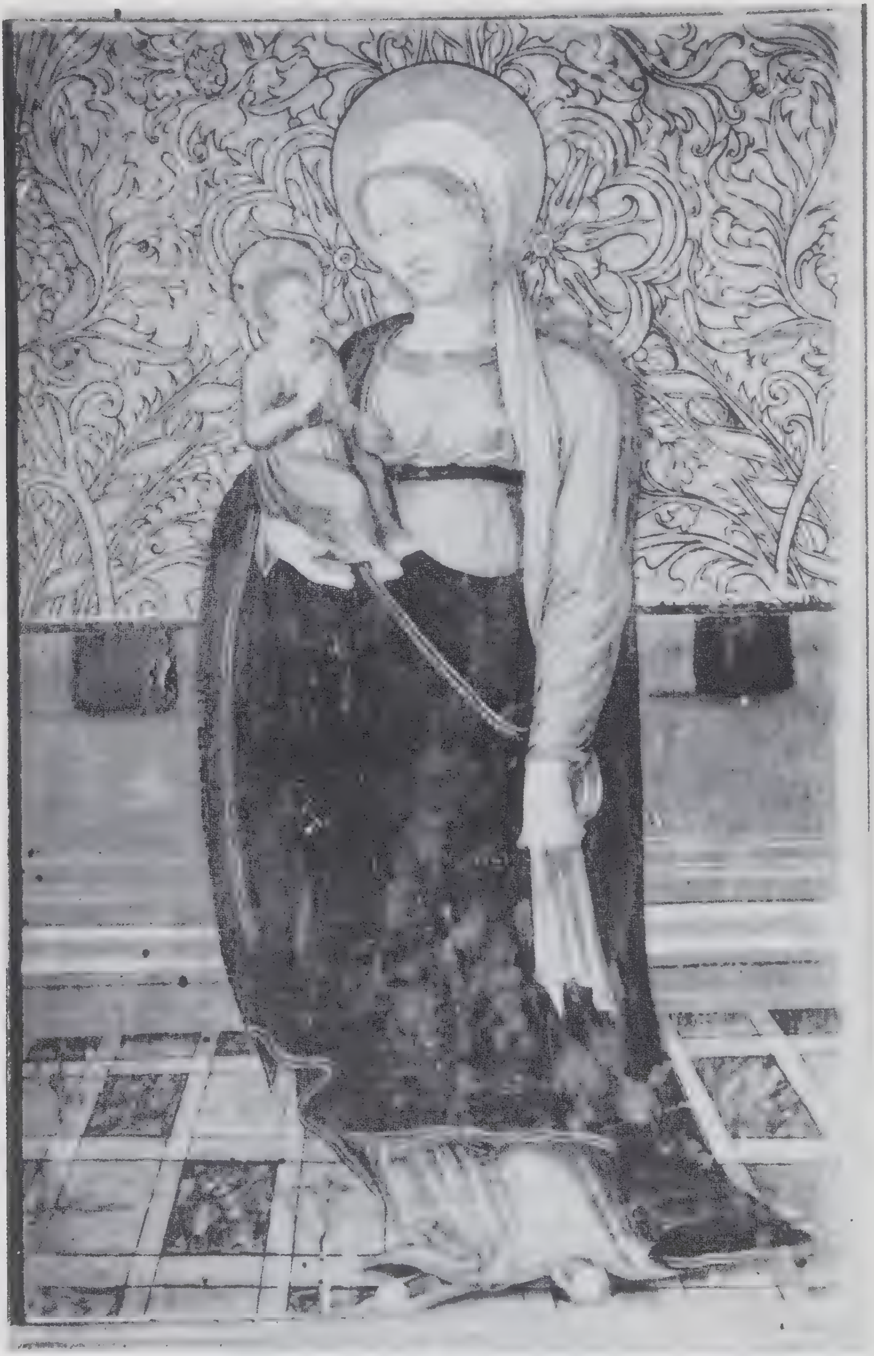

Fig. 120. THE LLADÓ MASTER. MADONNA. PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, GERONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

for the authorship. St. Cecilia gives us a full frontal view of the same headdress. Minor correspondences can easily be detected — the predilection for rather broad shoulders, some affinity between the mild, youthful countenances of St. Lawrence and, at Lladó, of Sts. Cosmas and Damian, the employment of a sharply triangular visage for the aged saint at the upper right in the Lladó retable and for the Christ of the Gerona predella, and the anatomical resemblances of this Christ and of the Saviour in the Lladó Pietà.

Another piece patently emanating from the same brush once constituted a part of a retable in the destroyed chapel of the Salas Consistoriales in the Ayuntamiento of Gerona and is now in the Provincial Museum of the city, a Madonna holding the Child and standing in front of a parapet, which is relieved against one of the old, conventional backgrounds of a brilliant brocade (Fig. 120).[4] The analogy in the head to the Magdalene of the predella would possibly in itself suffice to establish the work in the Lladó Master's canon, but it is once more the coiffure that furnishes the ultimate confirmation. The turban-like wimple is, of course, not rare in Catalan art of the Renaissance, and the real clue to the panel's creator is the distinctive curving lock on the brow. It should be remarked also that the design in the pavement is virtually unchanged beneath the principal saints in the Lladó retable and that in all three works which we have ascribed to the Lladó Master the haloes are alike in character. We have not so far discovered in him any marked gifts of originality, but he has arranged with pretty ingenuity the long fold that falls from the turban of the Madonna in the Museum and is caught far below by her left hand.

A number of factors combine to suggest strongly that he was the author of a work that from the Valls Collection, Gerona, has entered the Diocesan Museum of the town, displaying the upper half of a young standing masculine saint, the lower part of whose body has been truncated through the loss of the panel's bottom (Fig. 121).[5] Since the mutilation of the picture has destroyed all but the beginning of the emblem held by the saint, it is impossible to identify him (Ferreolus?).[6] The telltale treatment of the hair is not present, but it is parted in the Master's way and falls in the curves that he

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[4] The dimensions are 78 centimetres in height by 50 in width.

[5] The panel's dimensions are .560 metres in height by .300 in width.

[6] See above, p. 148.

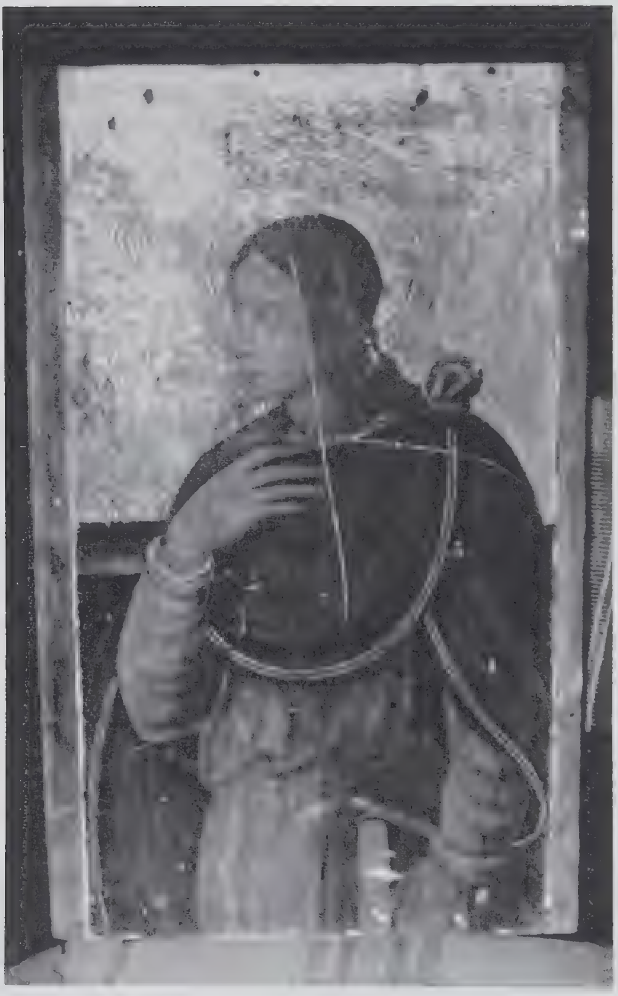

Fig. 121. THE LLADÓ MASTER (?). YOUNG MALE SAINT. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, GERONA
(*Photo. Sutrá*)

favors; and the countenance has the gentle look of the Lladó St. Roch. The youth's mantle is edged with the twin gold lines used for the costumes in the predella in S. Félix, and the nature of the brocaded background behind him corresponds exactly with that of the Madonna in the Provincial Museum.

After much pondering of the problem, I finally retain no misgivings in ascribing to the Lladó Master the panels of a retable of St. Roch in the parish church of Hospitalet de Llobregat, a suburb of Barcelona, paintings almost miraculously preserved, together with many others of the later sixteenth century in the edifice, when the building was burned in 1936. Additional interests attach to the retable as extending the field of the artist's vogue, like that of Joan de Burgunya, from Gerona to Barcelona, as probably embodying a more mature moment in his development when he had begun to turn to the modes of the High Renaissance, as certainly revealing broader capabilities than we should have guessed from his other recognized achievements, and, iconographically, as including rarely represented scenes from the life of the saint, a fitting patron for a town called Hospitalet, which keeps his day, August 16, as one of its two great *fiestas*. The four scenes are his birth, featured because he was the reward of prayers of his barren parents, his distribution of his father's wealth to the indigent and afflicted, one of his many ministrations to the plague-stricken (Fig. 122), and his death in prison where he had been wrongly incarcerated as a spy and where his jailer beholds him, as he departs this life, enjoying the service of angels. The remains of the altarpiece comprise also the full-length figures of two other pilgrims, Sts. James Major and Christopher (who are commemorated on a single day, July 25), and, I am strongly disposed to believe, a pinnacle of the blessing Eternal Father.

The general accordance with the Lladó Master's manner is obvious, and there are too numerous detailed analogies to his other works not to make the attribution mandatory. The most significant of these details occurs in a subordinate object, the hat of St. Roch strung over his shoulder in the scene of his care for the victims of the pest. The decoration of pilgrims' costumes with tokens of their pursuits is frequent enough in the paintings of the period, but here the crossed and the single upright staffs assume exactly the design seen at the right end of the symbols on the hat of St. Roch in the retable from Lladó, X I X I X. The saint in the Hospitalet series is conceived as a some-

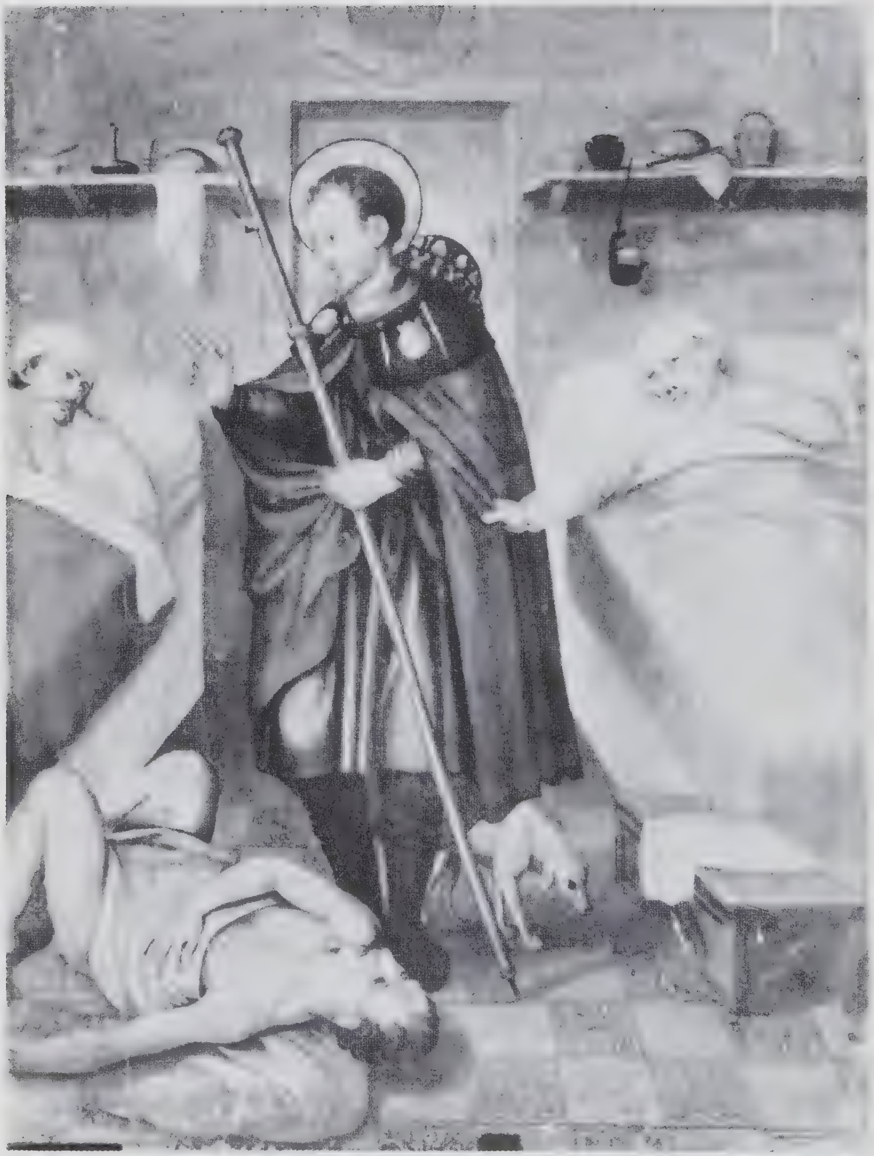

FIG. 122. THE LLADÓ MASTER. ST. ROCH MINISTERING TO THE PLAGUE-STRICKEN, SECTION OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, HOSPITALET DE LLOBREGAT

(*Photo. Mas*)

what different specimen of manhood from the Lladó effigy, one of the things that shows the greater breadth of scope which the series demonstrates, but Roch's almost inseparable companion, the dog, is the same animal in both aggregations. The nearest to an absolute repetition of type is provided by the girl who hands the mother refreshment in the panel of the birth and who is scarcely differentiated from the Magdalene in the predella in S. Félix, Gerona, even having dressed her hair in the distinctive fashion that the Master likes to impose upon his women. The representations of St. Christopher at the period resemble one another, but the compositional likeness of the hallowed giant at Hospitalet is so very close to the treatment in the Lladó predella as to possess a special significance. The landscapes in both retables correspond sufficiently, and the haloes, with a very dark edge, similar to those of the Catalan Monogrammist, are of the kind that the Lladó Master regularly employed.

We must not be too ready to assign the Hospitalet panels to a somewhat later date than the Master's works in the province of Gerona, since the very retable at Lladó contains forms already edging upon the fuller conception of human beings that prevailed in the first half of the Cinquecento, for instance the beggar with St. Martin and the Magdalene and St. Lucy of the predella, who wear the enlarged upper sleeves of female costume in the sixteenth century and therefore resemble the woman warming a cloth in the birth of St. Roch and the angel at the right in the scene of his death. There is, indeed, a certain dualism in the painter, who, in a single production, wavers between strong reminiscences of the style of the Quattrocento and the manner of the Renaissance. He surprises us at Hospitalet with qualities besides those contained in the rest of his known output. So, unexpected touches of invention appear, as when, in the compartment of St. Roch's care of the sufferers from the plague, in addition to the bedridden there is sprawled on the floor in the foreground a victim in the convulsions of the dread disease, or as when, at Roch's death, though the old *motif* of the ascent of his soul in a long, glistering spectre is retained, the Lladó Master has emphasized his imprisoned distress by depicting his feet clamped in the stocks. Most amazing of all in the artist is the keen concern with still life in the numerous objects set on shelves in the contagious hospital and so lovingly and skilfully rendered as to anticipate the great attainments of future centuries in

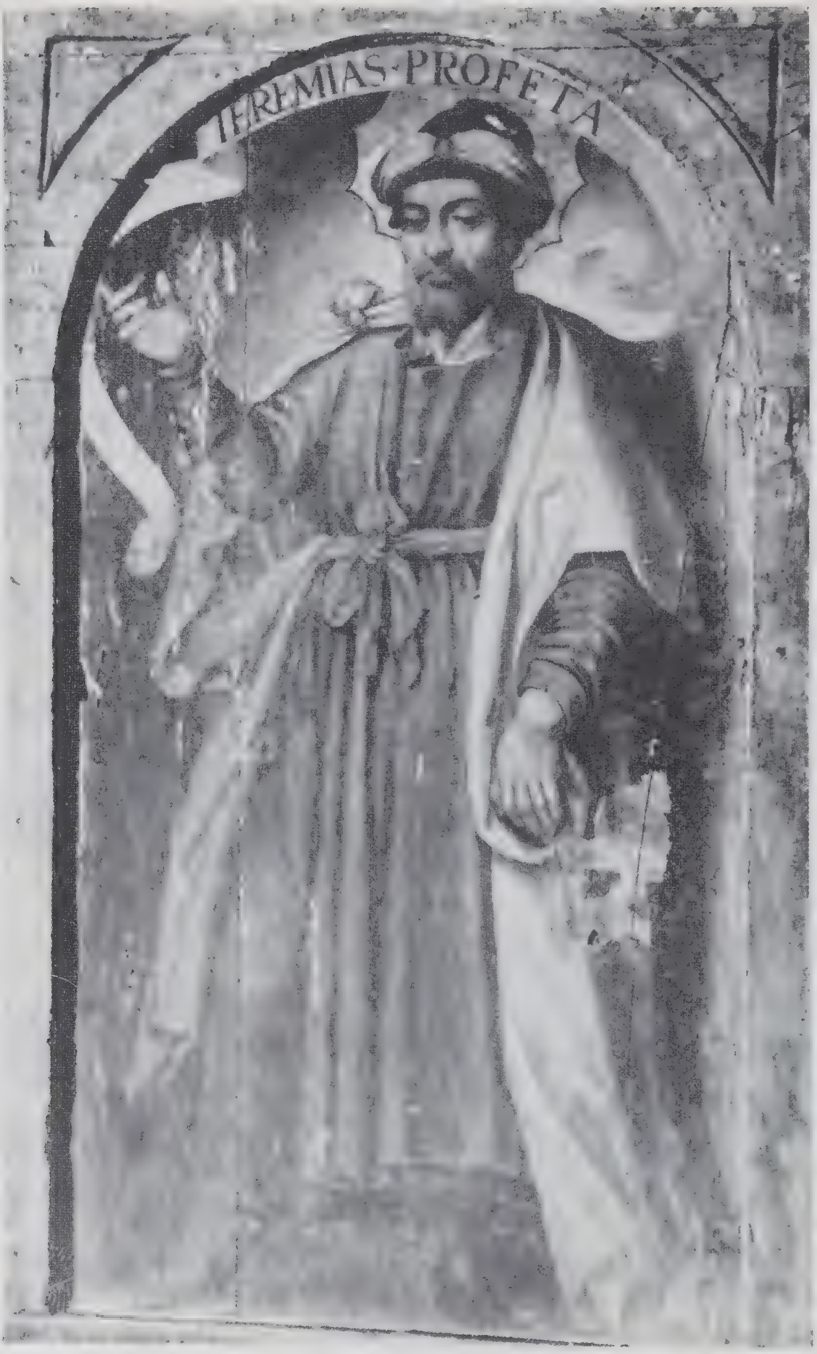
IEREMIAS·PROFETA

FIG. 123. THE LLADÓ MASTER. JEREMIAH.
DIOCESAN MUSEUM, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

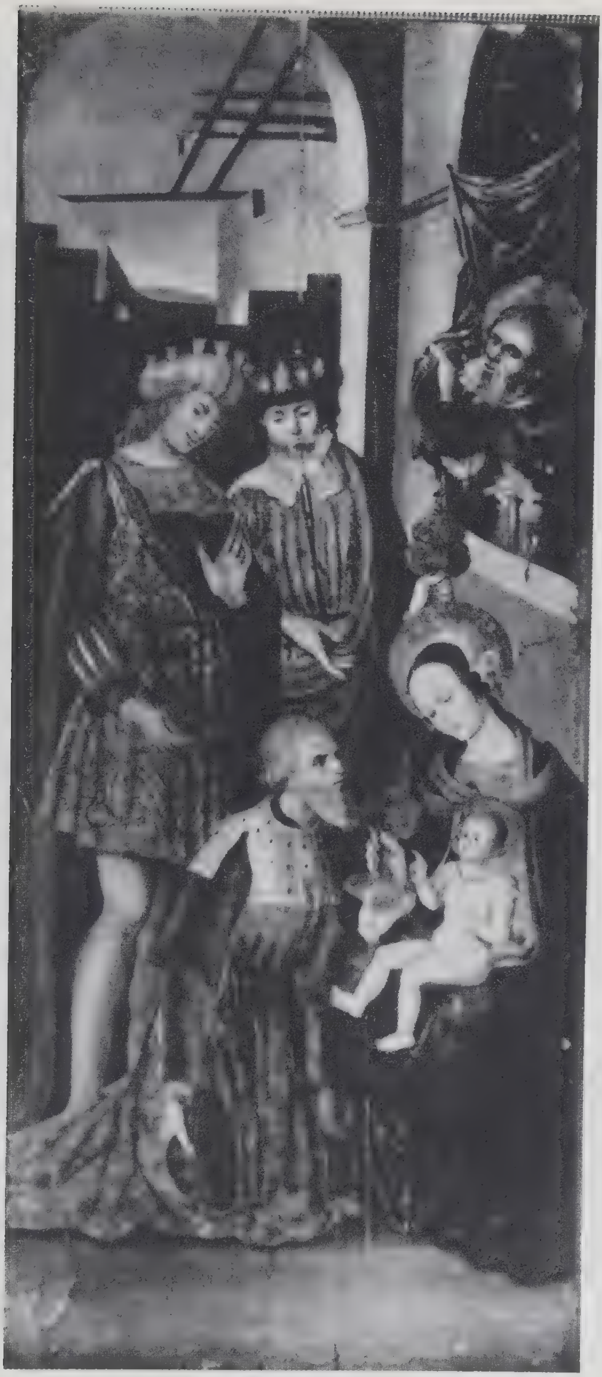

Fig. 124. THE LLADÓ MASTER (?). EPIPHANY, CENTRE OF TRIPTYCH. DUPONT COLLECTION, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

this aspect of the pictorial profession. Ainaud [7] perceives in the retable an influence of the St. Felix Master, which to my eyes would be of the vaguest sort.

It seems hard to doubt that the Lladó Master painted, quite credibly as another section of the retable of St. Roch, a panel of Jeremiah that, from Hospitalet, has entered the Diocesan Museum, Barcelona (Fig. 123). The intimate agreement with his style is obvious, and for a specific facial analogy one should look at the Eternal Father from the retable's apex. The gesture and fingers of the Prophet find a significantly close counterpart in the First Person of the Trinity and exemplify the Master's great interest in the employment of the hands for expression. Jeremiah's lowered left hand, grasping the drapery, is paralleled in the St. Roch in the retable from Lladó. The halo, here of the polygonal shape used for worthies of the Old Testament, accords, in its black-bordered gold, with those of the altarpiece of St. Roch and with the artist's ordinary practice.

I continue to entertain the possibility that the Lladó Master, at some time prior to his employment at Hospitalet, executed a triptych which I examined in the Dupont Collection, Barcelona, as long ago as 1932 and which would have the importance of tying his production, as might have been anticipated from the chief seat of his patronage, Gerona, to the contemporary output of Roussillon (Fig. 124). Arranged now as a triptych but perhaps originally sections of a large retable containing other, lost parts, the panels consist of the Epiphany at the centre and of standing figures of the Magdalene and an unidentified feminine saint at right and left. The general "feel" of the picture at once transmits to us the effect of having to do with the same painter who has been engaging our attention in the antecedent paragraphs, but there are many specific resemblances. The younger of the two standing Magi in features (though without a beard), in downward glance, and in characteristic suavity recalls insistently the St. Roch of the Lladó retable; and the enigmatical canonized woman exhibits similar lineaments of the face, as well as bend of the lowered head. Despite the fact that again the Master's peculiar arrangement of the upper section of the hair is nowhere visible, the kneeling King and the St. Joseph possess exactly the narrow tresses of the St. Damian in the retable from which the painter takes his title. The aged, unnamable saint in this retable and the Christ of the predella in S. Félix, Gerona,

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[7] Unpublished article.

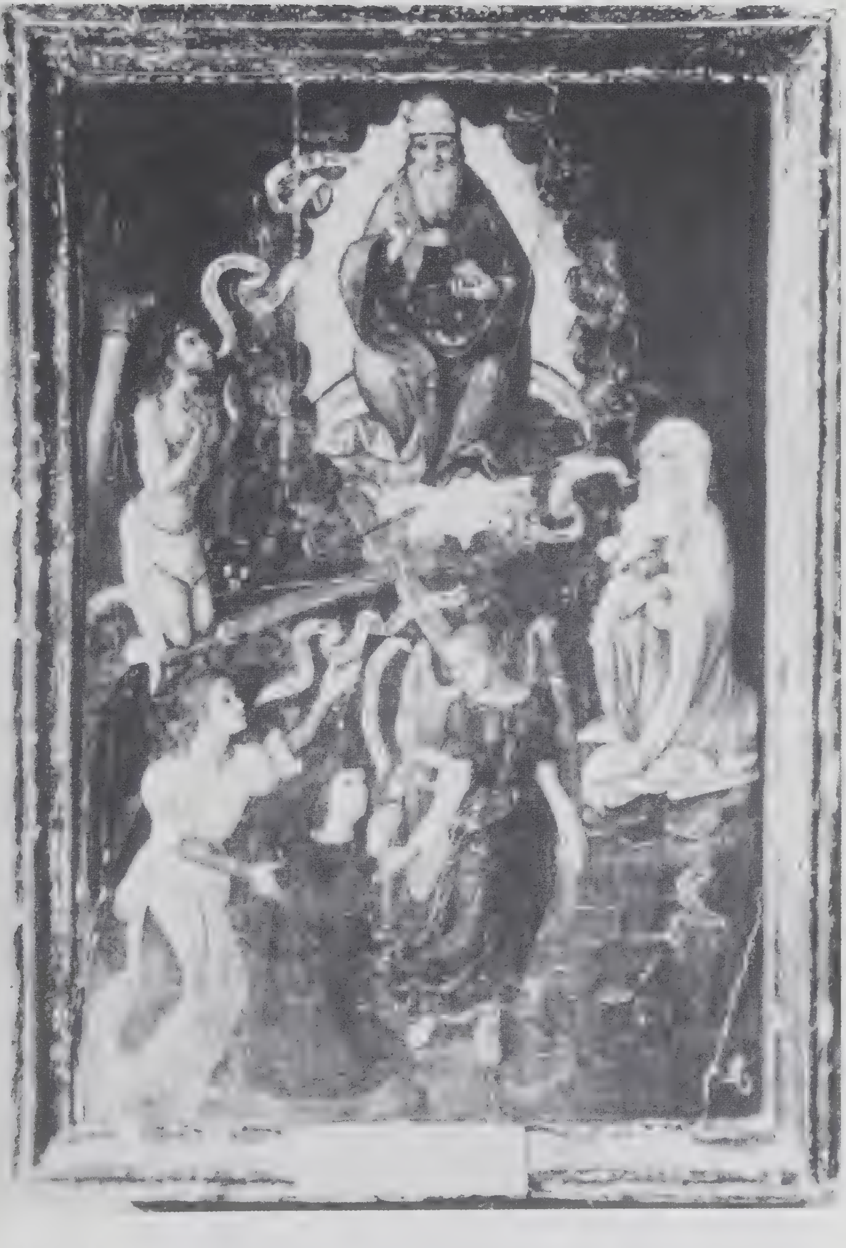

FIG. 125. THE MASTER OF THE SCALA SALUTIS. PANEL OF THE SCALA SALUTIS. MUSEUM, VICH
(*Photo. Serra*)

are distinguished by pointed beards such as the specimen that the kneeling King wears. The types of the Virgin and Magdalene are not repeated in the other works that we have brought into connection with the Lladó Master; but we are not justified in confining an artist to a single conception of the fair sex, and the Magdalene's hair straggles down upon her shoulders in the mode of the hallowed youth whose representation from the Valls Collection has entered the Diocesan Museum, Gerona. The Master's frequent stress upon the activity of the hands is outstandingly reiterated in the Epiphany. The Child is the same ungainly and elongated creature as the Infant held by the Madonna of the Provincial Museum, Gerona, and the lower drapery of this Madonna, with the shoes peeping forth beneath it, is practically repeated in the Magdalene, who stands upon pavement designed like that under the Lladó St. Roch. The link binding the Epiphany to the painting of Roussillon is found in the St. Joseph who raises a curtain from an aperture in the setting and gazes out precisely as he does in the version of the theme in the somewhat earlier retable of Notre Dame de la Magrana in the cathedral of Perpignan. I have sought in vain a joint source for this curious detail even in German prints, and the probability is that the Lladó Master derived it from his acquaintance with what at Perpignan must have been a preëminent pictorial monument.

2. The Master of the Scala Salutis

The personality for whose name, lacking knowledge that would afford a more definitive appellation, I am driven into the above circumlocution takes rank as a pleasantly endowed painter in technique as well as in feeling, and he gives the impression of belonging more or less to the circle of the St. Felix Master and the Catalan Monogrammist, perhaps to be considered, for a reason that will subsequently appear, to have labored like them for Gerona and its province. The title that I have chosen for him finds its reason in a panel of the Vich Museum [8] which comes from the extinct church of Sta. Clara in the town and in which Mossén Manuel Trens [9] has keenly perceived a crystallization of the religious concept, the Scala Salutis, man's approach to the Eternal Father through Christ on the top round of the imaginary ladder and to the Son through the Virgin on the next lower level (Fig. 125). At the bottom of the panel there kneels an erring youth, whom his Guardian Angel and St. Michael, holding the balances, direct to the mercies of Our Lady and the Godhead. Of the banderoles, inscribed in Latin, which accompany every person represented and some of which I cannot fully decipher, that of the youth is clear, "Monstra te esse matrem," a petition to the Virgin from the hymn, *Ave maris stella.* Trens finding that the picture is based specifically upon a sermon ascribed to St. Bernard, which I have failed to unearth, translates into Spanish the sentiment on the scroll of the Guardian Angel as, "Oh man, thou hast access to God assured since the Mother is before the Son and the Son before the Father"; but either through my lack of perception or because the Latin, as frequently happened, was subsequently partly erased or garbled, I myself can read only, "Accede, *peccator*, secure ad Deum (?) (then, words illegible to me) ante Filium et Filium ante Patrem." Again translating evidently from the sermon rather than from the banderole, Trens makes St. Michael invite the sinner to enter into the choir of the Lord's virgins, although all that I can decipher is the end of the inscription, "ingredere regnum Domini." The Virgin's scroll must refer to the offer of her merits for the youth's salvation, but I see plainly no more than the words, "hic merita." The utterances of the two persons of the Godhead obtrude no problems: the Son, kneeling on the Cross and surrounded by the symbols of the Passion, says, "Pater, ignosce huic quia pro eo passus sum"; and the Father answers, "Fiat tibi sicut vis."

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[8] P. 124, no. 27, of the Catalogue of the Museum published in 1893.

[9] *María*, Madrid, 1947, pp. 373–375.

The unambitious but capably manipulated style transmits the effect of a blander form of the modes of the Master of St. Felix, without his violence or tendencies to mannerism, so that we must postulate that the author at least had come into contact with the aesthetic atmosphere of Gerona. He exhibits analogies to another member of the Gerona circle, the Catalan Monogrammist, but is more ethereal in feeling and creates more delicate, as well as more appealing, types of humanity. The similarities to the attainments of the artist active in Castile, Juan de Borgoña, are more tangible, but, as in the case of the St. Felix Master, they are in all probability fortuitous. It is not difficult to sense resemblances to the works of the Master's Valencian contemporary, the Cabanyes Master, but they are by no means such as to compel us to a belief that he was an immigrant from Valencia rather than a native Catalan.

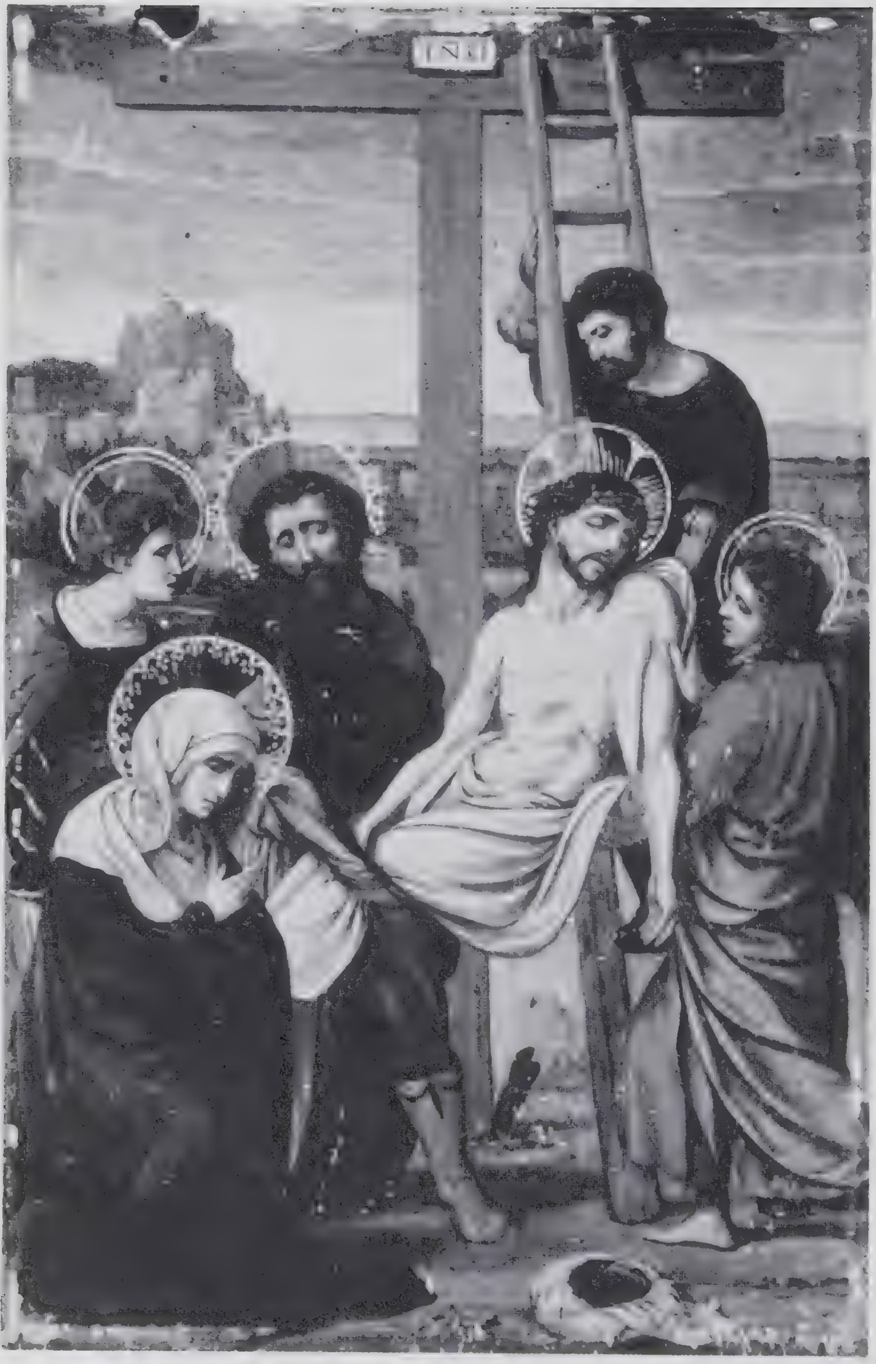

FIG. 126. THE MASTER OF THE SCALA SALUTIS. DEPOSITION.
CONVENT, PEDRALBES, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

To him we can ascribe without reservations a Deposition (Fig. 126) built into a conglomerate retable which, like others in the convent of Pedralbes, Barcelona, the nuns constructed of paintings from various, now unknown, sources and by different authors and to which we have already alluded as comprising also a St. Sebastian by the Balaguer Master. For a time the retable was transferred to the Diocesan Museum, Barcelona, but has now been restored, I believe, to Pedralbes. The pious activity of the nuns extended to the modernization of the Virgin's halo and to supplying Nicodemus (holding Christ's legs) with one, whereas Joseph of Arimathaea (on the ladder) is destitute of any such distinction. Unmistakably the scene is pervaded by precisely the same sort of gentle serenity of spirit and even by the same, actual types as the panel of the Scala Salutis. In particular, the St. John at the right should be compared with the sinner as well as with the St. Michael, and the Magdalene at the left with the Guardian Angel. The painting adds to our knowledge of the Master by including a landscape of a kind which will help in attributing to him another work and which comprises eminences along whose sides climb picturesque mediaeval cities.

We must face at once the problems bearing some relation to the panel of the Deposition and raised by two further sections of the conglomerate retable into which it has been inserted. The relation of the predella to the Deposition is that, in my opinion, they both may possibly, though very far from certainly, have been executed by the same hand. Half-lengths of saints, labelled in the Catalan language, are the predella's themes, (reading from left to right) Eulalia, Honoratus, the Guardian Angel, Narcissus, and Catherine. The emblem of the Guardian Angel is unusual, a miniature church that he holds in his hand and blesses, but the reason is that an inscription identifies the church as Pedralbes, showing that the predella was done for the convent. It is the types of the Angel and the virgin martyrs that suggest as a conceivable candidate for the authorship the Master of the Scala Salutis, whose case would be strengthened by the consideration that the predella, although a commission for Pedralbes, is revealed by the presence of St. Narcissus and perhaps also of St. Honoratus to have had some sort of connection with Gerona. We already have seen [10] St. Narcissus to be a patron of the city, and, despite the fact that St. Honoratus was popular along the whole eastern coast of Spain and especially at Valencia, the cathedral of Gerona contained no less than two chapels dedicated to him.[11] As good or even a better case, however, could be put up, on the basis of the types, for another and greater painter active at Gerona, the St. Felix Master, and it is to be noted that in at least one instance, for the saints in the Carreras Collection, if they are really by him, he retained a gold background, although the curious dotted figuration of the gold in the predella of the conglomerate retable is very different in pattern. For this predella and, as a matter of fact, for the works that I ascribe to the Master of the Scala Salutis, I have not rejected, without much study, the candidacy of the late mediaeval painter, employed in the province of Gerona and at Perpignan, the Canapost Master.

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[10] Vol. VI, p. 242.

I am even more at a loss to name the author of the retable's central compartment displaying the standing effigy of St. Augustine, with his regular emblem of a heart, a figure whom some lady, perhaps a devout nun of Pedralbes, has wished to pass off as St. Ignatius of Antioch, attaching the inscription, "O Ignaci (= Ignati), presul (= praesul) optime, ancillam tuam semper protege." Surely not even a devotee's religious ardor could have wished us to believe that this figure of a hallowed prelate was St. Ignatius de Loyola, and the great bishop of Antioch did not absolutely lack a cult in Spain.[12] It is not out of the question that the predella discussed in the last paragraph belonged to the retable from which the St. Augustine derives (whether or not the Deposition by the Master of the Scala Salutis has the same source), but I can discover no tangible way of determining between this Master or the Master of St. Felix or some other good Catalan painter of the time in the matter of attribution of the Father of the Church. The brocaded design in the gold background is similar to that of the two saints in the Carreras Collection probably by the St. Felix Master; but the effigy of St. Augustine has apparently been so far repainted that a valid judgment in regard to its original maker seems no longer feasible. Haloes patterned like that worn by the saint are sometimes used by Pedro Nunyes, Jaime Forner, and the Premiá Master, but there are really no other visible grounds for introducing these artists into the problem.

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[11] Lamberto Font, *Gerona, La Catedral y el Museo Diocesano*, Gerona, 1952, pp. 24 and 26.

[12] See my vol. X, p. 279.

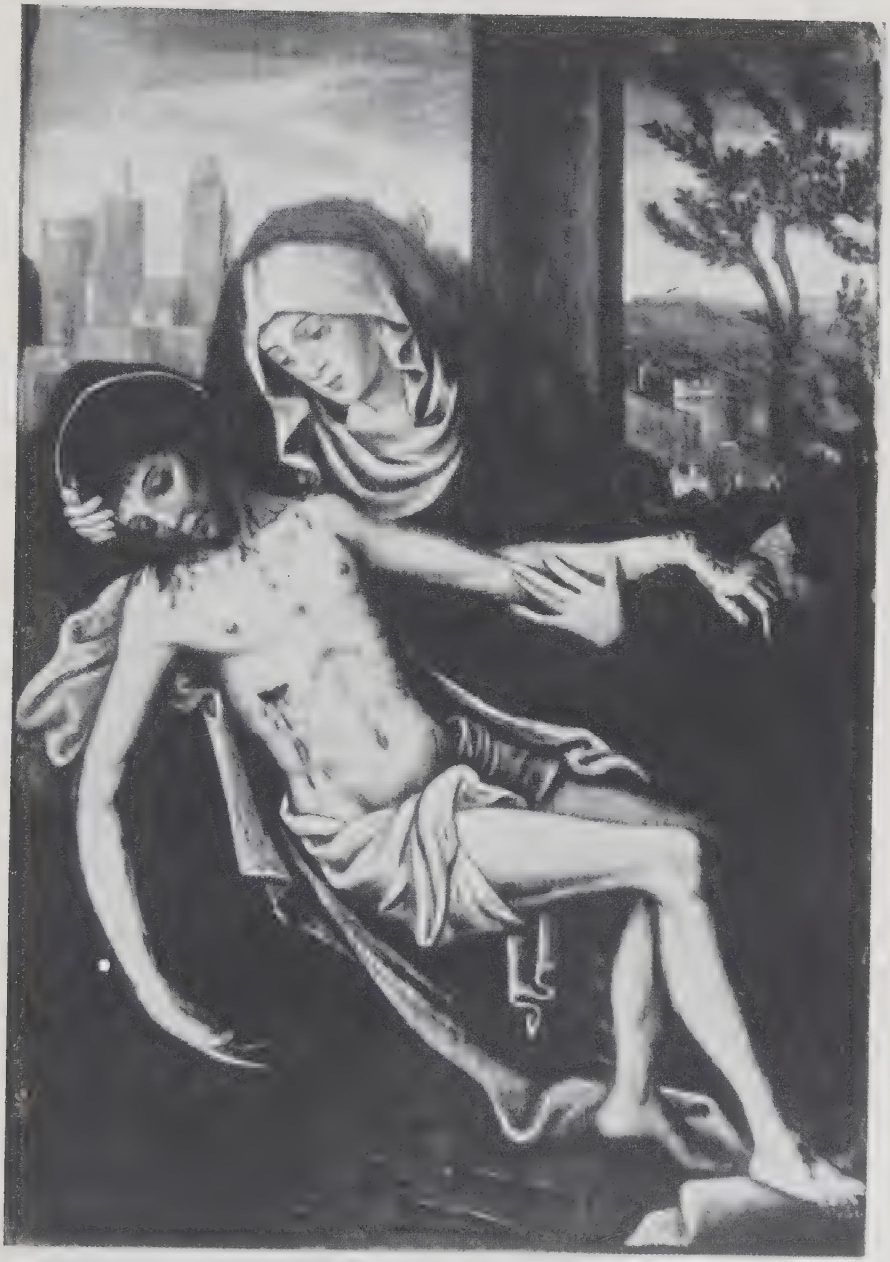

FIG. 127. MASTER OF THE SCALA SALUTIS (?). PIETÀ.
GRASES COLLECTION, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

We practically emerge from the shadows of doubt in assigning to the Master of the Scala Salutis a Pietà in the Grases Collection at Sarriá, the suburb of Barcelona (Fig. 127). Our Lord is virtually the same personage, in head and body, as the Saviour in the Vich panel; he is only less similar to the Christ of the Pedralbes Deposition; the Virgin is reconcilable with the Master's execution; and the landscape once more exhibits his romantic walls and towers, as if here constituting a view of San Gimignano!

CHAPTER XIII

TARRAGONA

1. Jaime Segarra

Still archaic in his modes but a competent performer with a genial attitude towards life, Segarra has been revealed to us as an artistic personality by the documentation of a preserved work, the retable of the Nativity in the Museum of Reus. The revelation is the achievement of Don Salvador Vilaseca Anguera, who in an excellent monograph [1] on the artist and on his connection with the plague of 1530 has assembled the pertinent facts about him as well as the results of his own thorough research in the archives for documents bearing on the subjects of his book. A citizen of Reus in the province of Tarragona but patronized also at the city of Tarragona itself, he can be traced from 1501 to 1531, enjoying a considerable reputation which is witnessed by the goodly list of his recorded productions.

Of these, only one has come down to us, the retable that has eventually reached the Reus Museum from the spot for which it was done, the altar of the now destroyed chapel of Betlem, constructed in the town as a pious offering against the plague. On February 3, 1531, a year after the chapel's foundation, Segarra agreed to paint the retable, which in accordance with the chapel's name, the Catalan for Bethlehem, displays in its principal compartment the Nativity; and at the sides in smaller scale are four related themes, the Annunciation, Circumcision, Epiphany, and Flight into Egypt (Fig. 128), illustrating in the substitution of the Annunciation for the Resurrection one of the changes that frequently took place in the original programs of contracts for altarpieces. The assemblage comprises also another section demanded in the document, a pinnacle of the Trinity.

Just as the compositions are traditional, so Segarra evinces little consciousness of the developing Renaissance except in the more natural representation of the human form that occurred everywhere at the commencement of the sixteenth century and except in the abandonment of the old Catalan embossings. Now and then he punctuates the scenes with slight individual touches, for instance the curious rings

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[1] *La pesta de l'any 1530 i el pintor Jaume Segarra de Reus*, Reus, 1952.

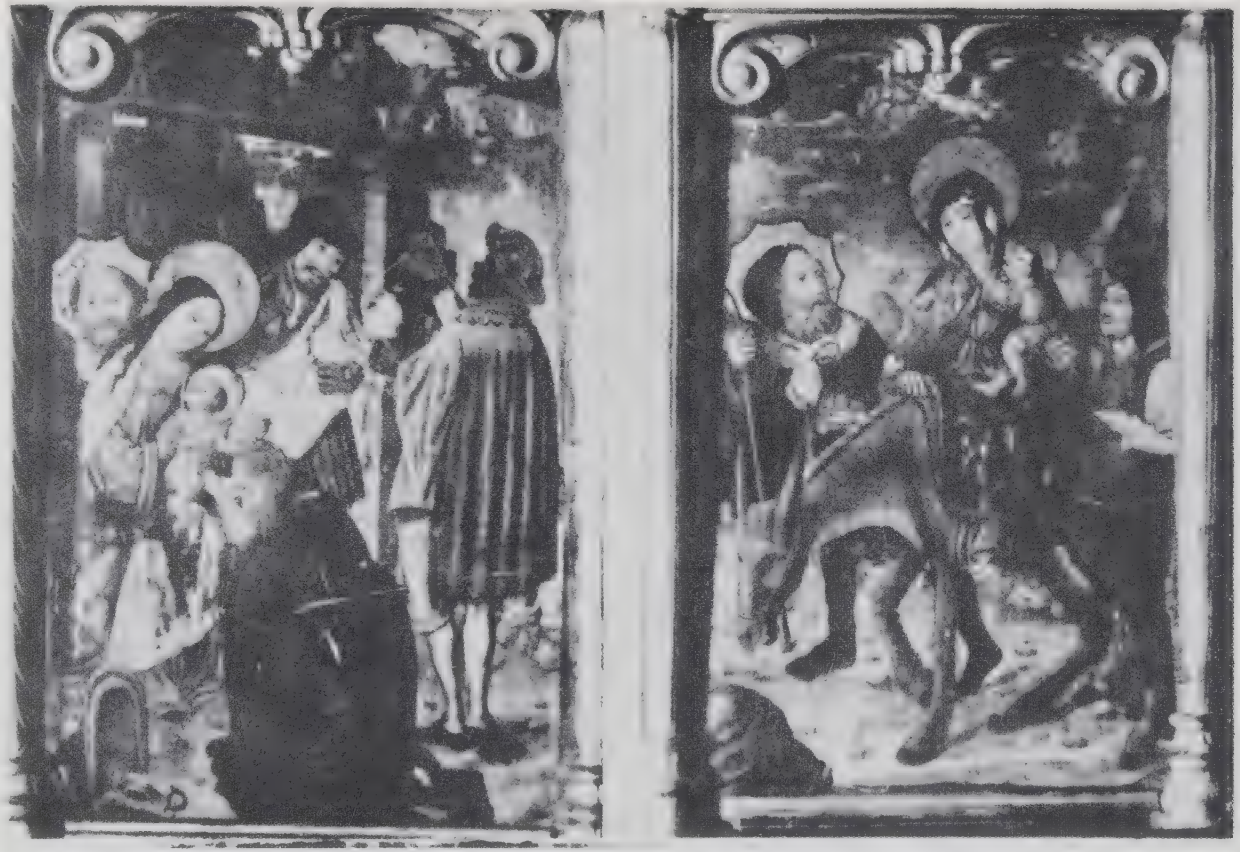

FIG. 128. JAIME SEGARRA. EPIPHANY AND FLIGHT INTO EGYPT, SECTION OF RETABLE. MUSEUM, REUS

(*From a book by Vilaseca Anguera*)

like hoops with which he encircles the groups of angels in the Nativity or the emphasis on human affection in the effective rendering not only of the tender humility of the aged Magus kissing the Infant's foot in the Epiphany but also of the Child's caress of His mother in the Flight into Egypt. Indeed one senses behind Segarra's comely, wholesome types of persons an artist of fine character with a love and appreciation of mankind.

2. The Master of Pedro de Cardona

Since Tarragona lies in the southern part of Catalonia, painting in the city and its province had from the first revealed contacts with the adjacent schools of the Maestrazgo and the old kingdom of Valencia, and the affiliation persists now at the beginning of the Renaissance. In the early fifteenth century we have observed a Valencian overtone in the retable from the monastery of Santas Creus which, once in the Diocesan Museum at Tarragona but now set up in a chapel of the cathedral, stands in some sort of relationship to the art of Luis Borrassá;[2] and the principal painter of the Maestrazgo in the middle of this century, Valentín Montolíu, long resided at Tarragona and has left us there one of his extant works.[3] The representative of the strain from Valencia at Tarragona in the first part of the sixteenth century was the agreeably talented painter to whom I give the name of the Master of Pedro de Cardona because the Diocesan Museum at Tarragona contains the pieces of two retables that he did for a pair of chapels built in the cathedral between 1520 and 1525 by this archbishop of the city;[4] and it can hardly be doubted that he was trained in the circle of the Valencian Martínez Master, most probably by the member of this circle whom we have christened the St. Lazarus Master. Angulo[5] identifies our painter with a Master Oliva recorded by document to have done a retable from Vallmoll now in the Diocesan Museum at Tarragona,[6] but on a subsequent page I shall

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[2] See below, p. 563.

[3] Vol. VII, pp. 662 and 688.

[4] Sanç Capdevila, *La Seu de Tarragona*, supplement to *Analecta sacra tarraconensia* of 1934, p. 51.

[5] *Archivo español de arte*, XVII (1944), 356, n. 3. Quite independently of each other, Angulo and I have isolated this phase of painting at Tarragona, but Angulo divides the examples somewhat differently between the Master of Pedro de Cardona and his following.

[6] In earlier volumes (especially X, p. 372) we have studied an Annunciation

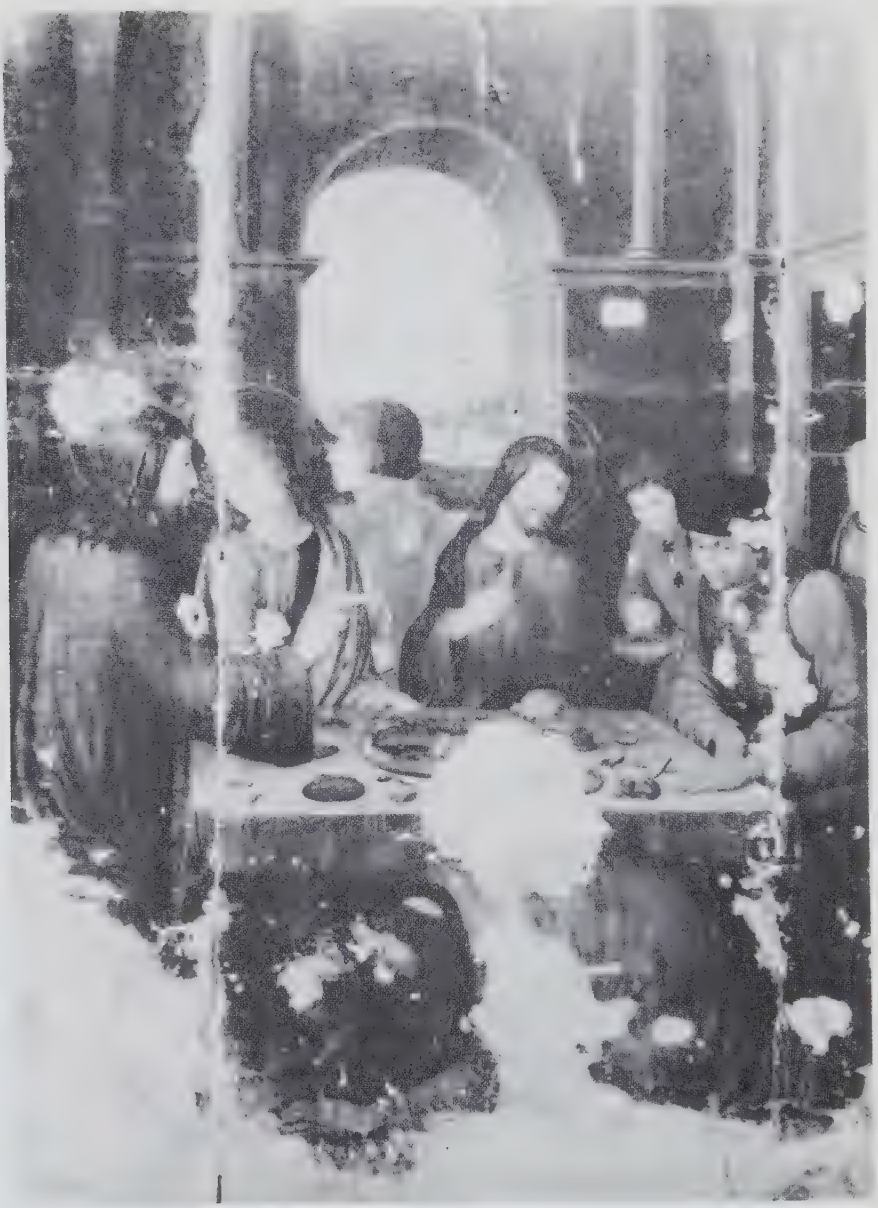

FIG. 129. THE MASTER OF PEDRO DE CARDONA. THE MAGDALENE WASHING CHRIST'S FEET, SECTION OF RETABLE. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, TARRAGONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

try to show that the Vallmoll artist is instead a different personality, a pupil of the Master of Pedro de Cardona. How soon after the commencement of the architecture of the chapels in 1520 and their completion in 1525 the two retables for the archbishop Pedro de Cardona were painted, there are no sure means of determining. Angulo inclines to a date in the vicinity of 1537, probably because on May 28 of this year the chapter of the cathedral granted to the prelate the relics necessary for the consecration of the pair of altars,[7] but the one of the two retables that honors the Magdalene must have been painted earlier than about 1536, the approximate date of an altarpiece by Master Oliva that imitates it.[8]

The retable from the archbishop's chapel of the Magdalene is indeed one of three from this period dedicated to her that curiously are preserved in the city.[9] Its extant parts comprise the following scenes: her washing of Christ's feet (Fig. 129); the *Noli me tangere*; the embarkation from Palestine for Marseilles in three episodes, at the front the Magdalene discussing the journey with her brother, Lazarus, in the background the saint with her companions already on the sea in the boat "without any tackle or rudder," and in the middle ground a Jewish potentate watching the departure while at his side one of his minions lays on the shore the oars removed from the vessel; the levitation of the Magdalene in the hands of angels; and her last communion. The pieces from Pedro de Cardona's other chapel, under the patronage of the Virgin Annunciate, are fragmentary sections of an Epiphany and an Ascension.

Here and there the style edges upon the achievements of the St. Lazarus Master so very closely that one might be forgiven for entertaining the idea of an actual attribution to him; but other passages are more difficult to harmonize with such an hypothesis, and the safer procedure is to ascribe the retable to an artist who had been intimately subjected to his influence. The compartment where the ties with the St. Lazarus Master are most tangible is the scene of the washing of Christ's feet. The eyes throughout the panel are rendered in precisely this Master's mode; the bearded Apostle at the right recalls the kneeling pilgrim beside the corpse in the principal panel of the altar-

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from Vallmoll, also in the Tarragona Museum, that supplies a pseudonym for a late Gothic, Catalan painter.

[7] Sanç Capdevila, *op. cit.*, 53.

[8] See below, p. 335.

[9] See above, p. 100, and below, p. 335.

piece formerly in the Diocesan Museum, Valencia, that gives the St. Lazarus Master his name;[10] the serving boy just behind him at the left is like the acolyte of the same age in this panel; and, above all, the woman looking in through a door at the right is a virtual replica of the rich man's wife in the representation of the parable of Dives in the altarpiece's predella. But the analogies extend also to other sections of the retable of the Magdalene. In the last communion the clerics behind St. Maximin have the rigidity and dead stare of those at the right in the scene of interment in the altarpiece of the Diocesan Museum, Valencia. The Magdalene in the levitation is a conspicuous instance among many in the retable where the Tarragona painter has reproduced the smoothness and the hard contours of the St. Lazarus Master, and she arrestingly resembles the Virgin of this artist's panel of the Coronation in the Collection of Don Manuel González Martí.[11] The types of the angels supporting her seem to be derived from the St. Lazarus Master's conception of celestial spirits, as in the group of four panels in the Provincial Museum at Valencia.[12]

We happen to know of a painter recorded as active at Tarragona from 1496 to 1531, Juan Montolíu,[13] who, if he was really a son of Valentín Montolíu, would have begun his career in the general region of Valencia and might have abandoned the paternal manner for study under the St. Lazarus Master; but stylistically Juan still remains an unknown quantity, and no vestige of documentary proof justifies his equation with the Master of Pedro de Cardona.

We cannot refuse to our Master the remains of a retable that is now in the Diocesan Museum, Tarragona, but must once have decorated the chapel in the cathedral which, originally under the patronage of St. John Evangelist, was rededicated in 1500 to St. Thecla and is at present devoted to St. Oldegar.[14] The records indicate, unfortunately without giving us the names of either the carver or the painter, that the wooden frame (and perhaps also sculpture) of a retable for this chapel had been made by July 4, 1524, and that the paintings were

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[10] Vol. VI, p. 388. The altarpiece was destroyed in the civil war.

[11] Vol. VIII, fig. 344.

[12] Vol. VI, fig. 163.

[13] Vol. VII, pp. 662–663. The date 1496 is that of a contract of Juan Montolíu, then temporarily residing at Barcelona, to execute a retable in collaboration with the Majorcan painter, Guillem Mesquira: see J. M. Madurell in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, II, 3 (1944), 47.

[14] Sanç Capdevila, *op. cit.*, 39–40 and 53–54. The present chapel of St. Thecla is a sumptuous affair of the eighteenth century.

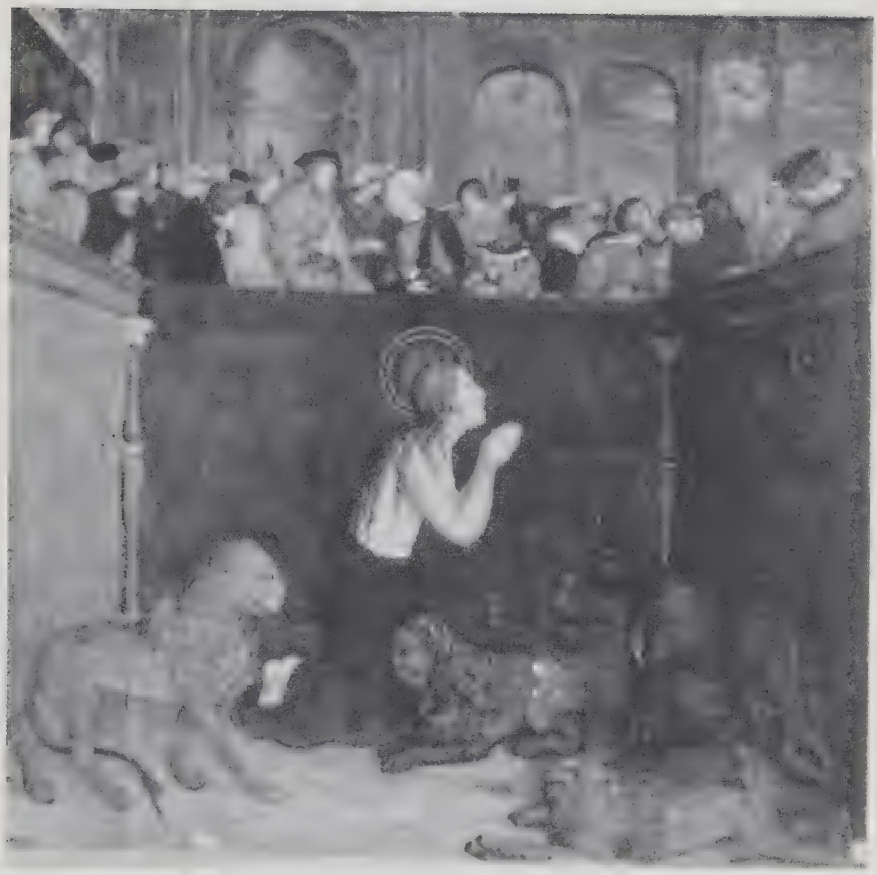

Fig. 130. THE MASTER OF PEDRO DE CARDONA. ST. THECLA IN THE AMPHITHEATRE, SECTION OF RETABLE. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, TARRAGONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

probably executed within the three years which elapsed before June 4, 1527.[15] St. John, by reason of the earlier name of the chapel, must have been honored in the retable together with St. Thecla, since the remains include one scene from his life and three from that of the virgin martyr. In the compartment surviving from the section commemorating St. John, the subject is his boiling in oil.[16] The first of the other compartments depicts St. Paul preaching at Iconium, while at the upper left the suitor and mother of St. Thecla vainly seek to make her cease the vigil of three days and nights at the window during which she listened to the Apostle's sermons; and the second panel is assigned to the refusal of the wild beasts to attack her in the amphitheatre (Fig. 130). In the background of the third compartment we see her disappearing into the rock from which she never again was to emerge to be seen by man and thus eluding the ruffians who had been sent to molest her eremitic old age; but the foreground is taken up with the scene of a bishop receiving from the rock her arm, the precious relic belonging to the cathedral of Tarragona which James II of Aragon in the fourteenth century is said to have obtained from the King of Armenia.[17]

The most inescapable proof of the attribution is the actual repetition of the Magdalene of the *Noli me tangere* in the St. Thecla among the beasts; but almost as determinative is the fact that the Master's preferred type for youths, as in the serving boy and another lad at the centre in the representation of the washing of Christ's feet, emerges several times among the thronging spectators of St. Thecla's experience in the amphitheatre, particularly in a gallant at the left who, in accordance with an addiction to *genre* not infrequent in the Master of Pedro de Cardona, punctuates the crowd and graphically illustrates his indifference to the saint's ordeal by a flirtation with a maiden in the front row of the balcony. The prominent, portly listener to St. Paul's exhortations should be compared with the Lazarus in the scene of the Magdalene's embarkation, and the dimming effect of aërial perspective is managed in much the same way on the more distant members of the Apostle's congregation and on the sacred personages who have already embarked for Marseilles. St. Thecla leaning in ecstasy from the window to catch St. Paul's every word recalls in type the angels in the Magdalene's last communion. The group of clerics behind St. Maximin in the last communion exhibit a general resemblance to the line of canons in the suite of the bishop taking St. Thecla's arm from the rock, and this resemblance reaches the point of the specific in the treatment of the hair. The head of St. John in the one extant panel devoted to him scarcely differs from the youthful Apostle at the back in the fragment of the Ascension from the retable of the chapel of the Virgin Annunciate. The edifices of the street where St. Paul preaches and the amphitheatre into which St. Thecla is cast exhibit a keen interest in architectural design and invention.

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[15] *Ibid.*, 54.

[16] I am at a loss to explain the figure of a praying cleric seen in the landscape through the doorway of the hall of St. John's ordeal and scarcely looking like a portrait of a donor.

[17] See A. V. Domenec, *Historia general de los santos y varones ilustres en santidad del principado de Cataluña*, Gerona, 1630, pp. 104–109. The picture explains a detail that puzzled me in volume VII (p. 462), the piece of rock combined with an arm as an attribute for effigies of St. Thecla. The subject of the arm and the cliff is specifically demanded for one of the compartments in the contract for Credensa's retable at Sitges: see above, p. 163.

The collocation of the panels of Sts. Thecla and John under the name of the Master of Pedro de Cardona almost certainly carries with it the assignment to him of six compartments of a retable of St. Blaise that from the Ermita de S. Blas at Aleixar [18] have been imported into the Diocesan Museum at Tarragona. In the first compartment, St. Blaise blesses the birds and beasts that had fed him in the wilds, and next he enjoys a vision of Christ directing that he leave his retreat according to the desire of the pagan governor of Sebaste. The third panel displays a scene that I cannot interpret otherwise than his cure of the child with a fishbone in the throat, who here anomalously is a maiden rather than, according to the usual version, a boy. The bone seems to be definitely represented as externalized on the outside of her neck, so that the subject can scarcely be St. Blaise's benediction of the woman who had brought him the pork in prison. The three last compartments incorporate stages in his martyrdom, the beating with staves (Fig. 131), the rending of his body with combs of iron, and his ultimate decollation in a room in which there already lie slain upon the pavement the two gory infants who had asked to die with their

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[18] Also written La Lleixá. Angulo (*op. cit.*) places the retable of St. Blaise in the following of the painter whom I call the Master of Pedro de Cardona. I well realize the analogies to this painter's pupil, Master Oliva (see below, p. 332), and an occasional lapse in the panels from the technical standards of the Master of Pedro de Cardona; but they seem to me on the whole to accord rather with the types and methods of the Master of Pedro de Cardona, who, however, may have been assisted here by Oliva or some other member of the shop.

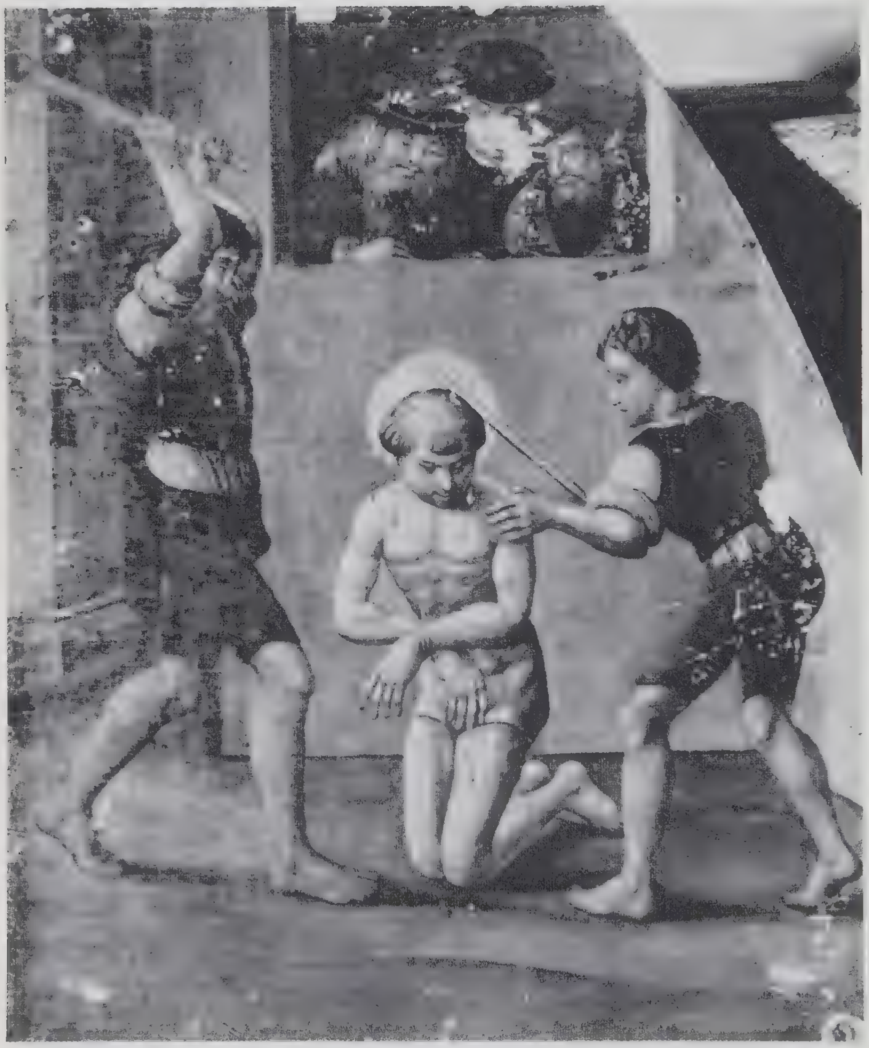

FIG. 131. THE MASTER OF PEDRO DE CARDONA. CLUBBING OF ST. BLAISE, SECTION OF RETABLE. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, TARRAGONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

mother, one of the seven women united to St. Blaise in his tortures.

The general style is obviously very close to that of the retables of the Magdalene and of Sts. Thecla and John, but there are also many very specific contacts. It is in the compartment of the cudgeling that they are perhaps most numerous. One can scarcely doubt that the artist who painted the magistrate presiding over St. John's ordeal at the Latin Gate and the bearded retainer directly behind him was responsible also for the left of St. Blaise's two tormentors. Of the three men who view the beating from a window, the one at the right practically repeats the henchman who, with puckered nose and mouth, stands at the right and prods the fire beneath St. John's vat of oil. The spectator at the left in the window is reminiscent, in type and in the loosely flowing hair, of several of the Apostles in the Ascension and St. Joseph in the Epiphany from the chapel of the Annunciation. On the other hand, the tresses of Christ appearing to St. Blaise repeat the conventionalization of the locks of the Magdalene receiving her last communion. Such comparisons could be multiplied almost at will. The mother of the girl freed from the fishbone, for instance, is a replica of St. Thecla's mother trying to rouse her from her absorption in St. Paul's teaching, and the left carder of St. Blaise is a brother of the second prominent ecclesiastic from the left in the scene of the recovery of St. Thecla's arm. All the ecclesiastics in this scene indeed belong to the same class of human beings as St. Blaise himself when he is depicted as merely tonsured without the mitre. Above the patch of landscape in the compartment of the carding we can even see a little mass of the peculiar puffs of clouds that blow across the skies in the episodes of St. John's ordeal and of the acquisition of St. Thecla's relic. The dumb creatures who are the companions of St. Blaise's solitude betray as dismal an ignorance of zoology as do the beasts that St. Thecla quells.

With admirable restraint Angulo goes no further than to say that there should be compared with Master Oliva's works the fragments of a retable in a private collection at Barcelona, but I am strongly disposed to cast my vote again in favor of the Master of Pedro de Cardona as actually the proper candidate. Of unascertained ultimate provenience, the preserved pieces, all of which revert to the chastely tooled gold backgrounds of a century before, exhibit disparate themes, not revealing what the unifying subject of the retable was, full-lengths of Sts. John Evangelist and Onuphrius, compartments of Sts. Francis

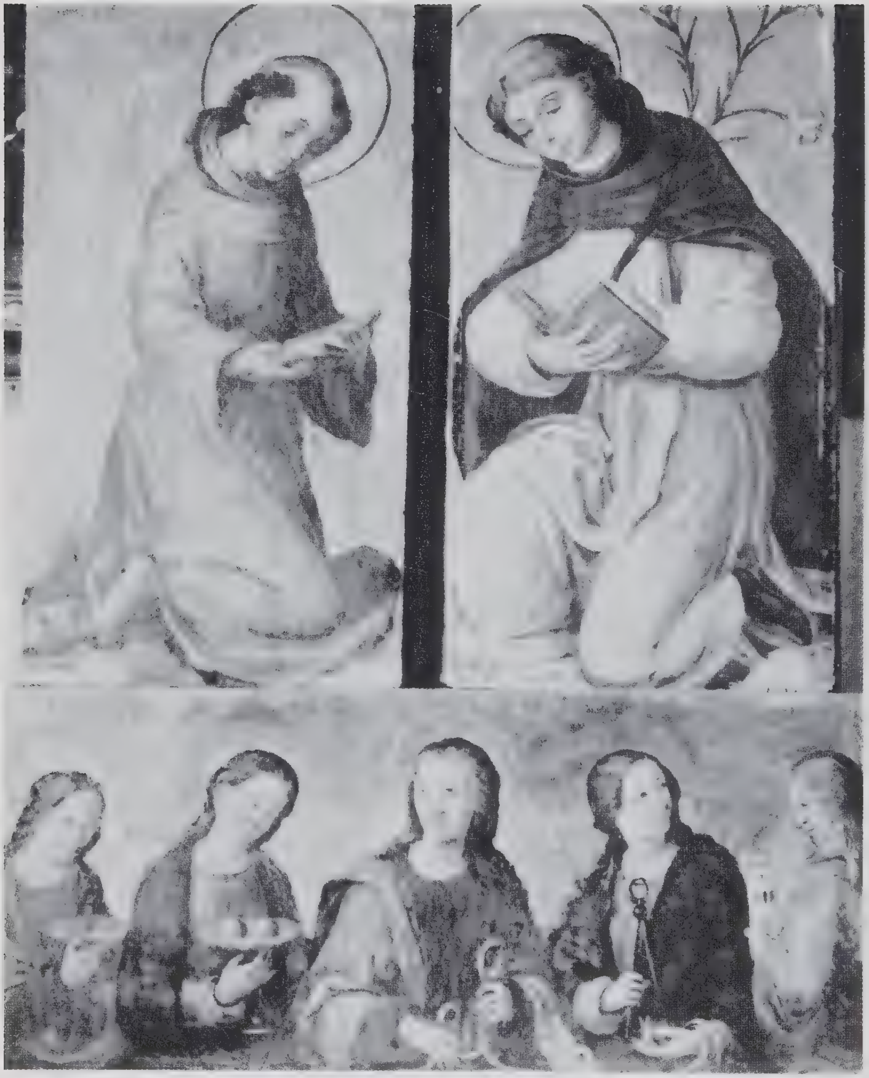

Fig. 132. THE MASTER OF PEDRO DE CARDONA. STS. FRANCIS, DOMINIC, AND VIRGIN MARTYRS, SECTIONS OF RETABLE. PRIVATE COLLECTION, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

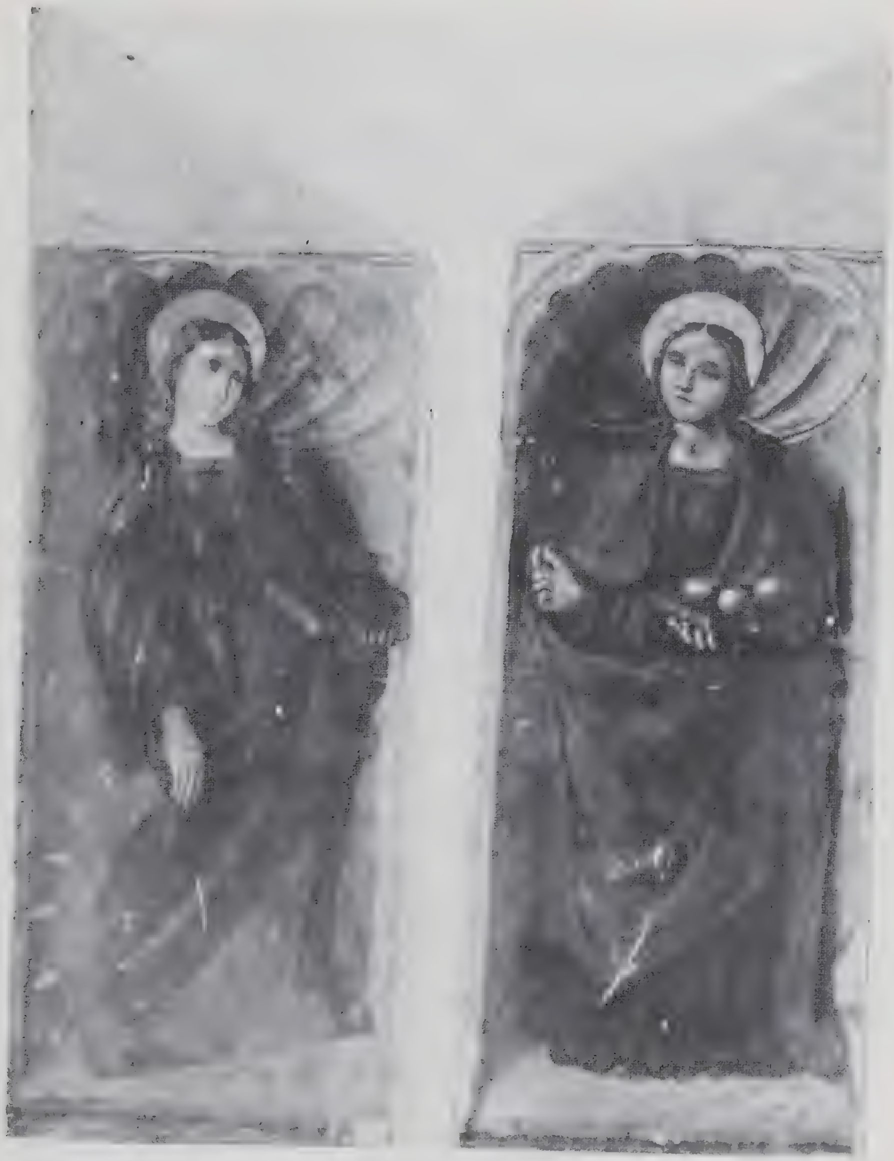

Fig. 133. THE MASTER OF PEDRO DE CARDONA (?). STS. CATHERINE AND DOROTHEA. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, TARRAGONA
(*Courtesy of Don Pedro Batlle Huguet*)

and Dominic, both kneeling (Fig. 132), a representation of the dead Christ supported on the edge of His tomb by two standing angels, and, evidently from the predella, a horizontal panel in which there are aligned as half-lengths the virgin martyrs Lucy, Agatha, Quiteria,[19] Apollonia, and Barbara. The Sts. Francis and Dominic provide practically conclusive proof for the attribution, as illustrating a recurrent type in the Master of Pedro de Cardona's output. Indeed the St. Dominic is scarcely differentiated from the young server in the scene where the Magdalene washes Christ's feet, and the approximation to identity is not much less between the St. Francis and the cudgeled St. Blaise. But one need not search far to discover many other similarities. The angel at the right in the Pietà is only a variant of the type used for the St. Dominic and nearly repeats, furthermore, the sanctimonious expression of the highest angel at the left in the levitation of the Magdalene in the retable of the Diocesan Museum; the other angel supporting the dead Christ displays, as do also additional heads among the fragments, the Master's mode of manipulating the hair that appears on the Magdalene receiving her last communion; and the oldest man in the boat setting out for Marseilles in one of the compartments of the Magdalene's retable shows that the Master was quite capable of the manneristic sketchiness exemplified by the St. Onuphrius.

Two fragments of *guardapolvos* in the Diocesan Museum, Tarragona, depicting Sts. Catherine of Alexandria and Dorothea,[20] who is so rarely honored in early Spanish art (Fig. 133), are classified by Angulo in the circle of Master Oliva, but the Master of Pedro de Cardona appears to me the most likely, though not absolutely certain, candidate for their authorship. Indeed the learned and perceptive director of the Museum, Don Pedro Batlle Huguet, to whose kindness I am indebted for the photograph, as well as many other courtesies, writes me that he wonders whether the fragments, which were once to be seen in the cathedral, may not derive from the retable of Sts. Thecla and John. The closest counterpart for the St. Dorothea, among the Master's productions, is the Magdalene on the shore in the scene of the embarkation, but very characteristic of him also is the pietistic upward glance of the St. Catherine, as in the Sts. Lucy and Apollonia in the predella in private possession at Barcelona.

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[19] With one of her usual emblems, a bound mad dog.

[20] With her regular emblems of the sprig of roses and the three apples.

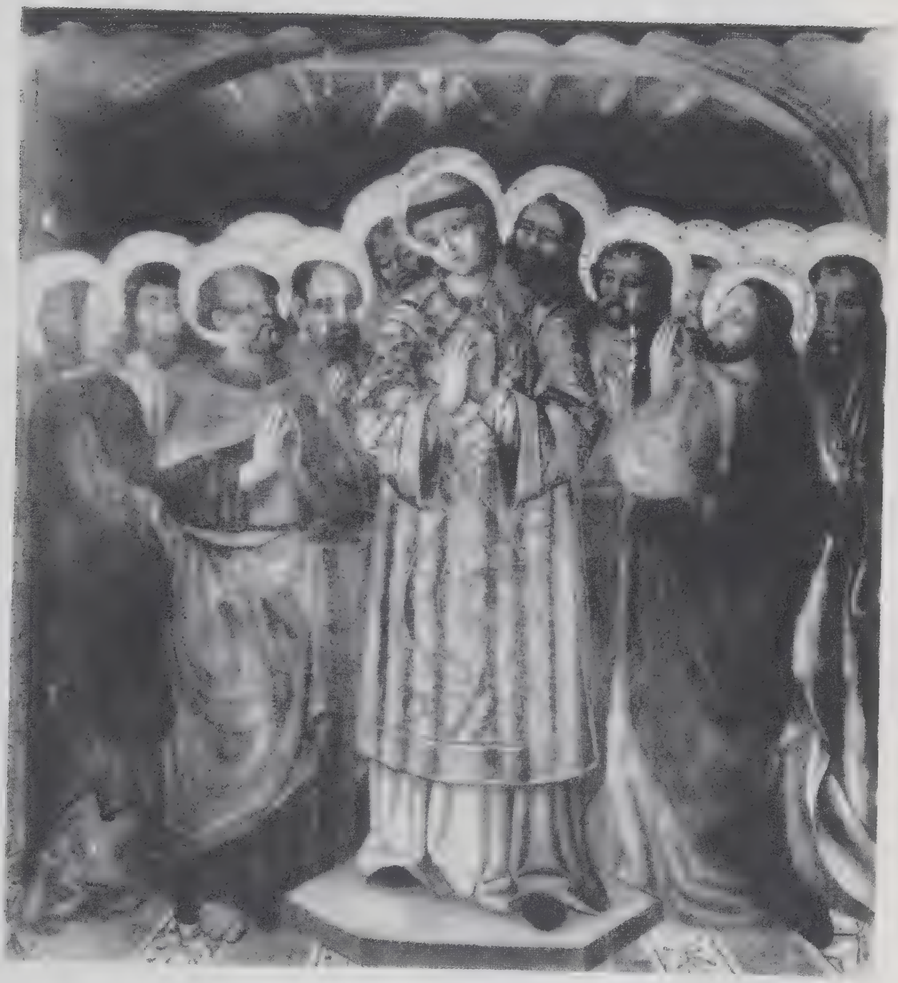

FIG. 134. FOLLOWER OF THE MASTER OF PEDRO DE CARDONA. ORDINATION OF ST. STEPHEN. ORRIOLS COLLECTION, VICH
(*Photo. Mas*)

We may confidently assign to the Master of Pedro de Cardona's atelier a panel in the Orriols Collection at Vich depicting St. Stephen on a pedestal in the midst of the twelve Apostles, a scene that in Spanish altarpieces of the protomartyr may be meant as a representation of his ordination; [21] but we should perhaps add the proviso that this was one of the sections of the retable which he turned over to an assistant in the shop (Fig. 134). The types reproduce those of his other works. St. Stephen's head, for example, is very similar to that of St. Blaise among the beasts in the panels from Aleixar; and the Apostle at the extreme left exhibits the Master's conventionalization of the hair into tresses like strands of yarn, as on Christ appearing to St. Blaise.

3. MASTER OLIVA (FRANCISCO OLIVES?)

The Master of Pedro de Cardona trained a somewhat less capable pupil whose surname, Oliva, has been uncovered in the records of the past which tantalizingly have refused to yield to us the more important fact of his teacher's appellation. The apposite documents concern a retable of Sts. Cosmas and Damian that has entered the Diocesan Museum of Tarragona from the church of the town of Vallmoll, north of the city. On August 15, 1553, the municipal council of Vallmoll agreed to offer to a Master Oliva 38 pounds for a retable of Sts. Cosmas and Damian in the parish church, and two days later they decided to summon him to the place to execute the commission.[22] It is exceedingly probable that the Master Oliva, who thus is proved to be the author of the extant retable, is identical (if we take into account the loose spelling of the period) with a painter, Francisco Olives, who, born at Reus in 1502, may be traced at Tarragona until 1570.[23] The date of his birth comes from a document of 1517, designating him as an assistant of Jaime Segarra and as then

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[21] Vol. VI, p. 96.

[22] The two documents are published by Ramón Pinyes in the periodical *Tarragona i el camp*, 1934, no. 5, p. 8. The distinguished scholar and director of the Diocesan Museum at Tarragona, Don Pedro Batlle, has generously copied for me the article by Pinyes from this difficultly obtainable review.

[23] Cf. my vol. VII, p. 352, and Luisa Vilaseca Borrás, *Dos pintores reusenses del siglo XVI, Joan Arnaldis y Francesc Olives*, in *Revista del Centro de Lectura de Reus*, IV, 10 (1953), 109–111 (an article known to me only as summarized in the *Boletín Arqueológico* of Tarragona, 1953–1954, p. 93). For a mention of a Master *Olives* as residing in Tarragona in 1548, see Juan Serra Vilaró in the *Boletín Arqueológico* of Tarragona, 1950, July–December, 141.

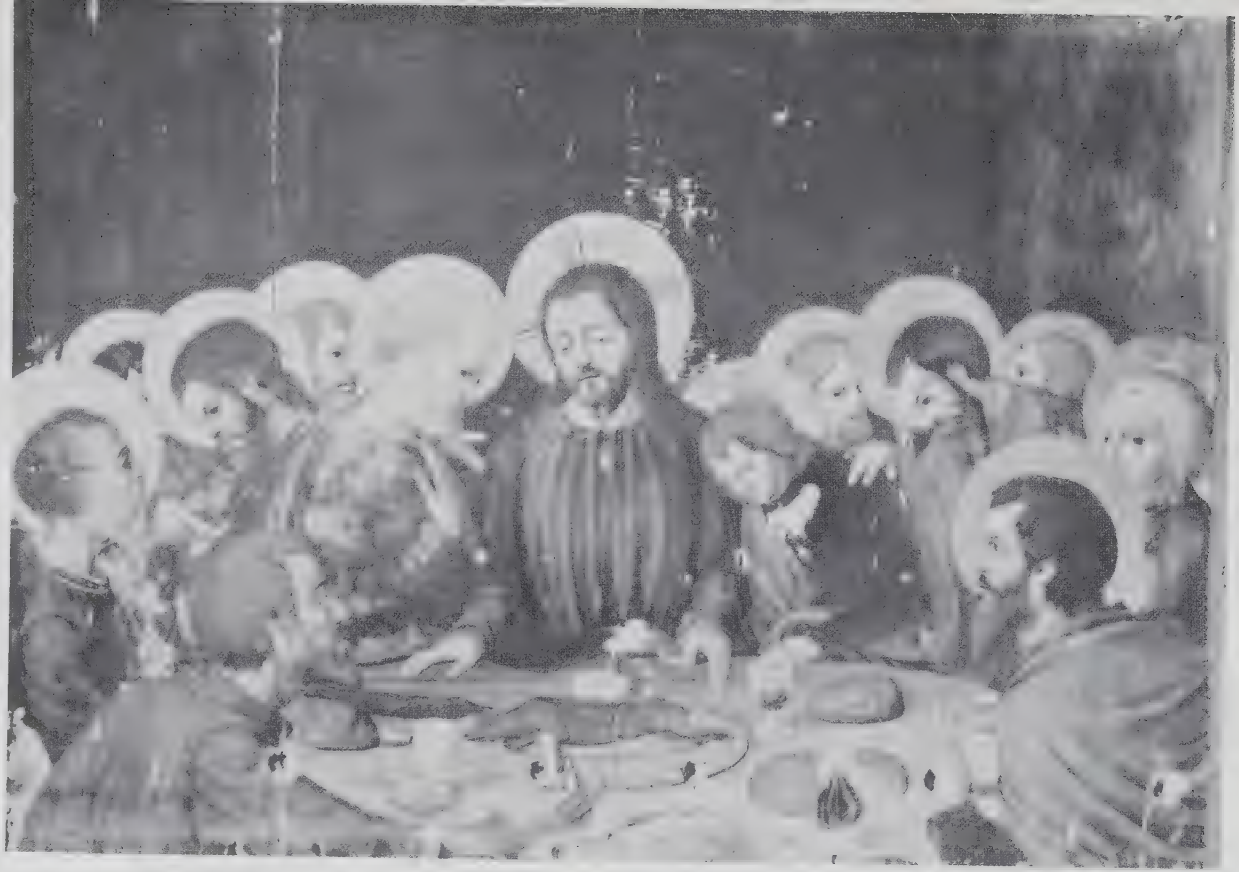

FIG. 135. MASTER OLIVA. LAST SUPPER, SECTION OF RETABLE FROM VALLMOLL.
DIOCESAN MUSEUM, TARRAGONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

fifteen years old;[24] but, although in 1527 he is again mentioned in association with Segarra,[25] it is hard to discover any concrete evidence of the latter's influence upon Master Oliva.

The iconographic content of the Vallmoll retable is somewhat heterogeneous, but we could probably account for the variety of themes if we knew the minds of the municipal council and the reasons that called the altarpiece into being. Sts. Cosmas and Damian appear at full length in the principal compartment, and above, as usual, is the Crucifixion; but in this central division of the retable the Last Supper (Fig. 135) curiously intrudes beneath the effigies of the canonized physicians, though not as a predella. The penitent St. Jerome and St. Francis receiving the stigmata are proper enough pendants to each other in the upper sections of the lateral divisions, but they are scarcely related to the subjects in the middle of the retable or to what is depicted under them at the sides, for below St. Francis stands St. Stephen and below St. Jerome there is seen a representation of the miracle of the gentleman of Cologne.[26] No predella is preserved, and the panels, especially in the case of the Sts. Francis and Stephen, have been somewhat injured by their employment, when at one period in their vicissitudes the retable had been dismantled, as mere wood to form a confessional in the church of Vallmoll.

Oliva is so faithful an imitator of the Master of Pedro de Cardona that his works might almost be mistaken for creations of his preceptor, if they were not infected with some degree of provincialism. The debt to the Master of Pedro de Cardona is even more tangible in a second retable that we shall ascribe to Oliva, and yet it is so obvious in the types and pictorial modes of the Vallmoll panels as scarcely to require analysis. In the St. John of the Last Supper, for instance, Oliva has had very exactly in mind such a type as the youth who serves the meal at which the Magdalene washes the Saviour's feet in the retable from Pedro de Cardona's chapel, and the two dark-haired Apostles near St. John are derived from the kind of head employed for the suitor endeavoring to distract St. Thecla from her concentration on St. Paul's homily. One of the ways, however, by which the pupil can be distinguished from his inspirer is in his treatment of the hair, which he separates into less clearly defined strands, preferring the effect of a general mass of chevelure, and which, as well as the beard, he is less prone to muss into a purposed scragginess. Oliva's provincialism is betrayed by the persistence to so late a date as 1553 of a style that otherwise one would naturally assign to the first quarter of the century.

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[24] See the above mentioned monograph on Segarra by Vilaseca Anguera, 39.

[25] *Ibid.*, 60.

[26] Vol. VII, p. 260.

The evidence for the imperative attribution to him of another work is stylistic, the retable in the chapel of the Balle family in the cloister of the cathedral of Tarragona. An inscribed tablet in the chapel [27] tells us that its foundation was due to the will of a distinguished merchant of the city, Arnaldo Balle, who died on December 29, 1535,[28] and that in accordance with the stipulations of the will his nephew, Pedro Balle, ordered the construction and ornamentation of the chapel. Thus the retable, the third at Tarragona under the Magdalene's invocation to fall within the cognizance of the present volume,[29] can hardly be dated before 1536. The panels are still ensconced in the original Plateresque frame. The central subject is the Magdalene's levitation, based in composition upon the version by the Master of Pedro de Cardona, and into the lower part of this panel are introduced the kneeling donors, an aged gentleman and lady at the left, who would be Arnaldo Balle and his wife, and a bearded man in middle life at the right, probably the nephew, Pedro. The compositions of all four smaller, narrative compartments at the sides follow closely the precedents of the Master of Pedro de Cardona, the Magdalene's washing of Christ's feet, the *Noli me tangere*, the departure for Marseilles (Fig. 136), and her last communion. The only real difference in the representation of the boat being set adrift for its eventual journey to Marseilles is that the henchman is depicted as walking to the beach with the oars instead of stacking them upon the sand. The theme of the painting formed in the lunette at the top of the structure is the Provençal prince's discovery upon the island of his wife and child miraculously restored to life by the Magdalene's intercession. In the compartments of the predella at either side of the Pietà are ranged at three-quarters length St. Jerome, St. Peter, St. Thecla (with the attribute of the arm emerging from the rock),[30] another virgin martyr whose identity I unfortunately failed to register in my notes, St. Anne with her young daughter, and St. Sebastian.

Oliva's authorship is abundantly manifest. To select just a few

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[27] E. Morera y Llauradó, *Tarragona antigua y moderna*, Tarragona, 1894, p. 124.

[28] IIII Kalendas Ianuari MDXXXVI.

[29] See above, p. 321.

[30] See above, p. 324, n. 17.

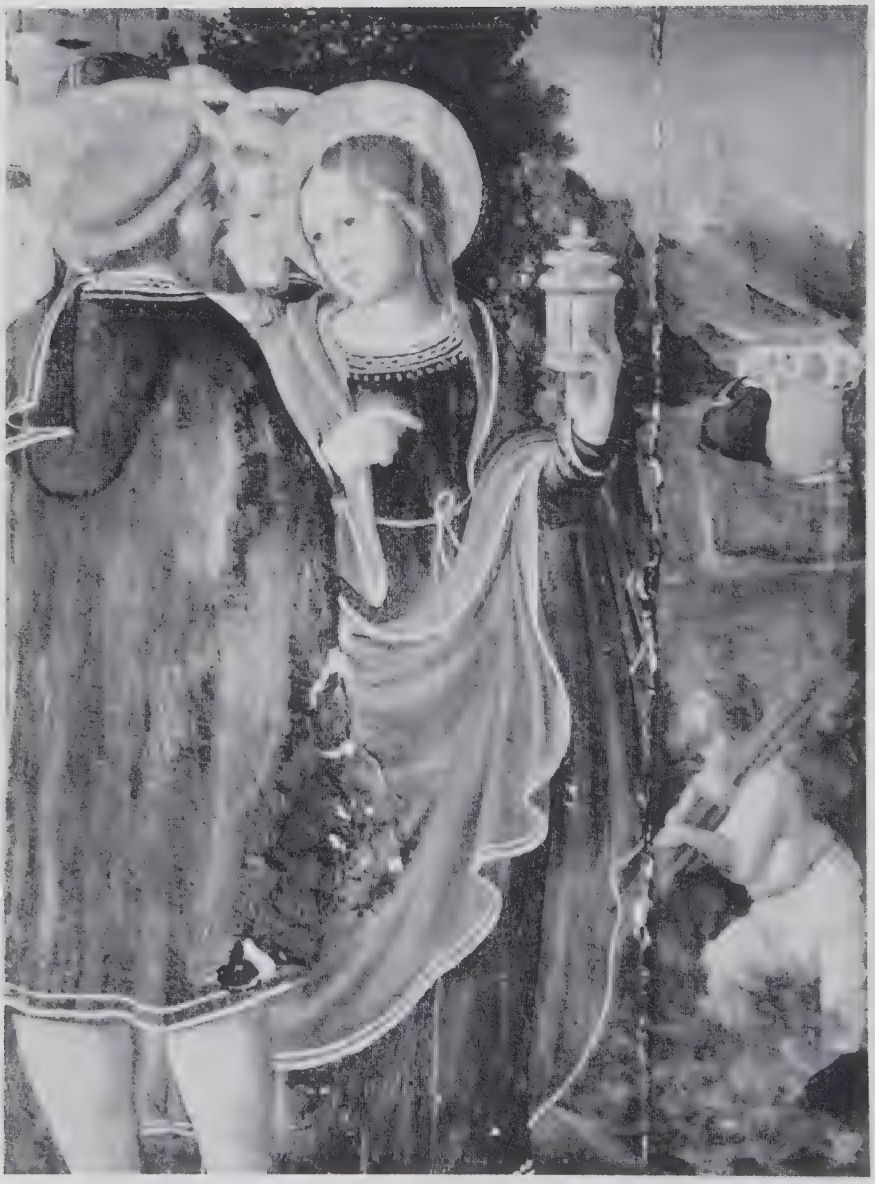

Fig. 136. MASTER OLIVA. THE MAGDALENE'S DEPARTURE FOR MARSEILLES, SECTION OF RETABLE. CATHEDRAL, TARRAGONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

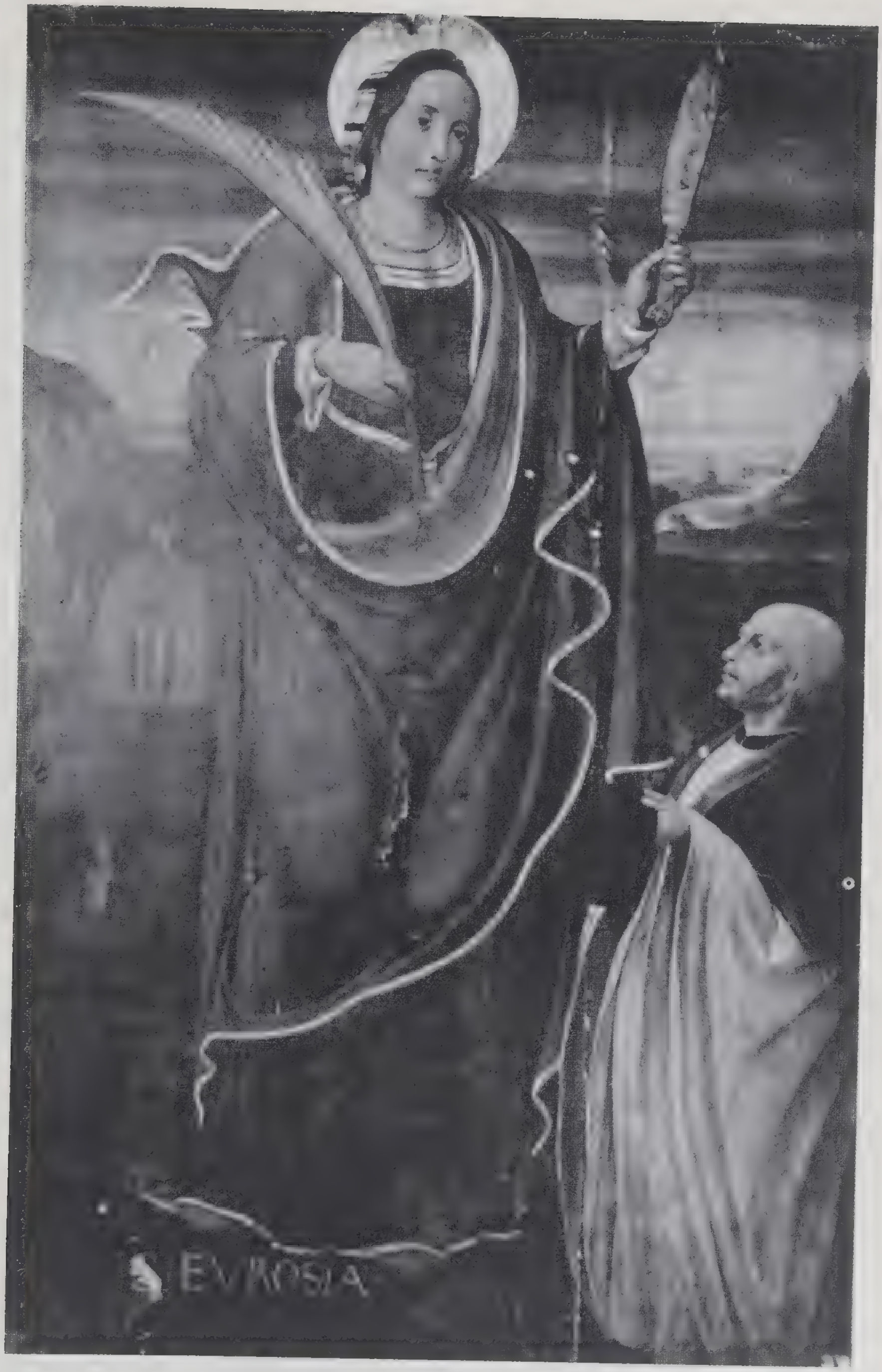

FIG. 137. MASTER OLIVA. ST. EUROSIA. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, TARRAGONA
(*Photo. Sutrá*)

proofs, the St. Lazarus discussing with the Magdalene the departure for Marseilles is practically repeated several times in the Apostles of the Last Supper and absolutely duplicated in the soldier (at the right) deterred by the vision of the Virgin from slaying the gentleman of Cologne. The St. Jeromes in the two altarpieces are also virtually identical, but perhaps even more convincing is the fact that no one else paints just the kind of beady eyes that stare in both retables from the faces of many of the actors. The compositions, as we have seen, demonstrate very concretely the dependence upon the Master of Pedro de Cardona; but the types, here as in the Vallmoll retable, quite as plainly acknowledge this derivation, and it was indeed the resemblances in the types that first revealed to me Oliva's teacher before I perceived the compositional debts. In the process, the severity of the St. Lazarus Master, under whom the Master of Pedro de Cardona appears to have studied, has been diluted into still further blandness. Oliva, however, is a perfectly respectable and not unpleasing purveyor of sacred art, and like the Catalan Monogrammist in a retable of the same dedication, he had the initiative to attempt the problem of a picture within a picture, representing the church of the Magdalene's last communion as decorated with an altarpiece of the Virgin holding the dead Christ.

A panel of St. Eurosia now in the Diocesan Museum of Tarragona (Fig. 137) needs no further authentication as a sure work of Master Oliva than the practical identity of her head, even in the peculiarly beady eyes, with the type of the central Magdalene in the Balle retable. Angulo is surely right in bringing the picture into connection with the foundation of her cult in the cathedral on November 10, 1535, and he seems to imply that it would have been already painted for her altar when on February 17, 1548, arrangements were made to procure a relic of her body from Jaca and when, therefore, it may be deduced that the altar was ready for consecration. In any case, both dates fall within the years of Master Oliva's activity. In 1656, the picture was in the chapel of St. Luke in the cathedral,[31] but, when I studied it in 1927, it was hanging in the old Salas Capitulares. Eurosia is a rarely encountered saint, who is reported to have been martyred by the Moors in the eighth century and the devotion to

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[31] For these data on the cult of St. Eurosia in the cathedral, see Sanç Capdevila, *op. cit.*, 49.

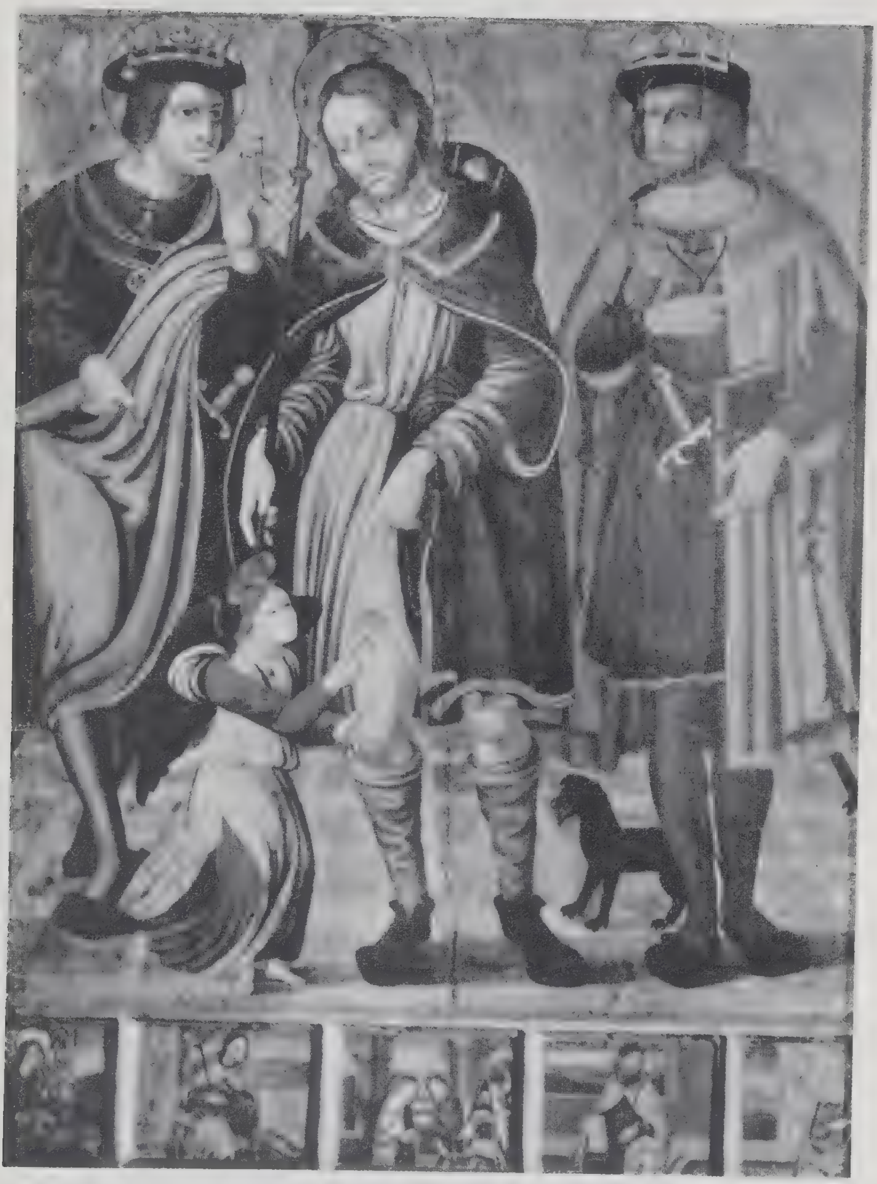

FIG. 138. FOLLOWER OF MASTER OLIVA (?). RETABLE.
MASRIERA COLLECTION, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

whom is centered at Jaca, where her body is said to repose;[32] and, since the introduction of her cult into the cathedral of Tarragona was a provision of the will of Juan Ximenes, a prior of the institution, who died in 1535, it most probably is he who is depicted as kneeling donor in the panel rather than his successor in the same office from 1535–1564 and with very much the same name, Juan Ximenes de Aragues.[33] Master Oliva would thus be delineating the cleric's features, as in the case of the Balles, from memory or only imagining them, unless Ximenes, with the prospect of fostering St. Eurosia's popularity, had already caused the picture to be painted before his death. In any case the figure accords exactly with the representation of the donors in the Balle retable in posture, in the way in which the cap (here a biretta) is held, and in the general mode of portraiture. The S on St. Eurosia's emblem, the knife, was probably meant to simulate the trade-mark of the blade-smith.[34] We should perhaps not fail to observe that Master Oliva's panel is scarcely differentiated in composition from the representation of St. Barbara at Oix, which I have ascribed to the St. Felix Master[35]; and since the latter was a more powerful and distinguished artist, the likelihood is that he was the giver rather than the receiver.[36]

One should perhaps not yield unreservedly to the temptation to ascribe to some follower of Master Oliva a retable in the Masriera Collection, Barcelona, whose whole main body consists of a single, large panel depicting St. Roch standing between Sts. Abdon and Sennen[37] and in whose predella the Nativity is set between Sts. Agnes,[38] Joseph,[39] Joachim,[40] and the Magdalene (all seated except in the last instance) (Fig. 138). It takes but a glance to see that the general manner falls within Master Oliva's norms, but I must confess that in the matter of concrete, specific proof, it was subsidiary details which led me, in the school of Tarragona, to his *entourage* — the nature of the glance of the eyes and the rather unusual figuration of the haloes, with large rays like arrows at the centre projecting to an outer ring, as in the cases of the St. Francis in the documented retable and the St. Eurosia. Analogies on a larger scale, however, are not lacking. Resemblances in human types reach practical identity in the St. Roch and the Apostle above St. John in the Last Supper of the retable of Sts. Cosmas and Damian; and in general the beards and moustaches are treated in Master Oliva's fashions. The background, archaistically, is still of boldly diapered gold.

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[32] See the Bollandists under the day of her feast, June 25, and Antonio Durán Gudiol in *Argensola*, VI (1955), 297.

[33] The chronological list of the priors of Tarragona is given by Capdevila, *op. cit.*, 150.

[34] See my vol. IV, p. 462.

[35] P. 109.

[36] Angulo attributes to Master Oliva also a Crucifixion that, he says, is in the Diocesan Museum at Tarragona and comes from Pobla de Claramunt (near Igualada in the province of Barcelona), but no one at Tarragona has been able to find for me in the Museum any such panel. A Crucifixion is included among the fragments of a retable that have entered the Museum probably from Pobla de *Montornés* (just east of Tarragona), but they belong to a considerably later moment in the sixteenth century.

[37] Represented, as usual, in the guise of kings, the one at the left here holding a cross.

[38] She seems to carry in her lap a lamb as her emblem.

[39] Bearing a staff or crutch.

[40] With the shepherd's crook.

4. The Alforja Master (Francisco Ribes?)

In the artistic *milieu* of Tarragona at the beginning of the Renaissance, it is possible to isolate yet another personality who is much less closely affiliated than Master Oliva with the Master of Pedro de Cardona and whom I baptize with the title of the Alforja Master from the panel, now in the Museum of Reus, that derives from the town of Alforja, west of Tarragona, and depicts St. Michael with his angels victorious over Satan and his minions (Fig. 139);[41] but we shall eventually consider the possibility, though not certainty, that Francisco Ribes was his real name. The dimensions of the Reus picture are two metres in height by one in width, and it is legitimate to guess that so large a panel must have been the centre of a retable in the parish church of Alforja, which is dedicated to St. Michael, or a lateral compartment in a huge altarpiece in the edifice. If we leave out of account the painter's characteristic types of humanity by which almost any true artist expresses his individuality, his most distinctive trait is his fondness for heavily shadowing the countenances. In the sphere of technical performance he is at least the Pedro de Cardona Master's equal. One work that we shall eventually claim for him shows some sort of relationship to the Valencian school.

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[41] Vilaseca, in his book on Jaime Segarra that I have cited at the beginning of this chapter, places (p. 40) a point of interrogation after the provenience from Alforja, but in a letter to me he definitely states such to be the source of the picture. Since I owe the photograph from which my illustration is made to his kindness, I am particularly sorry to disagree with his attribution, however tentative, to Segarra.

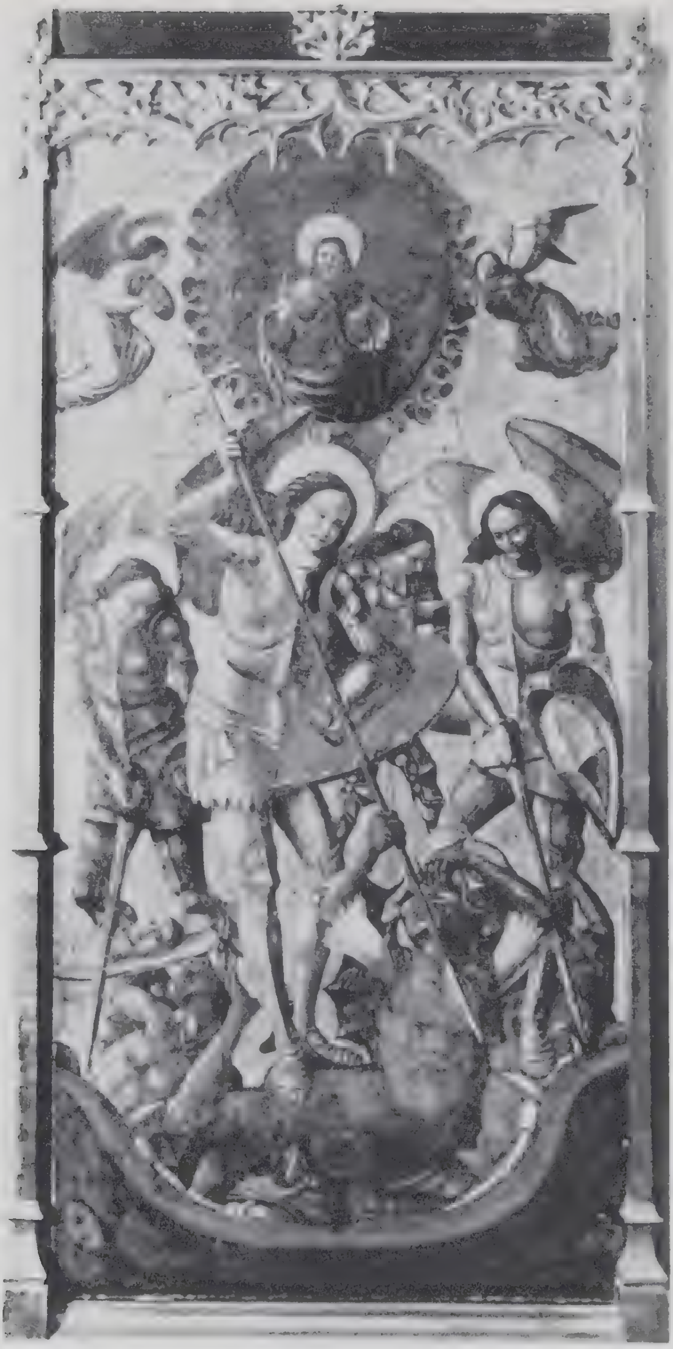

Fig. 139. THE ALFORJA MASTER. ST. MICHAEL'S VICTORY OVER SATAN, PANEL FROM ALFORJA. MUSEUM, REUS
(*Courtesy of Don Salvador Vilaseca Anguera*)

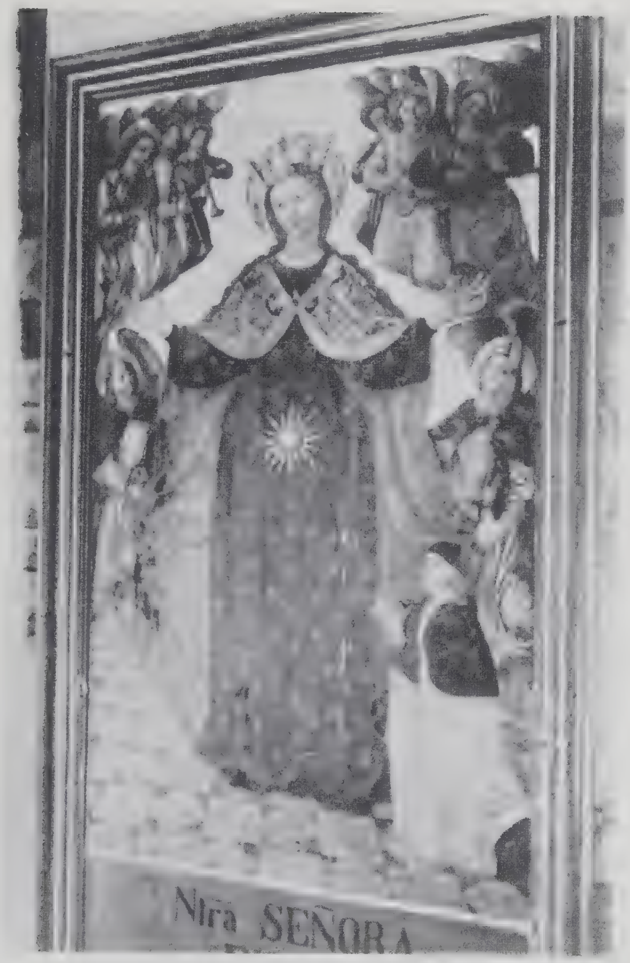
Ntra SEÑORA

FIG. 140. THE ALFORJA MASTER. VIRGEN DE LA ESPERANZA. CATHEDRAL, TARRAGONA
(*Photo. Sutrá*)

The credit turns out to belong to him for having painted two panels at Tarragona itself which Angulo[42] had already assigned to a single artist, one depicting the Virgen de la Esperanza and the other constituting a devotional representation of St. Roch. The original location of the Virgen de la Esperanza (Fig. 140) was the chapel of S. Salvador in the cloister of the cathedral, where permission to construct a retable in her honor was granted in 1537,[43] but the panel has now been moved to the chapel of Nuestra Señora opening on the same enclosure. The provenience of the St. Roch, now in the Diocesan Museum (Fig. 141), is not definitely known, but the picture probably once decorated some part of the cathedral or of another church at Tarragona. The Virgen de la Esperanza stands with the symbol of the sun (here not containing the Child) upon her abdomen,[44] worshipped by angels and a kneeling clerical donor. St. Roch is likewise conceived as an erect effigy for cult, accompanied by his symbol of the dog and by angels, of whom two crown him, another pair hold votive candles, and a fifth, as one of his regular iconographical attributes,[45] blesses the sore of the plague upon his leg. Concrete evidence for the ascription of both panels to the Alforja Master is the reappearance of the types of angels that we have observed in the picture now at Reus and the peculiar chiaroscuro, especially in the celestial spirit at the left beside the Virgen de la Esperanza. It should be noted also that the musical angel in the upper right corner above Our Lady displays just the mannered bend of the head that is seen in the similarly placed angel accompanying the mandorla of the Eternal Father over the St. Michael. There is a perceptible facial resemblance between the Virgin and the Alforja archangel, and the St. Roch exhibits the same lean canon for the human form as the St. Michael and his aides-de-camp. Among a number of possible examples of some degree of relationship between the Alforja Master and the Master of Pedro de Cardona, we may select the angel above St. Roch's dog who possesses a kind of countenance often cropping forth in the output of the latter artist, as especially in the young server at the meal where the Magdalene washes Christ's feet, the middle angel at the left in her

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[42] *Op. cit.*, note at bottom of p. 357.

[43] Sanç Capdevila (*op. cit.*, 85) gives the donor as a priest of the cathedral, Pedro Mir, and the date as November 18, 1537; Juan Serra Vilaró (*Boletín Arqueológico*, Tarragona, July-December, 1950, p. 143) calls him Pedro Nin and sets the document in September, 1537.

[44] Vol. VI, p. 254.

[45] Vol. IV, pp. 47–48.

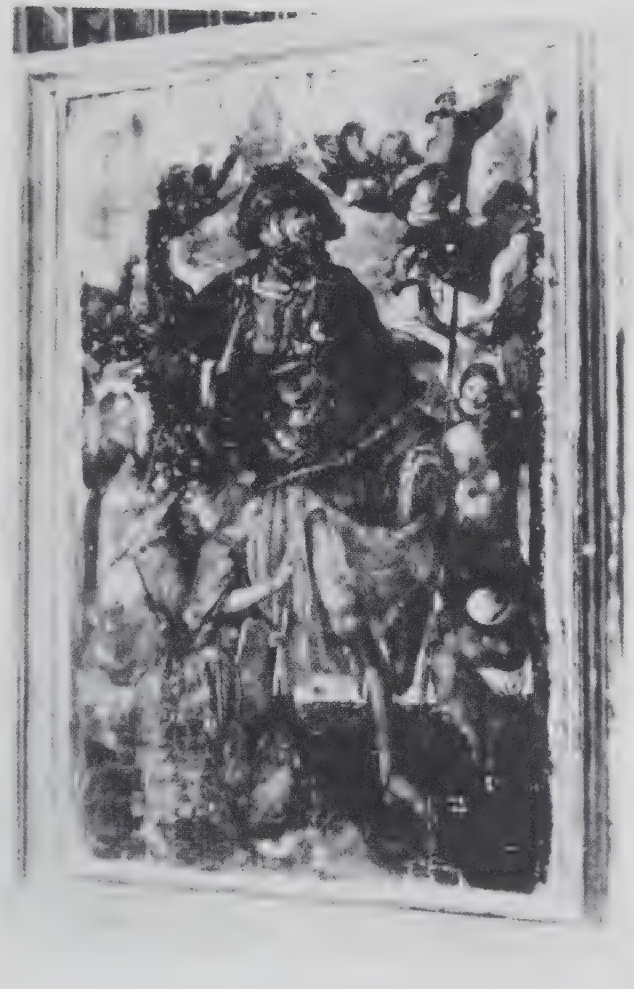

FIG. 141. THE ALFORJA MASTER. ST. ROCH.
DIOCESAN MUSEUM, TARRAGONA
(*Photo. Sutrá*)

levitation, the bending angel beside her in the last communion, and even in the St. Blaise undergoing a bastinado.

The attribution of a panel of the *Anna selbdritt*, with a kneeling layman in smaller scale as devotee or perhaps donor, now in the Diocesan Museum, Tarragona, remains no longer such an enigma to me as when in 1934 I saw the picture *in situ* over an altar at the left in the *ermita* of the Virgen del Camino at Cambrils, just west of this city, since my subsequent discovery of the Alforja Master's personality clearly reveals him as the author (Fig. 142). The anachronistic persistence of embossings of the haloes and other accessories and the retention of a gold background might mislead the critic for the moment, but he will soon observe that the personal types and pictorial modes are later than the fifteenth century; and I submit that two separate artists could not have done heads and headdresses so nearly identical as those of the Alforja St. Michael and the Cambrils Virgin. The kneeling layman also is conceived in very much the same way as the donor of the Virgen de la Esperanza.

The definition of the Alforja Master's personality also rescues Saralegui and me from floating about in search of a Valencian attribution for a Nativity in the Diocesan Museum, Tarragona, and lands us on the secure ground of its inclusion in this artist's preserved achievements; and I publish a better illustration (Fig. 143) than I was able to obtain for volume XI,[46] in order to bring more clearly into relief the authorship. The very fact that the picture entered the Museum from one of the dependencies of the cathedral ought to have warned us against seeking too readily the work of a Valencian so far north on the east coast, although the production of Tarragona in the Middle Ages and Renaissance was touched more than once by the style of the southern artistic centre. It is the panel of St. Roch that furnishes the most concrete link with the Nativity. The shepherd at the extreme right, even in the tilt of the head, practically duplicates the St. Roch himself, and there is another repetition, since the foremost kneeling angel is not differentiated from the one who blesses St. Roch's scar from the plague. Indeed to all the angels in the Nativity analogies are forthcoming in the Alforja Master's other paintings, and in particular the angel just behind Mary is a close facial counterpart of the Virgen de la Esperanza. St. Joseph and the two shepherds exhibit his characteristic juxtaposition of passages of light and shade.

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[46] Fig. 34.

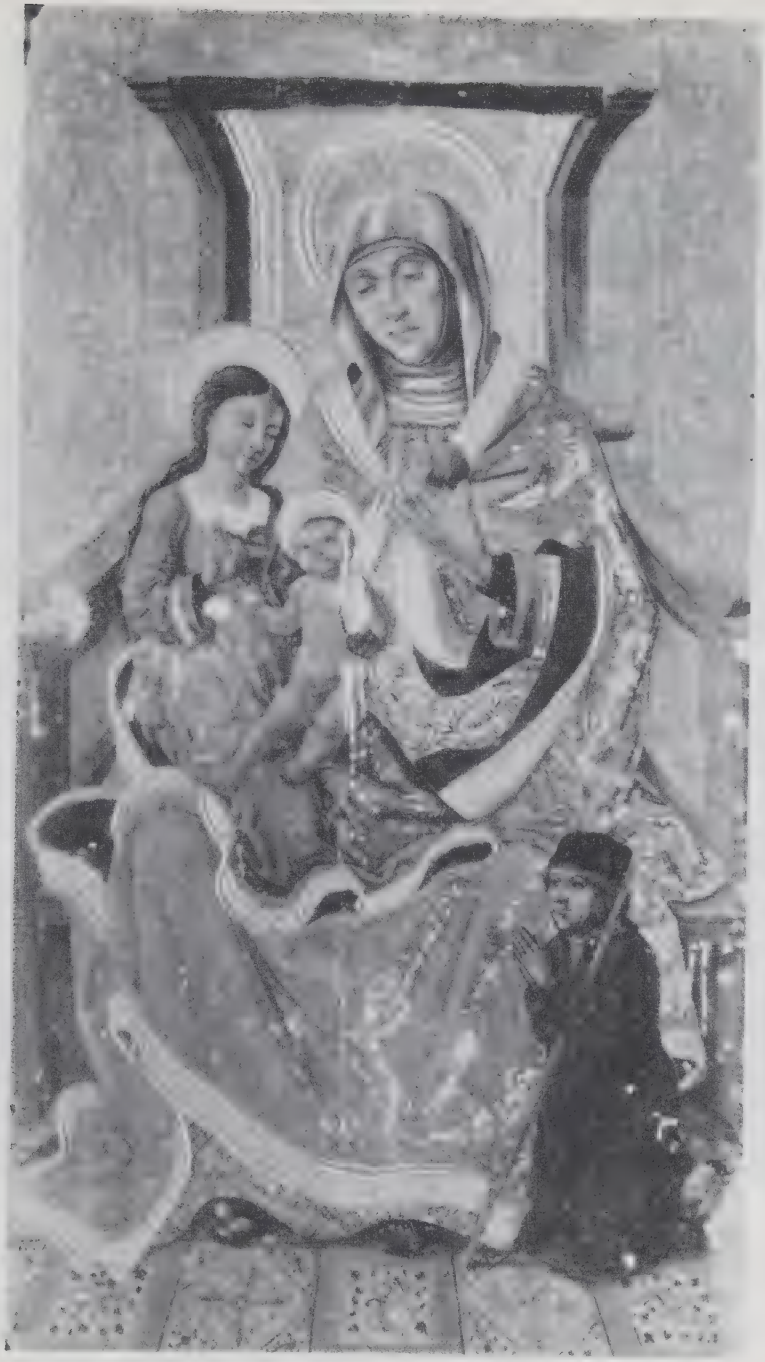

FIG. 142. THE ALFORJA MASTER. *ANNA SELBDRITT.*
DIOCESAN MUSEUM, TARRAGONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

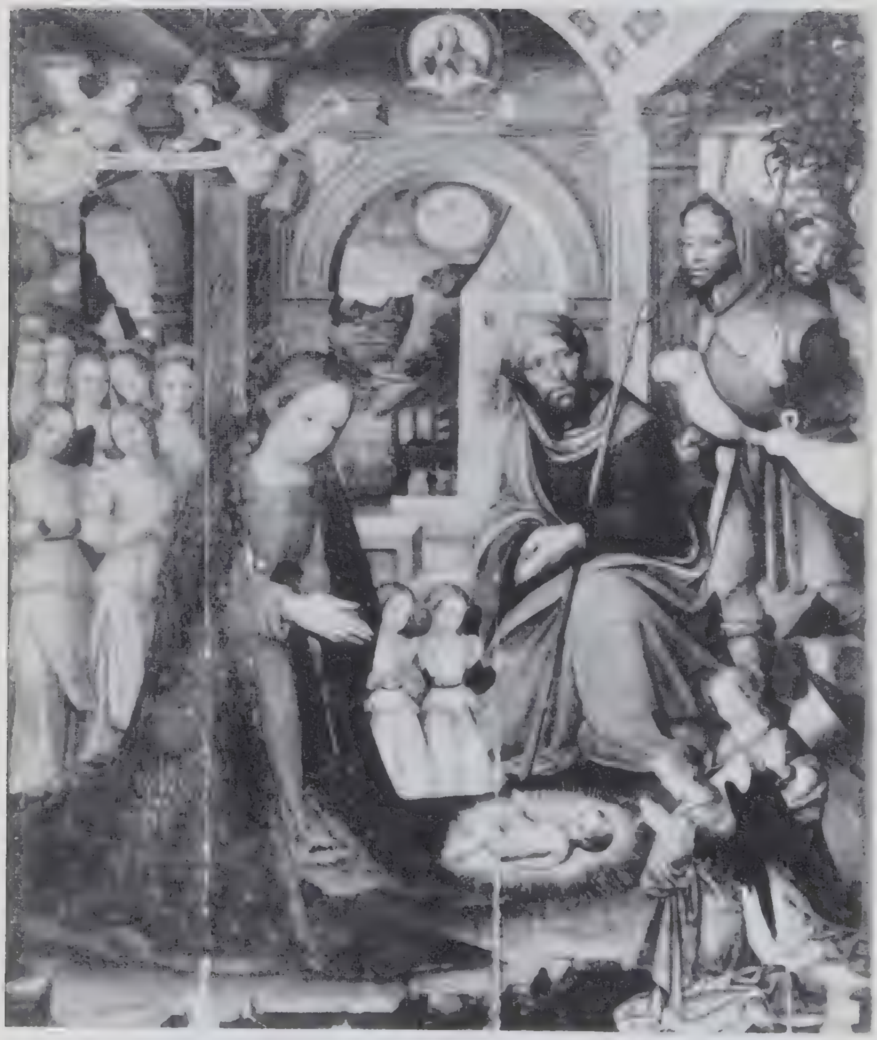

Fig. 143. THE ALFORJA MASTER. NATIVITY. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, TARRAGONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

Although I feel sure that the emergence of the Alforja Master's individuality would now convince Saralegui[47] that he was wrong in assigning the Nativity to the Valencian Cabanyes Master, yet he had sound reasons for his proposition in the surprising similarity of the Virgin and the angels to the Valencian's representations of such personages and in the fact that compositionally the picture is well-nigh a replica of the Cabanyes Master's rendering[48] in the fragments of a retable which the Diocesan Museum at Valencia used to possess. There are, however, perceptible divergences between the manners of the two painters, above all in the Alforja Master's more strongly virile types of men, and yet it is particularly the resemblance in composition between the two versions of the Nativity that virtually compels us to believe in an interconnection. Since it is scarcely credible that the Cabanyes Master should have been commissioned to do a Nativity like that in the Valencian Diocesan Museum as far away as Tarragona or its region, where the Alforja Master could have seen it, or unless there was a common, unascertained source for both renderings, the probability is that the Alforja Master had visited Valencia, although in general he reveals less palpable traces of this city's school than does the Master of Pedro de Cardona.

Similarities to the style of the Alforja Master emerge in a large predella in the Diocesan Museum, Tarragona, whose antecedents cannot be traced further back than its presence in the cathedral of the city (Fig. 144), but they are perhaps not sufficiently concrete for assigning it to him with surety. The iconography of the central compartment is rather anomalous, a treatment of the Pietà in which there is combined with the dead Christ only the supporting figure of John Evangelist. The four lateral sections are consigned to standing saints, the Magdalene balancing her sister Martha, the aged hermit Onuphrius contrasted with a dapper, young canonized layman, whom I fail to recognize. The accordance with the Alforja Master's general modes is very tangible, particularly in the sombre chiaroscuro on the Saviour and on the hallowed youth; the analogy of the Saviour in countenance and spare physique to the St. Roch is striking; and the St. John Evangelist is scarcely varied from any of the artist's representations of angels.

The evidence for the equation of the Alforja Master with Francisco

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[47] *Archivo español de arte*, XVIII (1945), 18.

[48] See my vol. VI, fig. 171.

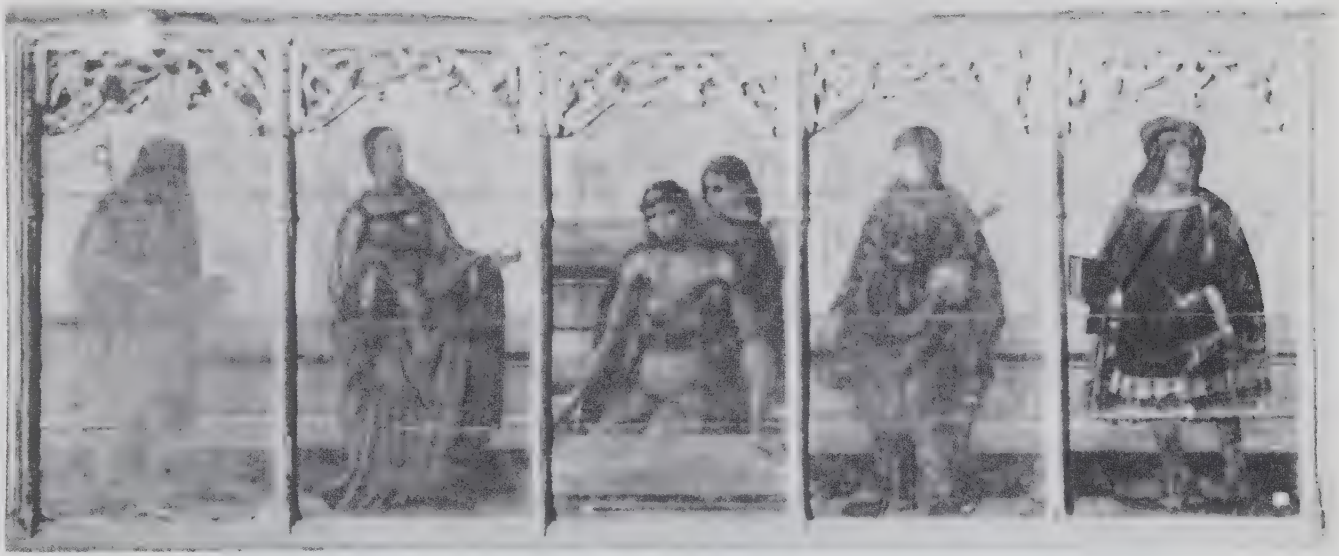

FIG. 144. THE ALFORJA MASTER (?). PREDELLA. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, TARRAGONA

(*Photo. Sutrá*)

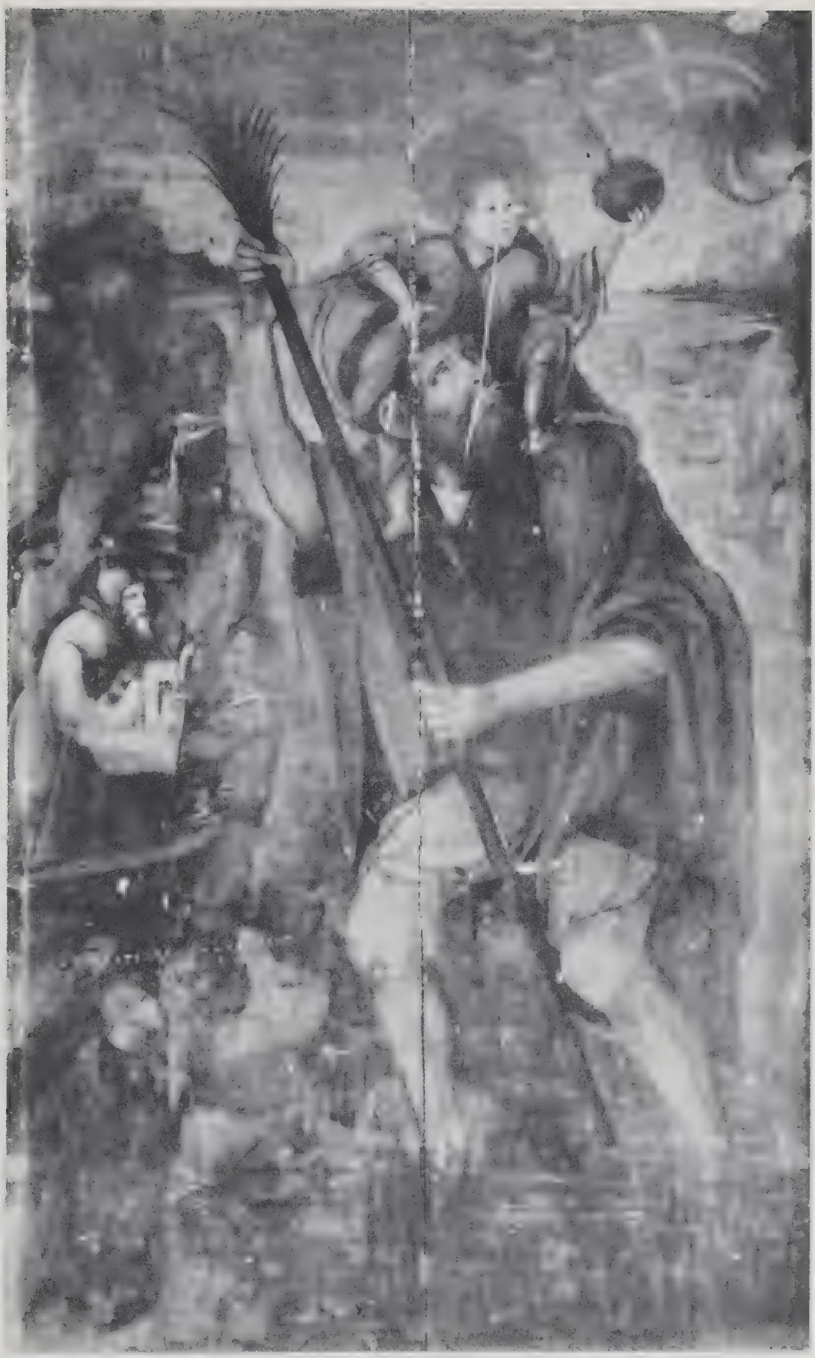

FIG. 145. FRANCISCO RIBES. ST. CHRISTOPHER. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

Ribes is stylistic, and, since in the latter's one documented extant work, a panel of St. Christopher that from the Dominican convent of Sta. María de Montesión, Barcelona, has entered the Diocesan Museum of the city, the material for comparison is rather limited, we have no right to make the identification absolute (Fig. 145). On January 10, 1537, Ribes signed a receipt for the payment given to him for a retable of St. Christopher in the convent of Montesión, and, although in the document it is stated that the painter Pedro Serafí collaborated to the extent of doing two narrative compartments and of renovating a pair of others, the panel in the Museum with the effigy of St. Christopher, as manifestly the central piece of the structure, must embody Ribes's own handicraft. He was probably the painter of this name who married an Angela Cabrera in the cathedral of Barcelona on January 5, 1516, [49] and who in 1530, 1538, and 1541 is recorded in the city as an official of the guild of bridlemakers in which the painters were still enrolled. In addition to the close and obvious correspondence in general style to the Alforja Master's modes, perhaps the most persuasive item of detailed proof is found in the countenance of St. Christopher which strikingly reproduces a type often used by this Master and reaches practical identity in the St. Joseph of the Nativity in the Diocesan Museum, Tarragona. The two osseous knobs on the hallowed giant's right knee are afforded precisely the pronounced delineation that we observe, in this Museum, on the left knee of the St. Roch; and the donor, who would be the Dionís de Clasquerí mentioned in the receipt for payment, is treated with the dwarfed proportions and attitude of the Alforja Master's frequent representations of such personages. The figuration of St. Christopher's halo is duplicated in the large, separate predella of the Tarragona Museum of the Diocese.

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[49] The painter Francisco Juan Ribes who married in the cathedral an Elisabet Reverter or Revarter at the beginning of 1513 and made a will in 1515 would be someone else. For the facts on both painters, see J. Mas in *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras*, Barcelona, VI (1911–1912), 311, and J. M. Madurell in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, I, 3 (1943), 34, and II, 2 (1944), 71.

CHAPTER XIV

WESTERN CATALONIA

Since the activities of the artists who now concern us extended often into the province of Huesca, the question might arise whether they ought to be credited to the Aragonese or Catalan school, and indeed painters from Aragon sometimes worked here side by side with their Catalan rivals; but the part of the province of Huesca adjacent to Catalonia is preponderantly Catalan in character, and the tradition of patronage of Catalan art was already well established in the region, for instance in the persons of Pedro García de Benabarre and Pedro Despallargues. Moreover, as we take up each artist, we shall indicate or at least suggest indirectly reasons, objective or subjective, for choosing the Catalan school in which to list them.

1. The Javierre Master

Of the two towns called Javierre in the province of Huesca, the one near Bielsa in the Pyrenees managed to preserve in its parish church from the destruction of the Spanish civil war not only the Franco-Gothic antependium of St. Eulalia that we have discussed in volume IV [1] but also a retable of the early sixteenth century from which, as his principal extant work, we may coin an appellation for a painter whose vogue seems to have been largely focused on the borders of Catalonia and Aragon. The luxuriance of the figuration in the embossed haloes at Javierre would point to the latter alternative, and the Latin of the inscriptions in the retable seems to show the influence of the Castilian of Aragon rather than of the Catalan language; [2] but the existence of works by him as far east in Catalonia as Tarrasa more strongly argues for the former possibility, and the use of a checkered pattern in the gold background of the central compartment is a Catalan, rather than Aragonese, practice of the early Renaissance, especially with Juan Gascó and his circle. Likewise, in other works by him the embossing of the gold backgrounds points, not to Aragon, but to Catalonia. The haloes can be explained merely by the demands of the Aragonese aesthetic *milieu* but are not absolutely without any Catalan precedent. The character of the Latin would imply only that Castilian was spoken at Javierre. The painter of Huesca, Francisco Baget, whose personality has not yet been securely rescued from the past,[3] executed a retable for the town of Javierre de la Garganta (also called Javierre de los Cornudos) the commission for which had been farmed out to him by his colleague, Juan de la Abadía II, on October 1, 1500,[4] but unfortunately this does not allow us to identify our Master with Baget, since Javierre de la Garganta is not the Javierre close to Bielsa but the one a little farther south near Albella (where no panels of the period are preserved).

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[1] P. 507.

[2] See just below, n. 5.

The central compartment of the retable at our Javierre displays a virgin martyr enthroned between two angels, in all probability St. Eulalia whom the above-mentioned antependium shows to have enjoyed a cult in the church. The lateral sections are not subdivided but constituted by single large panels of the Nativity of Christ and the Epiphany (Fig. 146); there is the customary pinnacle of the Crucifixion; and two pieces of the predella also remain, each with pairs of saints at three-fourths length against the background of a brocade, Sebastian and James Minor [5] in one and Anne and Sylvester in the other.

The author is very little touched by the Renaissance. The principal effect of the new movement upon him has been to liberate his forms slightly from the pinched qualities of the primitive and to endow his women and young men with somewhat more ideal beauty. In the main, however, he is merely a continuer of modes like those of the Vergós shop, softening the types, to be sure, but retaining the harshly broken and still Flemish lines of the draperies. The tendency to opulent ornamentation of a painting that had reached its culmination with the members of the Vergós family lives on in him,

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[3] See below, p. 714.

[4] See below, p. 716, and the articles by Ricardo del Arco in *Seminario de arte aragonés,* I (1945), 26, and IV (1952), 67, and in *Archivo español de arte,* XX (1947), 225; also his *Catálogo monumental de la provincia de Huesca,* Madrid, 1942, p. 136, n. 1.

[5] Like his companions he is labelled by an inscription on the ledge beneath — "Sante Jaime"; but he must be St. James Minor since he has none of the easily recognizable pilgrim's attributes of Santiago. The inscriptions are meant to be Latin vocatives, with *Sante* for *Sancte,* but the spelling is influenced by Castilian rather than Catalan, with *Ana* (instead of the Catalan, Agna) for Anna, with *San* (instead of the Catalan, Sant) before the name Sylvester, and with *Jaime* (instead of the Catalan, Jaume) for Jacome (cf. my vol. III, p. 281, n. 1).

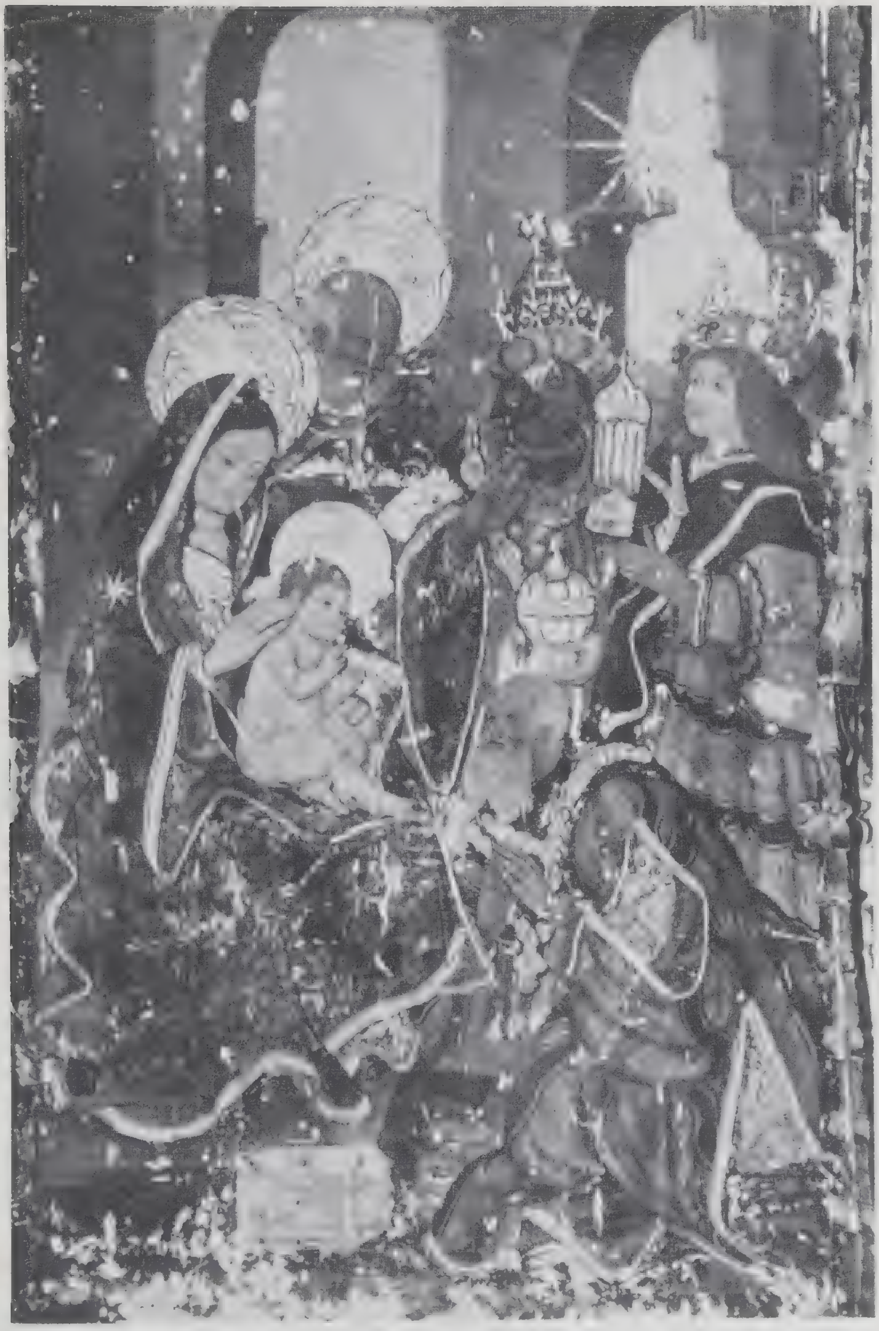

FIG. 146. THE JAVIERRE MASTER. EPIPHANY, SECTION OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, JAVIERRE
(*Photo. Mas*)

not only combining with a possible Aragonese influence to cause the ostentatious embossings of haloes and other details but also declaring itself in the generous introduction of brilliant and large-figured brocades. In intrinsic merit his gifts lie half-way between provincial rusticity and the attainments of a true artist.

Three of his works have drifted into the Diocesan Museum at Lérida. The one in which the hand of the painter of the retable at Javierre most obviously emerges is a predella, of unascertained provenience,[6] with the Crucifixion in the middle and pairs of saints in the other compartments standing in the majority of instances before landscapes but in two cases against the brocaded hangings that had so long been a convention of Spanish altarpieces. The landscape of the Crucifixion includes the rather unusual detail of the hanging Judas. The saints read, from left to right, Barbara, a canonized bishop, Catherine, Benedict, Sebastian, Lucy, James Major, and Margaret (Fig. 147). The virgin martyrs incorporate the same maidenly type as the Javierre St. Eulalia and the Madonna. The peculiar glance of the Child in the Javierre Epiphany is often repeated in the Lérida predella, for instance in the St. Benedict, and in general almost all the figures illustrate the Master's distinctive treatment of the eyes. The Sebastian reiterates the curious conception of this saint at Javierre, in which the mediaeval Spanish representation of him as a dapper, entirely clad gentleman of the period is abandoned but Italian nudity is partially clothed, through natural indigenous reticence, in a spreading mantle.

The second piece by the Javierre Master in the Diocesan Museum of Lérida, which comes from a source unknown at least to me, is a large central panel of a retable depicting St. Vincent seated upon a pretentious throne and serenaded by angels (Fig. 148). The architecture of the throne now manifests a timid influence of the Renaissance, especially in the shell-shaped semidomes of the little niches of its sides in which, according to the old Flemish practice, he has simulated statuettes of Prophets. St. Vincent is marred by exactly the same pallid and almost insipid countenance as the St. John of the Crucifixion in the Lérida predella; the lower angel at the left should be compared with the St. Catherine; the balancing angel at the right affords a pronounced example of the Master's characteristic eyes; and the Prophet at the bottom in the left side of the throne belongs to

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[6] See an article by J. Soldevila Faro in *Aragón,* February, 1933, p. 28.

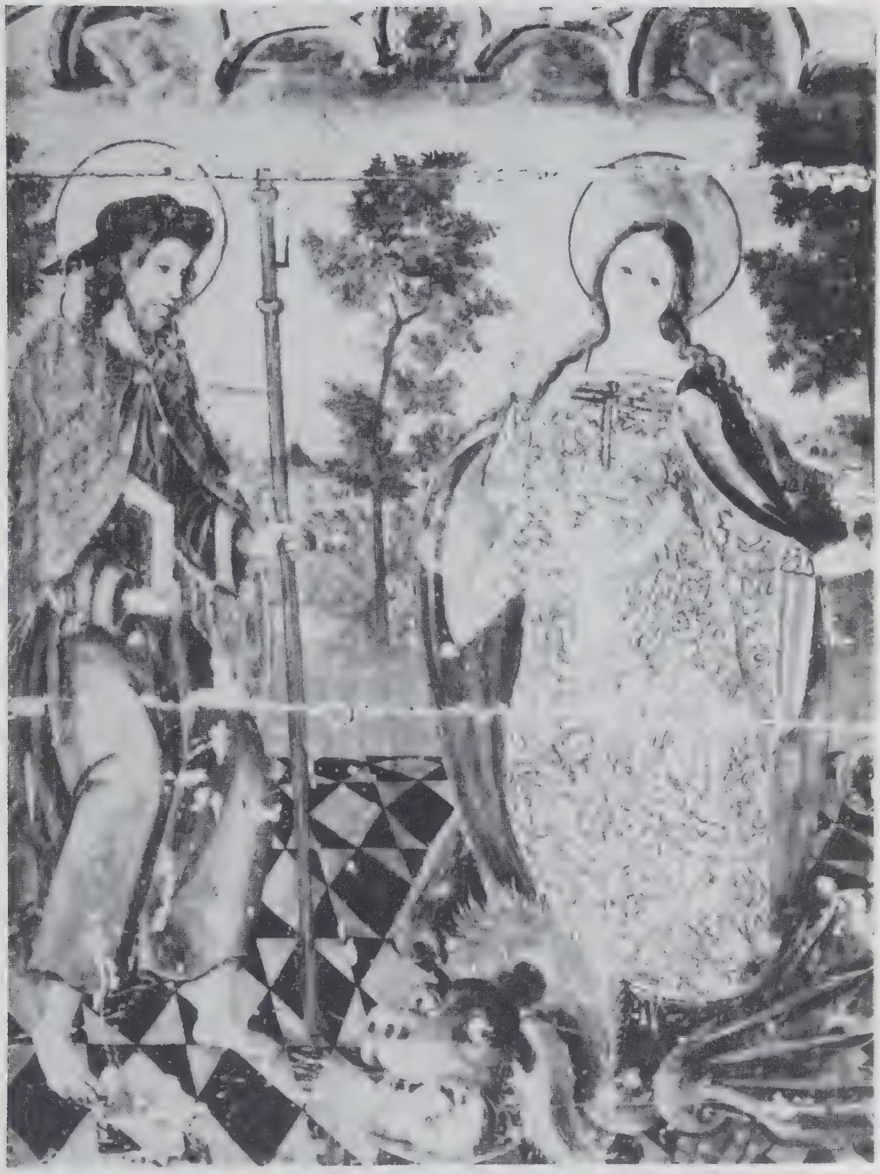

Fig. 147. THE JAVIERRE MASTER. STS. JAMES MAJOR AND MARGARET, SECTION OF PREDELLA. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, LÉRIDA
(*Photo. Mas*)

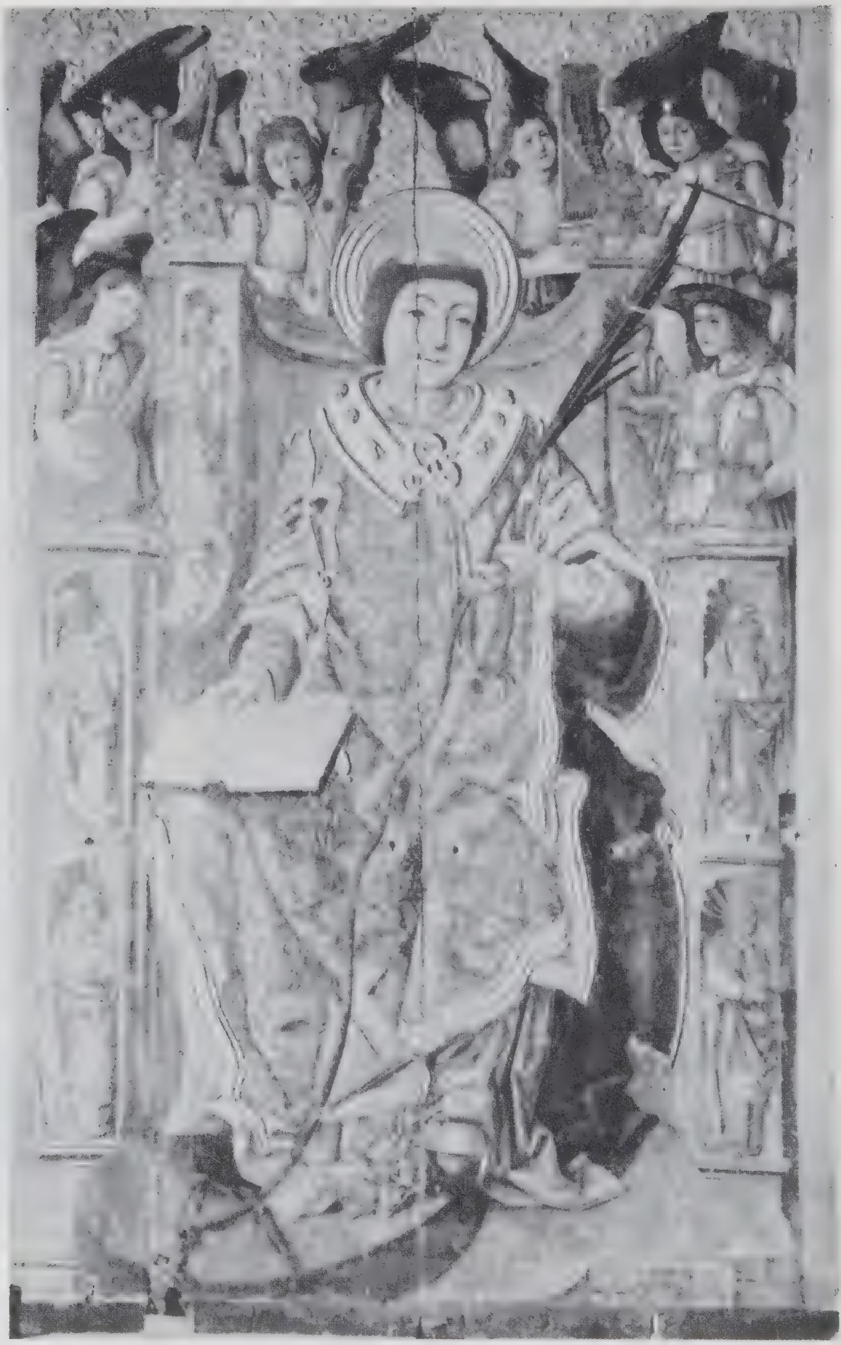

FIG. 148. THE JAVIERRE MASTER. ST. VINCENT.
DIOCESAN MUSEUM, LÉRIDA
(*Photo. Mas*)

the kind of old man used at Javierre for the St. Joseph. The embossed accents are no less conspicuous than in the retable that gives the painter his name; but the halo is now of the simple ringed sort, and the employment of raised stucco for the rendering of the design in the gold background, suggested here by the pattern of a brocade, implies a Catalan rather than an Aragonese artistic environment.[7]

A battered retable of St. John Baptist constitutes the third work in the Lérida Museum by the Javierre Master, but the record of its original location has been lost [8] (Fig. 149). The standing effigy of the Precursor at the centre is surmounted by the Crucifixion and flanked at the lower level by the episodes of his baptism of the Saviour and decollation and at the upper level by two scenes from the New Testament intimately connected with his own story, the Annunciation and Nativity of Christ. The evidence for the attribution is manifold. The composition for the Nativity very nearly repeats the rendering at Javierre, except that in the Lérida version, with most unusual iconography, St. Joseph actually holds the Child. The same type of old man, however, serves for the foster-father of Our Lord, and there is practically no variation in the treatment of the proclamation to the excited shepherds on a sloping hillside in the distance. The painter does not even bother to alter his ideas of the ox and the ass. Gabriel of the Annunciation is facially the same angel who stands at the left beside the central St. Eulalia in the Javierre retable, and the baptizing St. John belongs precisely to the class of man embodied in the St. James Minor of the Javierre predella. The unfortunate simpering expression of the St. Vincent in the Lérida Museum is likewise substituted for true piety on the countenance of the erect figure of the Precursor at the middle of the retable, who would, indeed, only have to lose his beard to turn out to be exactly the same person as the hallowed deacon. The Crucifixion is far from a duplication of the version in the separate predella of the Museum but remains entirely compatible with the Javierre Master's execution. His susceptibility to the old Catalan and Aragonese passion for lavish accentuation of paintings by embossed gold is now marked, in the principal compartment, by a retention of the designs of floral sunbursts that his immediate predecessors in this region, Pedro Despallargues and

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[7] Vol. VIII, p. 9.
[8] Soldevila Faro, *op. cit.*, 28.

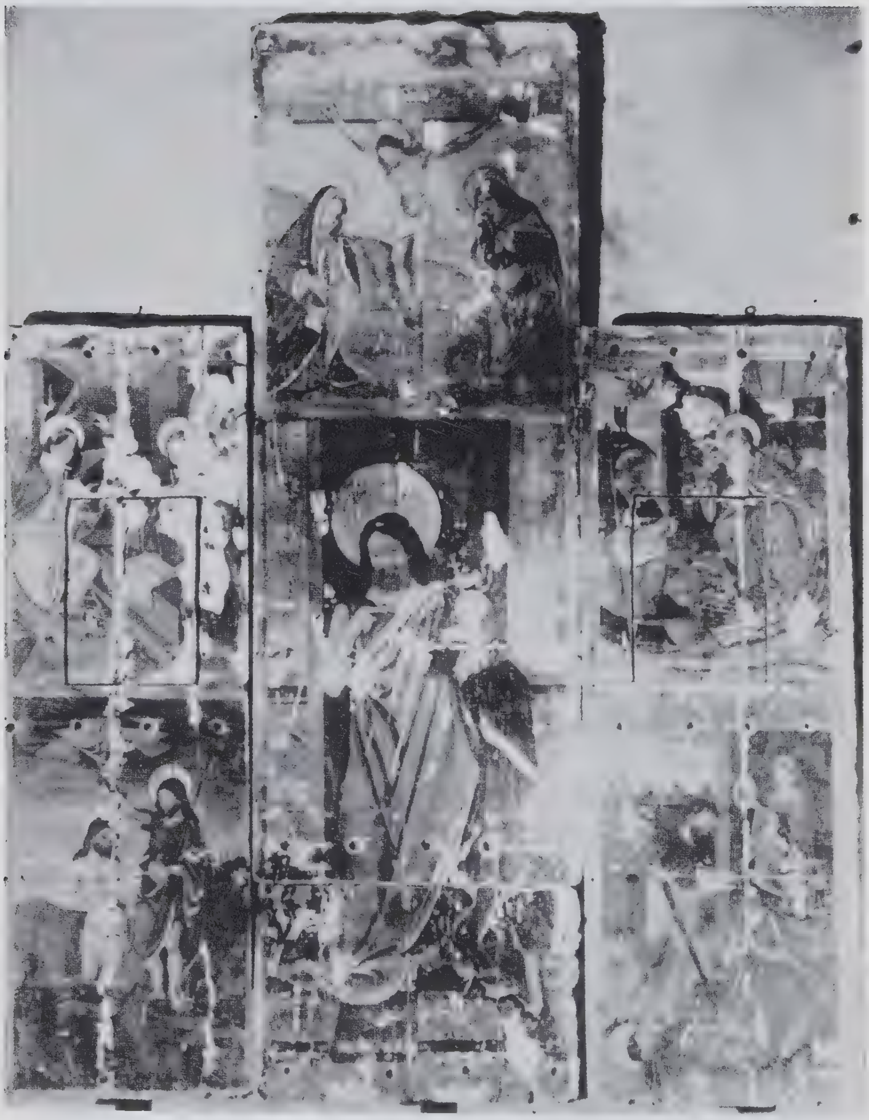

FIG. 149. THE JAVIERRE MASTER. RETABLE OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST.
DIOCESAN MUSEUM, LÉRIDA
(*Photo. Mas*)

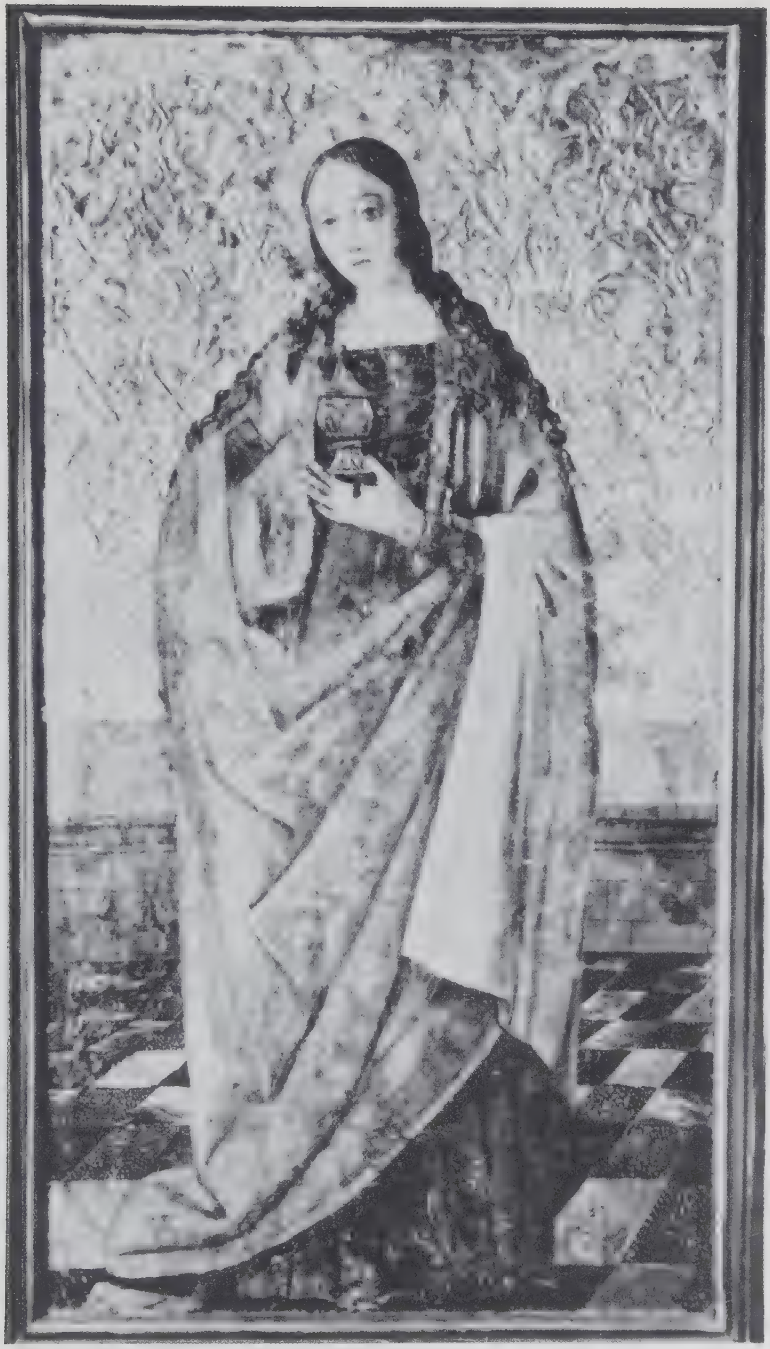

FIG. 150. THE JAVIERRE MASTER. ST. MARY MAGDALENE. MUSEUM, VICH
(*Photo. Mas*)

Pedro García de Benabarre,[9] had employed, and by an extension of the pattern to the central Baptist's halo.

The various aspects of the Javierre Master's modes are well summarized in a panel of the standing Magdalene, now in the Vich Museum [10] but once a principal compartment in an otherwise lost retable in an unascertained edifice at the town of Santa Coloma de Queralt in the extreme northern part of the province of Tarragona but on the edge of the province of Lérida, his stamping ground (Fig. 150). She incorporates a kind of feminine countenance, disposition of the hair, droop of the head, and arrangement of the drapery often employed by the Master and most nearly repeated in the St. Barbara of the predella in the Lérida Museum. The setting to the enthroned St. Vincent in this Museum provides only a somewhat less gorgeous counterpart to the Magdalene's embossed gold background.

Catalan affiliations for the Javierre Master are indicated by the presence of two of his panels in the Biblioteca-Museo Municipal at Tarrasa, since they would scarcely have entered this collection if they did not come from the immediate region. Manifestly deriving from a single retable or from companion retables, they depict the paired saints whom Huguet's altarpiece of 1460 proves to have been popular at Tarrasa,[11] Abdon and Sennen in one (Fig. 151) and Cosmas and Damian in the other, standing in front of brocaded fabrics which in turn hang before parapets of simple architecture of the Renaissance. In features, gaze of the eyes, and treatment of the hair Sts. Abdon and Sennen are the mates of the painter's youths, maidens, and angels, finding their closest counterparts perhaps in the boyish Magus at Javierre, the St. John of the Crucifixion in the Lérida predella, and the lower angel at the right above St. Vincent's throne. Corroboration and very cogent evidence for the attribution are provided by the repetition in the St. Damian of the flaccid stance, with sagging knees, that constitutes a glaring defect in the Santiago of the Lérida predella.

The Diocesan Museum at Solsona harbors a panel of the Dormition intimately related to the manner of the Javierre Master, although not attached to it by such absolutely tenacious bands as to substantiate an irrefragable attribution (Fig. 152). One of the reasons

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[9] Vol. VII, pp. 244 and 286.

[10] No. 818, p. 101, of the old Catalogue. The dimensions are 136 centimetres in height by 76 in width.

[11] Vol. VII, pp. 52–56.

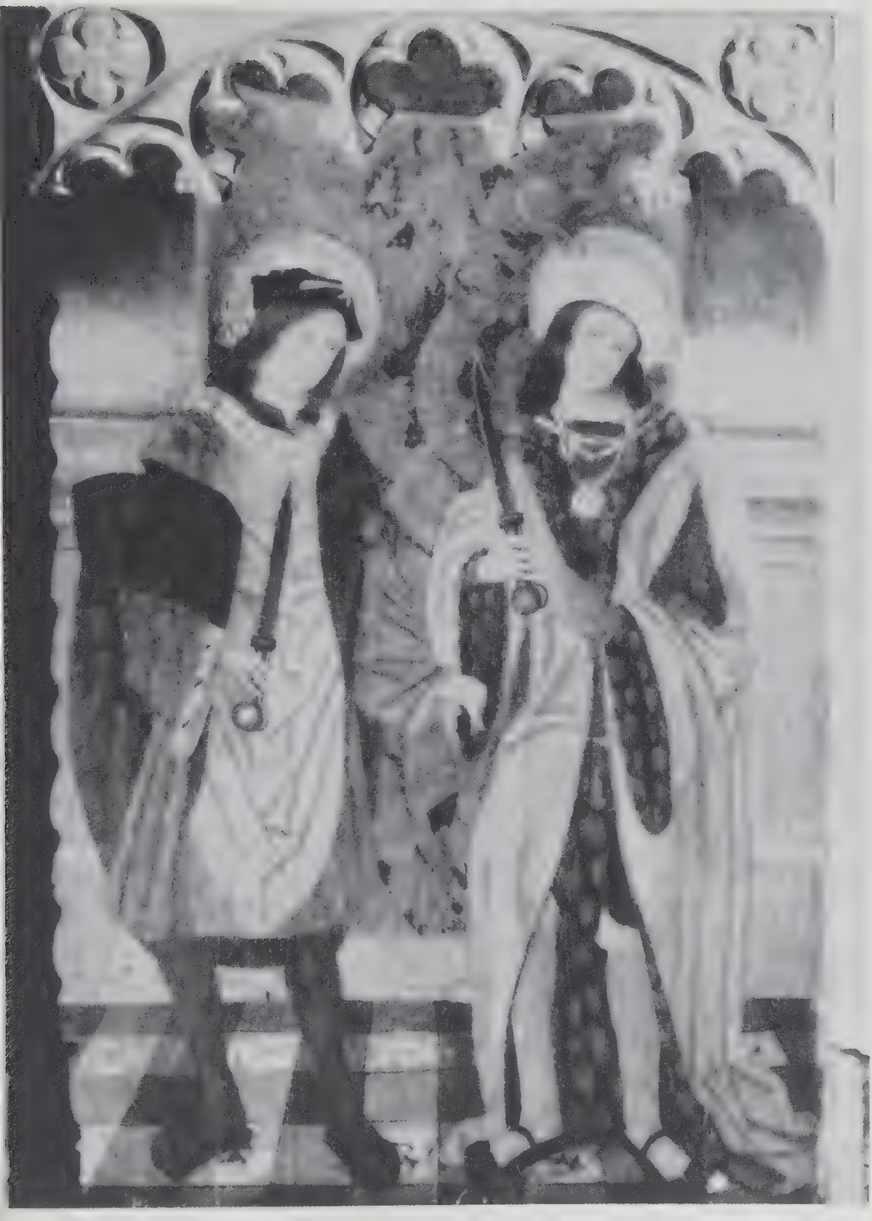

Fig. 151. THE JAVIERRE MASTER. STS. ABDON AND SENNEN. BIBLIOTECA-MUSEO MUNICIPAL, TARRASA
(*Photo. Mas*)

for listing the panel is that, through comparison, we are thus enabled to rescue from an alien classification a predella once in the Franck-Chauveau Collection, Paris. Rashly published by Jean Guiffrey and Pierre Marcel,[12] even despite the Catalan inscriptions, as of the nebulous school of Avignon, it marshals about the Christ of the Mass of St. Gregory between the Virgin and St. John pairs of saints in three-fourths length against a continuing parapet, exactly in the mode of the painter's forerunners on the frontier of Catalonia and Aragon, Pedro Despallargues and Pedro García de Benabarre. According to the frequent practice of these predecessors and as in the Master's predella in the Lérida Museum, a feminine saint is coupled with a masculine, reading from left to right, Agatha with Jerome, Barbara with Blaise, Margaret [13] with Augustine, and Catherine with the Baptist (Fig. 153), and their names are inscribed on the ledge beneath them. The predella obviously falls within exactly the same phase of the very early Renaissance, in which the ringed, embossed haloes still linger on, as the Solsona Dormition, and the resemblance, for instance, of St. John Baptist, even in the uncombed hair, to the second Apostle from the right in the Solsona panel might induce us to a belief in a unity of authorship; but a more discreet procedure is to enrol both the Dormition and the predella merely in the circle of the Javierre Master.

2. The Canillo Master (Juan Llobet or Pedro Alegret?)

The odds are about even in the question whether this artist, who translates the manner employed by such men as Forner and the Balaguer Master into capricious stylization, is identical with a painter, Juan Ramón Llobet, recorded as active in the same region, the parish [14] of Canillo in Andorra, from which derive two of our artist's extant works, and at the same general time when internal evidence shows that these works must have been created. Pujol [15] has pub-

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[12] *La peinture française, les primitifs*, Paris, *c.* 1925, deuxième série, plates 46–47.

[13] Guiffrey and Marcel mistake Blaise for Paulinus and Margaret for Martha. The monster held captive by Margaret might easily be thought, instead of her dragon, Martha's *tarasque*, but the longer name of Margaret is plainly written beneath.

[14] The political divisions of Andorra are designated as parishes.

[15] P. Pujol y Tubáu in *Homenatge a Antonio Rubió i Lluch*, Barcelona, 1936, II, 469–470 and 483–485. See also J. M. Madurell in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, IV (1946), 135 and 336–338. For the descent of Juan Llobet from the family of painters in the region named Gonsalbo, see Madurell, *ibid.*, 33. Cf. my vol. VIII, p. 644.

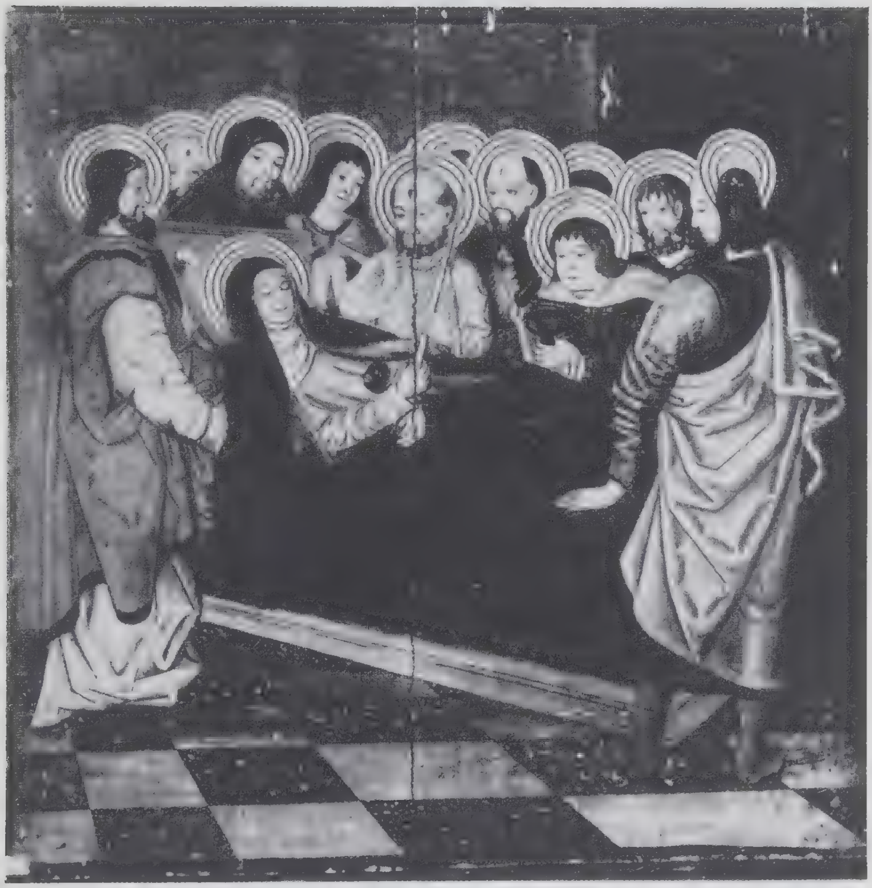

Fig. 152. CIRCLE OF THE JAVIERRE MASTER. DORMITION.
EPISCOPAL MUSEUM, SOLSONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

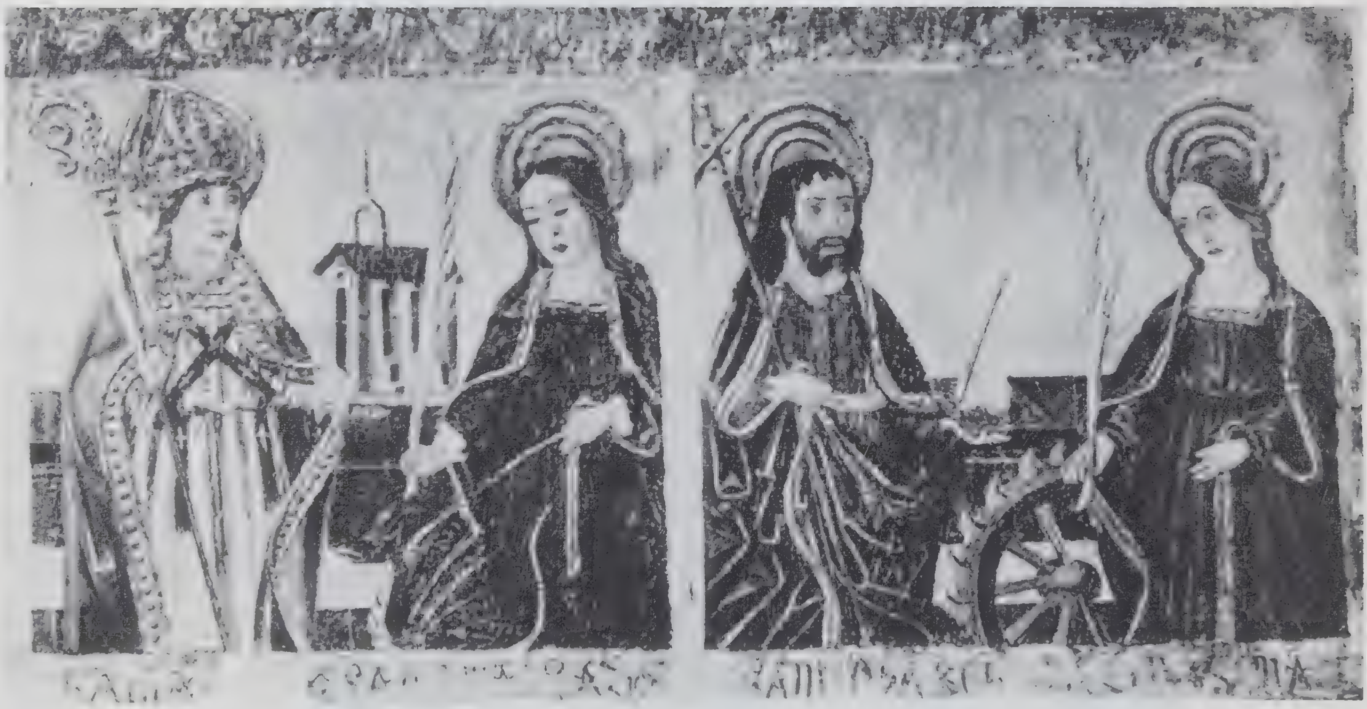

FIG. 153. CIRCLE OF THE JAVIERRE MASTER. SECTION OF PREDELLA.
FRANCK-CHAUVEAU COLLECTION, PARIS
(*From "La peinture française, les primitifs" by Guiffrey and Marcel*)

lished the contracts by which Llobet, residing at La Seo de Urgel, agreed on June 18, 1508, and again on August 2, 1510, to assume commissions at Canillo. It is believed by Pujol that both documents have to do with the same retable, on the supposition that Llobet for some reason did not carry out the first order and that therefore a new compact was necessary. If this is so, the documents can refer to neither of the extant retables, since, although in the first contract the subjects of the paintings are not listed, it is specifically stated in the second contract that the retable shall be under the invocation of St. Saturninus,[16] whereas one of the extant retables, from the church of San Juan de Caselles in the parish of Canillo, honors St. John the Evangelist and the other from the church of the village of Prats in the same parish is dedicated to St. Michael. If, however, as is quite possible, the first contract, dated in 1508, applies to an earlier work distinct from the retable of St. Saturninus, it might very well be the commission for the altarpiece of San Juan de Caselles or for that of Prats, thus demonstrating Llobet to be the author. The document of 1508 does not define the place for which the paintings were to be done more precisely than "Canillo," probably meaning the village's parish church which may then have been San Juan de Caselles rather than the edifice which now enjoys this privilege.[17] As a further argument for the recognition of Llobet in our Canillo Master, it could be urged that a small and remote rural district such as Canillo would not be likely to call into service two painters at the same general moment in its history, but scholarly honesty forbids us to make the equation until absolutely accurate proof is forthcoming. Moreover, we cannot rule entirely out of account for identification with the Canillo Master, the claims of a painter of Cervera, Pedro Alegret, to whose name, in a contract of October 2, 1519, divulged by the Catalan scholar, Durán y Sanpere,[18] the words *de Canillo* are appended, although nowhere else in the documents that tell of him. There were two painters of Cervera in the first half of the sixteenth century denominated Pedro Alegret, but despite the fact that the second, Pedro Alegret Muliner, is mentioned as early as

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[16] Occurring in the document in a Catalan form, Cerni (= Serni), close to the French *Sernin*.

[17] See M. Font and P. Pujol y Casademont, *Andorra*, in the series of books on parts of Catalonia called *Album Meravella*, Barcelona, 1930, p. 33.

[18] In an article in *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, XI (1923), 89, 95, and 101.

1516, it is likely that the one connected with Canillo was the prior and more prominent of the twain. Durán suspects that the reason for the title *de Canillo* may be that the family originally hailed from Andorra, but it is just possible that the words are an honorific reference to a recent period of employment in the little republic. We have no means of substantiating the possibility of the equation of a Pedro Alegret with the Canillo Master, since none of the works assigned to him in the records is preserved. A panel of Sts. Cosmas and Damian now in the Archivo Municipal, Cervera, is documentarily proved to have been executed in 1573 by a Master Alegret,[19] a later member of the family than the Pedro Alegret de Canillo; and in any case the style places the panel in the very tardy Renaissance and is different from the Canillo Master's manner.

The retable in San Juan de Caselles was sold in whole or in part during or just before the Spanish civil war, and I have been unable to trace the present whereabouts of its sections. As it stood in the church, its central section was entirely occupied by a statue of St. John Evangelist under a lavish Gothic canopy, and the paintings were confined to the lateral divisions, the predella, and one door preserved from the pair beside the altar. In each of the lateral divisions there were four scenes from the life of St. John, arranged in pairs in the two lower tiers, and then a single scene covering the whole space, curved at its top, in the third and uppermost tier. The subjects in the two lower tiers at the right were the boiling of the Evangelist in oil and three of his visions as he sat on Patmos composing the Apocalypse, the first, of the Pantocrator with the two-edged sword in His mouth and the seven candlesticks in front of Him (Chapter I), next, of the Apostle's reception of the "little book" (Chapter X), and finally of the woman clothed with the sun (Chapter XII). It is witness to the wide dissemination of Dürer's prints in Catalonia that even a painter in so remote a corner as the northern part of the province and Andorra should have adapted, albeit freely, for the first two of the scenes from the Book of Revelation the German's compositions in his Apocalyptic series of woodcuts. One questions whether in the vision of the woman clothed with the sun he was indebted either to Dürer or to Schongauer's engraving of the subject. The representation in the continuous curving space at the right in the third tier of the retable appears to have been derived also from Revelation, but its theme remains obscure to me.[20] In the lowest tier at the left there could first be seen St. John resurrecting the bridegroom in the presence of the two rich renegades whose rods of gold and precious stones lay upon the ground; and then apparently his overthrow of the temple of Diana. Both panels in the second tier were partly ruined, but one of them seemed to represent the death of the two criminals by the instrumentality of the venom from which the Apostle proved immune. My guess for the subject of the single space in the third tier would be St. John demanding from the bishop an account of the young convert whom he had commended to the episcopal keeping but who had gone astray. The predella marshalled episodes of the Passion, the Flagellation, Christ before Pilate, the Via Dolorosa, Crucifixion, and Lamentation over the Dead Christ (Fig. 154), and the figure ornamenting the door was one of the traditional saints for this location, Peter.

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[19] *Ibid.*, 107.

The style is that of a painter of respectable but not outstanding gifts, who, while retaining a number of qualities of the late mediaeval school, already cultivates to a rather surprising degree the elongations, twists, and whimsicalities of mannerism. Although not a great technician, he possesses at least one of the indispensable qualities of a true artist, the creation of types of humanity who are all his own and so easily recognizable as to facilitate the task of the student in attributing to him other works. If the Canillo Master was Juan Llobet or Pedro Alegret, the surnames would make of him a Catalan, but, wherever he came from and whatever his training, he still sought the serene beauty of the mediaeval painting of Catalonia in his feminine and youthful masculine types. The embossings are renounced; but his panels continue to be bright with golden fabrics, and the predella is ablaze with the old gold backgrounds, incised with a bold pattern of flamboyant brocade. We shall find in his various productions evidence of considerable originality of mind, especially in iconographic neologisms. The retable of San Juan de Caselles shows that he even refused to follow Dürer's compositions slavishly, abjuring, for instance, the representation of St. John as actually devouring the "little book," in which the German conforms literally to the Apocalyptic

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[20] Since I have never seen the retable and, except for a few photographs of details, have to rely upon an inadequate reproduction of the whole structure, there are a few of the scenes that I cannot with surety identify.

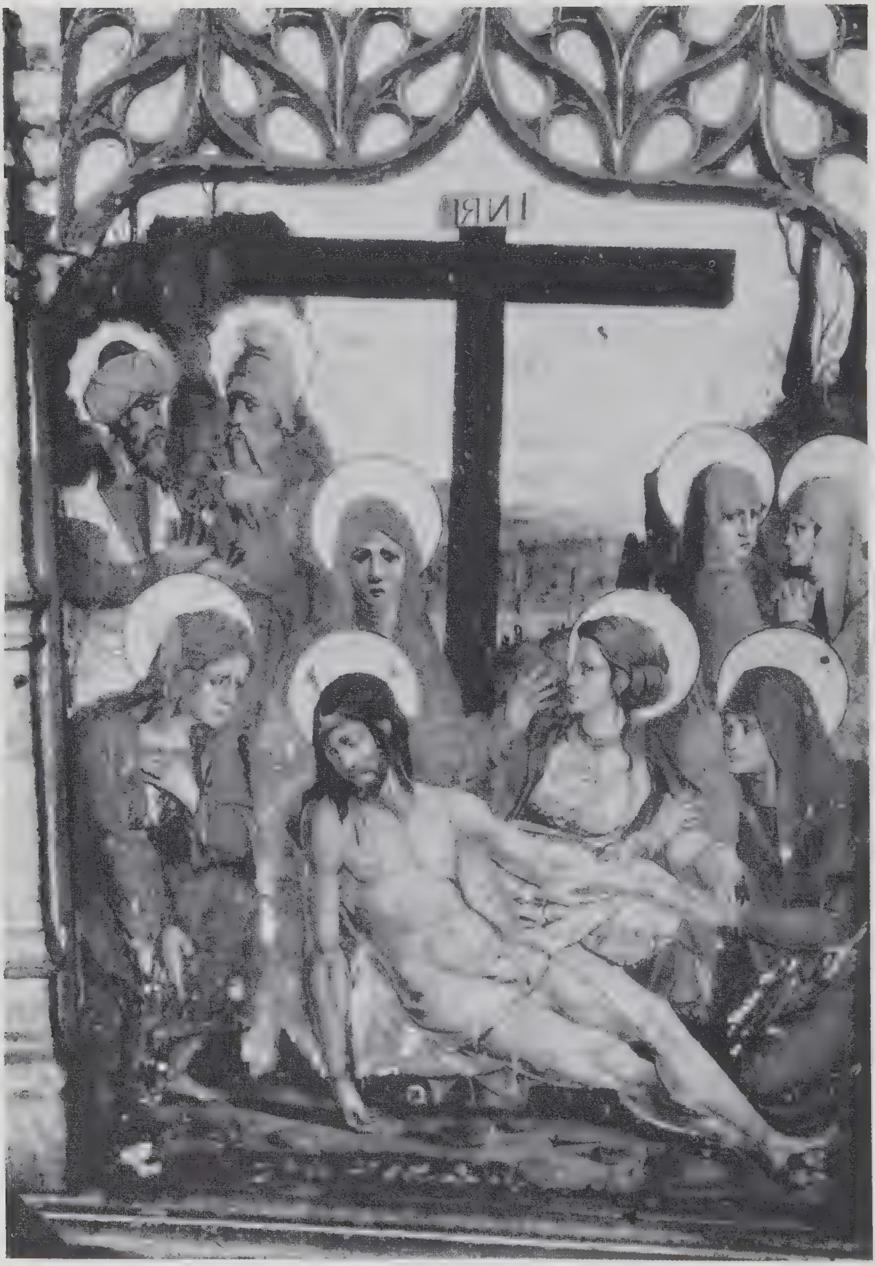

Fig. 154. THE CANILLO MASTER. LAMENTATION OVER THE DEAD CHRIST, SECTION OF RETABLE. CHURCH OF SAN JUAN DE CASELLES, CANILLO, ANDORRA
(*Photo. Mas*)

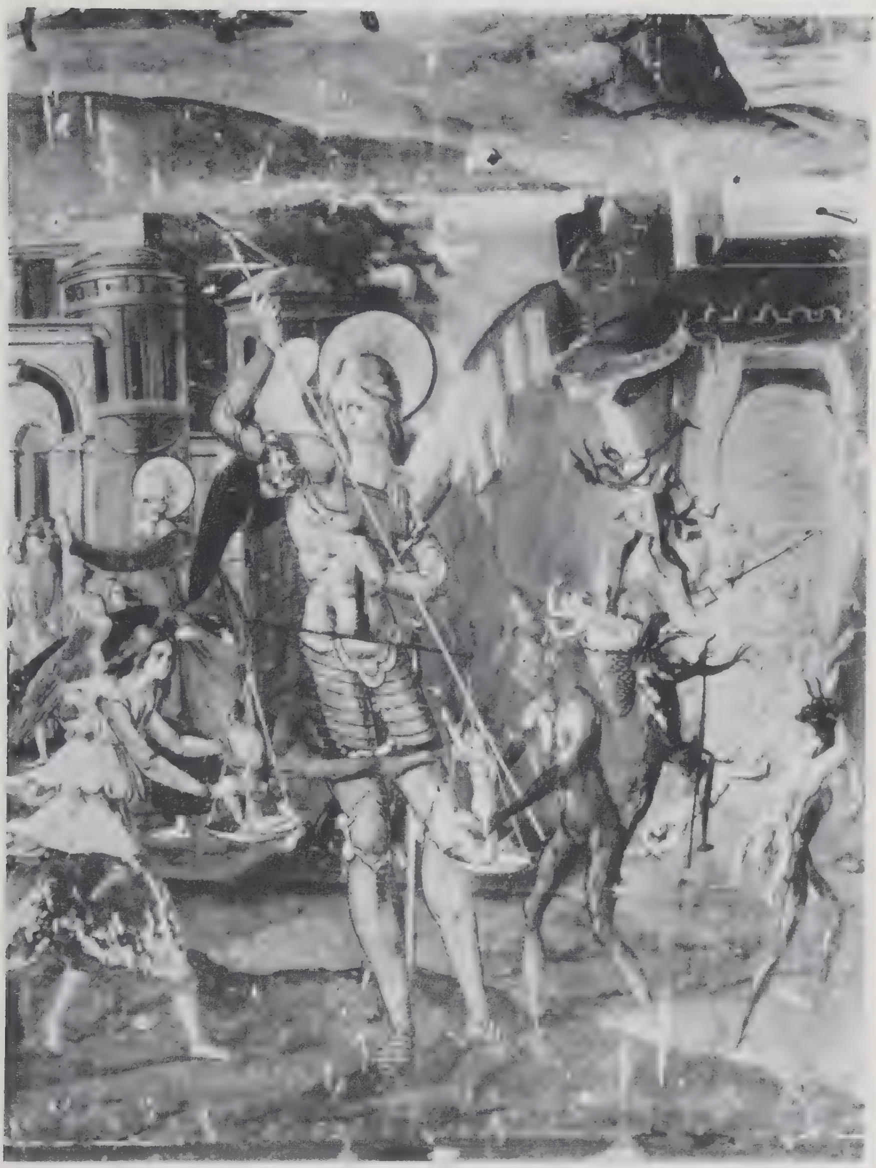

Fig. 155. THE CANILLO MASTER. ST. MICHAEL AS WEIGHER OF SOULS, SECTION OF RETABLE FROM PRATS, ANDORRA. GALERÍAS COSTA, PALMA DE MALLORCA (*Photo. Mas*)

text. To the style itself of Dürer he owed little or nothing, since his nature and the Catalan environment made him shrink from the Teuton's harshness of types and draperies.

The further advance towards mannerism would imply a later date for the Master's retable of St. Michael once in the church at Prats in the parish of Canillo but last seen by me in the possession of the dealing firm, the Galerías Costa at Palma de Mallorca; and the inferior quality of some passages probably means the intrusion of his shop. As it stood in the church, it resembled the retable of San Juan de Caselles in the reservation of the centre for a statue of the archangel. The two panels in the upper tier of paintings display the Monte Gargano episode and the subsequent appearance of St. Michael to the bishop of the region. At the right in the lower tier the two subjects are the archangel's rescue of the woman and her child from the floods of Mont St. Michel and (its only occurrence in art known to me) his cure of the fever-stricken Aquilinus at a place near Constantinople. The pair of corresponding panels at the left depict the combat of St. Michael and his companions with the devils and his weighing of souls while St. Peter in the background receives at the gate of heaven those whom the archangel has found worthy to be numbered among the redeemed (Fig. 155). As at San Juan de Caselles, the predella unfolds the Passion, in this case in the episodes of the Betrayal, Christ before Pilate, the Crucifixion, Lamentation, and Entombment.

By reason of the individuality of the Canillo Master's types, his right to the parentage of the Prats retable is so self-evident that it will not be necessary to bore the reader with the usual wearisome amassment of the proof. A comparison of the Christ in the Lamentation with the same figure in this theme in the retable from San Juan de Caselles will serve to illustrate the increase of manneristic attenuation, and the St. Michael in the psychostasy betrays a tendency even to a *préciosité* of posture and gesture. A piquantly original touch in the latter scene is the representation of the door of hell as if decorated with demoniac subjects, but, on the other hand, in the predella the compositions of San Juan de Caselles are practically duplicated in the instances where the themes are the same, Christ before Pilate, the Crucifixion, and the Lamentation. Two loud patterns, different from each other, are employed to ornament the gold backgrounds in the episodes of the Passion. It is particularly in the compartment of the

Monte Gargano story that the intrusion of an assistant seems to be perceptible.

The activity of the Canillo Master in the northeastern section of the peninsula bordering upon France is signalized also by a retable, which fortunately survived the civil war, over the high altar in the church of S. Pedro at Villanova, near Benasque in the province of Huesca but practically in Catalonia (Fig. 156). The central division is reserved for sculpture contemporary with the paintings, a seated effigy of the Apostle to whom the church is dedicated and above it the Crucifixion. The four paintings on a line with the effigy represent the angelic delivery of St. Peter from prison, the decapitation of St. Paul, the stoning of St. Stephen, and his burial in the field of Gamaliel; and the two at the upper level beside the Crucifixion unfold the scenes of the Annunciation and Visitation. The bust of the Saviour on the face of the tabernacle is flanked in the predella at the left by a panel of St. Michael and at the right by a compartment with two canonized women. The painted doors at the sides of the altar are also preserved, displaying the standing forms of Sts. Peter and Paul, the regular themes for such spots, the latter conceived very differently from his representation in the panel of his martyrdom above. In the narrative compartment devoted to St. Peter, the *motif* of liberation is consigned to the background where behind a grating he is being aroused by the angel in the midst of the supernatural illumination mentioned in the twelfth chapter of the Book of the Acts, and the foreground is occupied by the previous episode of the guards conducting him to his cell. The background thus conforms to Raphael's treatment of this part of the composition in the Stanze of the Vatican with which it is not impossible that the Canillo Master, mediately or immediately, was familiar. The Visitation provides an extremely emotional instance of the intensity of Spanish piety, modifying also the ordinary iconography of the theme so as to bring St. Elizabeth to her knees.[21] The ledge beneath the two episodes of St. Stephen is inscribed with a slight modification of the fifty-sixth verse of the account of his death in the seventh chapter of Acts, "Video coelos apertos, et Jesum stantem a dextris Dei." Under the pair of panels on the other side the delivery of St. Peter from prison is summarized in a sentence which derives from some other source than the Bible and in which I can decipher with certainty no more than

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[21] See vol. VIII, p. 234.

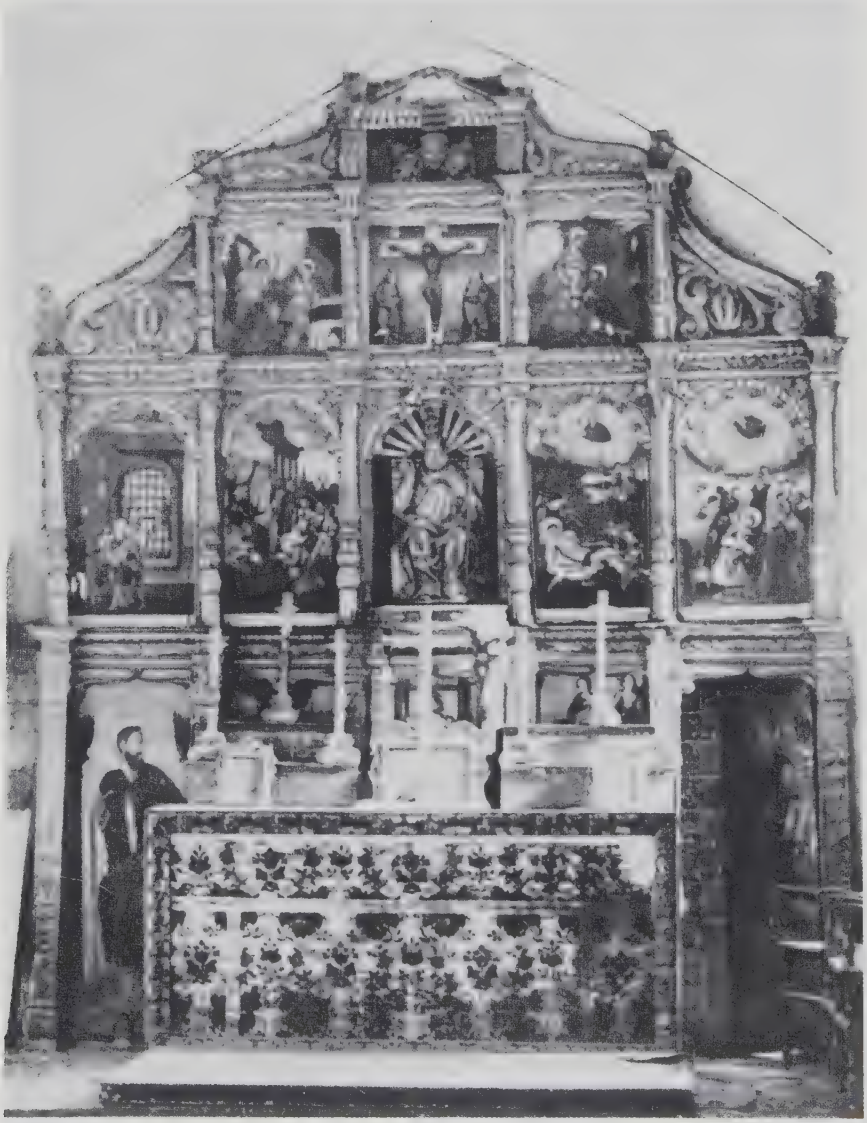

FIG. 156. THE CANILLO MASTER. RETABLE OF ST. PETER. PARISH CHURCH, VILLANOVA
(*Photo. Mas*)

the Apostle's name and the words, "Catenarum (spelled, *chatenarum*) laqueos rupit."

The authorship really needs no demonstration for anyone who has studied the Andorra paintings. The St. Paul of the door, for example, incorporates a recurrent, peculiar type in these paintings, as in the Saviour and the soldier behind Him in the scene before Pilate from San Juan de Caselles, and the Virgin of the Visitation belongs to the class of women illustrated by the Magdalene in the Entombment of the Prats altarpiece. The Master maintains in the doors his affection for the old, ostentatious tooling of gold backgrounds.

He was unmistakably the creator also of a retable of St. Margaret which used to exist in the church at Lascuarre just north of Benabarre in the province of Huesca, again on the frontier of Catalonia, but was burned in the civil war (Fig. 157). Her effigy, standing upon the dragon, occupied the principal compartment and was surmounted by the Crucifixion, treated more simply than in his Andorra altarpieces. The four scenes from her life at the sides were her arrest amidst her nurse's sheep, her refusal to worship the idol, her flagellation as she hung from her hair, and her final decapitation. The grounds for the attribution are once more perfectly obvious, but, since we should perhaps not have expected the Master's activity at such a distance from La Seo de Urgel, which may have been his residence at least for a part of his life, I will trespass upon the reader's patience by itemizing a few of the most unescapable proofs. If one sets the photographs of the works from Canillo and Lascuarre side by side, he will at once find all the types reiterated back and forth. The conception of both older and younger men does not vary from retable to retable; the St. John of the Lascuarre Crucifixion is the same youth whose life is set forth in the altarpiece from San Juan de Caselles; and St. Margaret conforms to one of the Master's favorite sorts of women, embodied, for example, in the Magdalene in the Caselles Lamentation and the representation of the Virgin at Villanova. He is perhaps not yet so convinced a mannerist as at Prats, and behind the central effigy of the virgin martyr he still abides by the tradition of a gold background, here incised with a checkered pattern.

To my own attributions to the Canillo Master, Angulo[22] has re-

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[22] *Archivo español de arte*, XVII (1944), 330, n. 1. I have not been able to obtain even photographs of certain works that Angulo ascribes to him in private collections at Barcelona, five scenes from the lives of Christ and the Virgin in the possession of the Mateu family and a decollation of the Baptist belonging to C. Rodríguez Andreu.

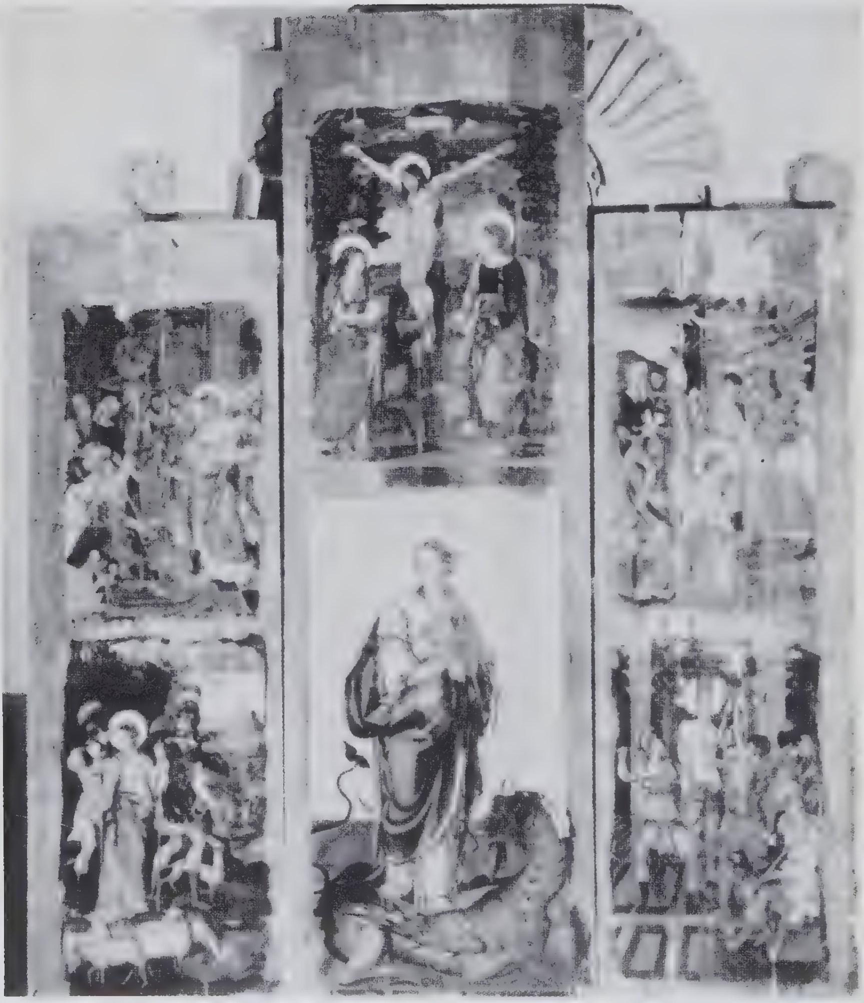

Fig. 157. THE CANILLO MASTER. RETABLE OF ST. MARGARET. PARISH CHURCH, LASCUARRE
(*Photo. Mas*)

cently added a number of other productions, although devoting himself to the subject quite independently of me. The most important is a work that blessedly escaped destruction in the war, the retable over the high altar of the parish church at Caldas de Malavella,[23] south of Gerona, which causes him to give the artist the name of the Caldas Master; but I prefer to keep my original designation as connected with achievements that perhaps may some day prove his real appellation to have been Juan Llobet. The retable has the further importance of extending the painter's activity for us from the distant confines of Catalonia to the vicinity of the capital itself, Barcelona. The Virgin is the sacred personage honored, and the scenes included are the Annunciation (not much varied from the rendering at Villanova), Nativity, Epiphany (Fig. 158), Purification, Flight into Egypt, Pentecost, and Assumption. The surmounting Crucifixion is almost a replica of the rendering at Lascuarre, and one of the doors beside the altar also remains, displaying an effigy of St. Paul, in which, however, the Master reveals his elasticity by a treatment diverse from that which he employed for this Apostle in the same spot at Villanova. A like inventiveness is embodied in his modification of the ordinary iconography of the Purification, just as in the Villanova retable he altered somewhat the conception of St. Peter's delivery from prison. We have often noted in these volumes that, as in the Caldas de Malavella panel, the Spaniards frequently represented the Virgin in the Purification on her knees, but with much originality the Canillo Master depicts her as actually engaged in offering the basket of doves and the Child as leaning forth from the arms of the priest to receive and bless them. At Caldas de Malavella, indeed, he reveals a true painter's interest in several technical aspects of his art. In the Nativity and Epiphany he quite anticipates Jacopo Bassano's eery, nocturnal effects, as we might have expected from the weird imagination that he in general exhibits. Both of these sections even exhibit experiments in spatial problems, entirely praiseworthy despite the fact that he has not quite mastered the difficulties of perspective. In the Umbrian way, he creates behind the actors a middle ground consisting of a piece of building foreshortened inward towards a distant arch that intervenes before the landscape which constitutes the background.

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[23] The sections of the retable were preserved during the war by being brought to Barcelona, but they have now been restored to their home.

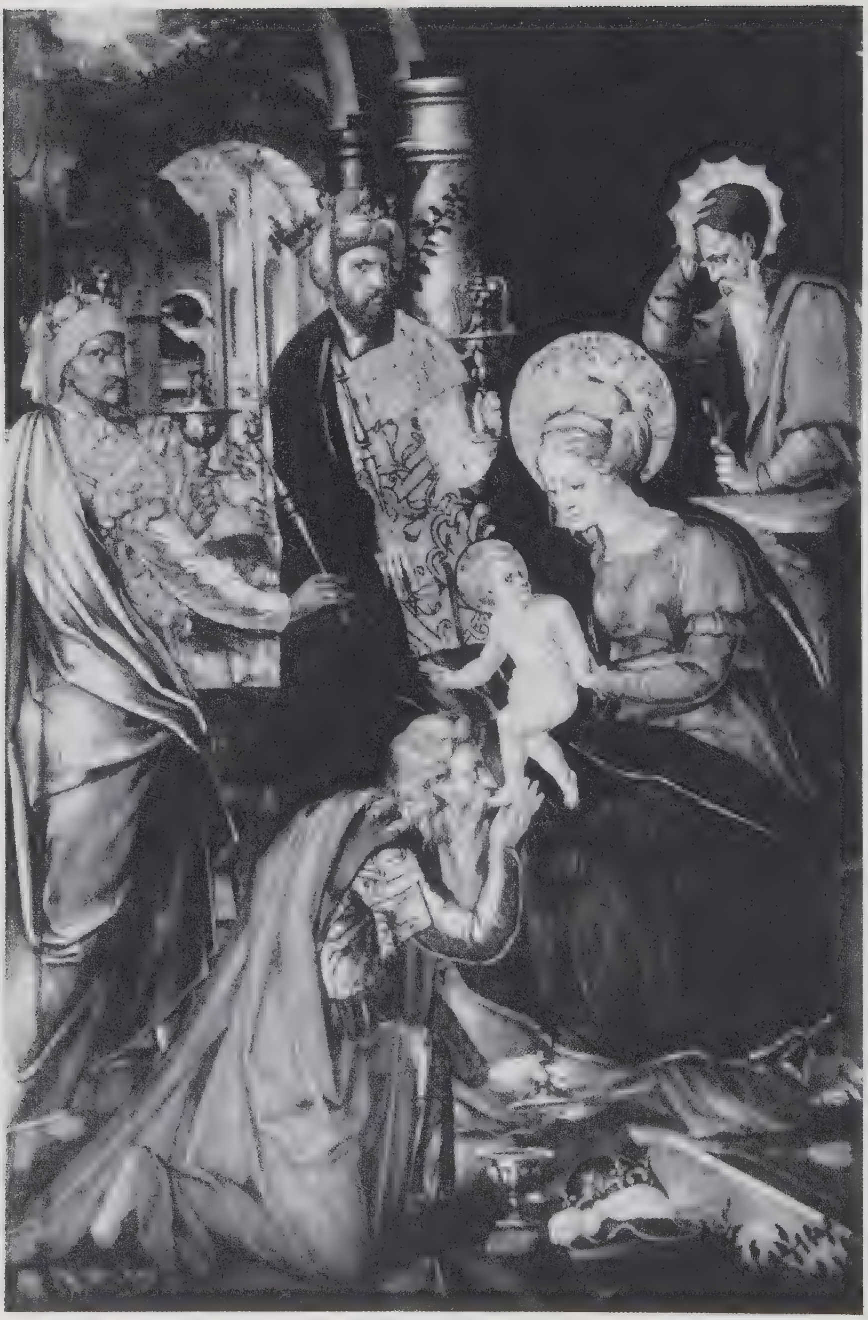

Fig. 158. THE CANILLO MASTER. EPIPHANY, SECTION OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, CALDAS DE MALAVELLA
(*Photo. Mas*)

3. The School of the Canillo Master, Especially the Saneja Master

The style of the Canillo Master was so pronounced in its traits that it attracted imitators on the northern border of Catalonia. The high altar of the church in the hamlet of Saneja, just west of Puigcerdá, is decorated with a retable so close to his modes that it is not even impossible that he himself executed some passages, turning over the lion's share, however, to an assistant. Glorifying St. Vincent, to whom the church is dedicated, it displays in its central compartment his carved image, according to a practice followed in several of the Canillo Master's altarpieces, and resort is made to sculpture also for a few other parts of the structure. The paintings consist, first, of four scenes from the story of St. Vincent in the main body of the retable, his arraignment, torture on the *eculeus*, roasting on the gridiron (an ordeal that he as well as St. Lawrence suffered), and the casting of his corpse into the sea, weighted by the millstone (Fig. 159). Four painted saints combine with sculpture to adorn the *guardapolvos*, and the whole predella is also rendered in paint, with subjects of further standing figures of sacred personages. Again only one of the painted doors of the retable is preserved, but at my hurried visit to the church in 1928 I failed to tabulate not only whether it depicted Peter or Paul but also the identifications of the saints of the *guardapolvos* and predella.

Among the elements nearest to the Canillo Master's own fashions are such types in the scene of the casting into the sea as the turbaned old man, who resembles the Joseph of Arimathaea holding Christ's head in the Prats Entombment, and the profile next to the left, which recalls, for instance, the soldier behind the Saviour in the episode before Pilate in the Caselles altarpiece. The virgin martyr at the extreme left in the predella falls within an oft recurring class of young women in the Canillo Master's output, illustrated by the representations of St. Margaret at Lascuarre. The executioner at the right of the *eculeus* possesses the fierceness of glance that the Canillo Master cultivates sometimes even in persons whose emotions would not naturally suggest it. The bit of landscape behind the attempt to submerge St. Vincent's body features the sort of clump of jagged rocks that, as in the Monte Gargano episode in the Prats retable and the arrest of St. Margaret at Lascuarre, we are likely to descry

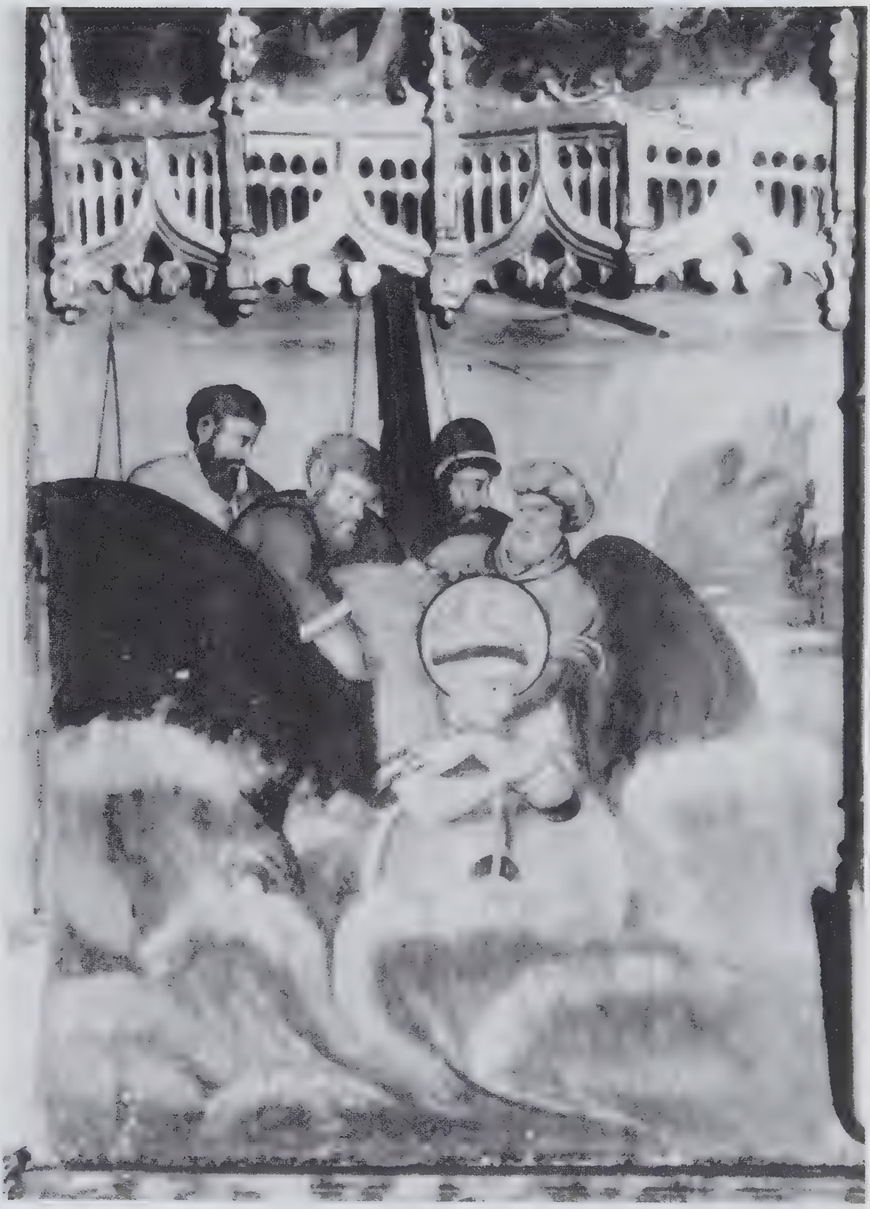

Fig. 159. THE SANEJA MASTER. ST. VINCENT'S BODY CAST INTO THE SEA, SECTION OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, SANEJA (*Photo. Mas*)

in the Canillo Master's settings. Nevertheless, my own ultimate opinion is that the Saneja altarpiece was wholly the work rather of a very faithful follower of the Canillo Master, somewhat less manneristically whimsical than his inspirer and not without solid, provincial ability.

To this follower we must give a name, the Saneja Master, because with certainty or probability other works can be assigned to him. A retable to which the word "certainty" should be applied decorates the altar of the *ermita,* San Román de les Bones, near Encamp, in Andorra, the frescoes from the apse of which, dated in the twelfth century, were long since removed and have passed from the Plandiura Collection, Barcelona, into the Museum of Catalan Art in the city.[24] Set in an unusually large, heavy, and elaborate Plateresque frame, the paintings naturally have to do with the patron of the *ermita,* St. Romanus, who enjoyed so wide a cult in Catalonia (Fig. 160). Enthroned in the central compartment, he is placed between four narrative scenes, his arrest, indictment, the rain miraculously extinguishing the fire in which it was intended that he and his youthful, pious comartyr should be incinerated, and his death by strangulation as the executioner, having bound him to a tree, climbs above him to enwrap his neck with the fatal scarf. Thus, with unexpected restraint, the artist has spared us the most distinctive but hideous episode in his life, the extraction of his tongue, upon which the colleagues of the Saneja Master were morbidly so prone to dwell.[25] The predella consists of half-lengths of the eucharistic Christ between an Apostolado.

To be convinced of the unity of authorship with the Saneja retable, one need do little more than observe the remarkable similarity, not only in head but also in modelling in chiaroscuro, between the central St. Romanus and St. Vincent on the *eculeus,* and the type of the latter is virtually repeated, though more dimly seen, in the youth at the extreme right in the scene of the arraignment. A Morellian peculiarity of the Master is his predilection for high foreheads, as in the St. Vincent brought to trial and the St. Romanus under arrest and confronting the prefect Asclepiades. The St. Paul paired with St.

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[24] See my vol. IV, p. 491, and W. W. S. Cook and J. Gudiol Ricart, *Pintura é imaginería románicas*, the sixth volume of the series *Ars Hispaniae*, Barcelona, 1950, p. 70.

[25] For St. Romanus and his iconography, see especially my vols. VII, pp. 587 and 608, and VIII, p. 748.

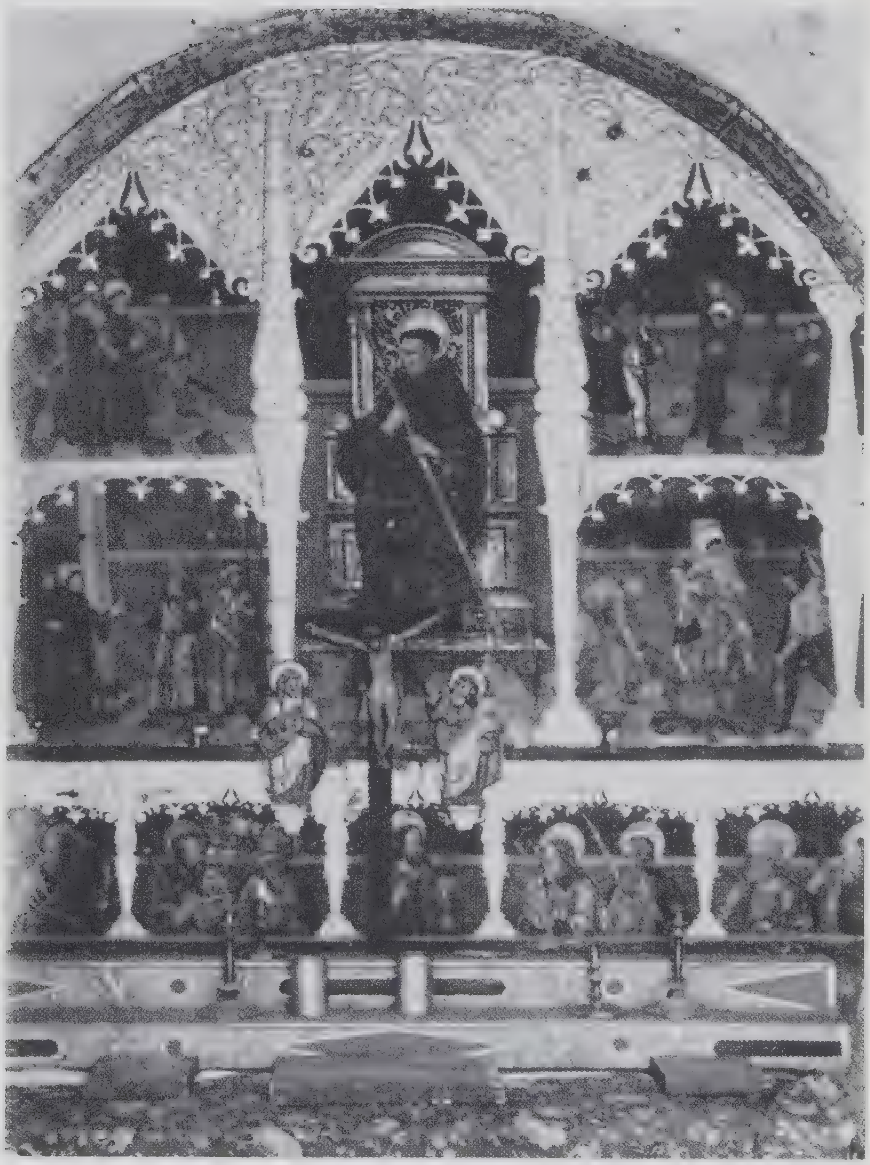

FIG. 160. THE SANEJA MASTER. RETABLE OF ST. ROMANUS.
ERMITA OF SAN ROMÁN DE LES BONES, ANDORRA
(*Photo. Mas*)

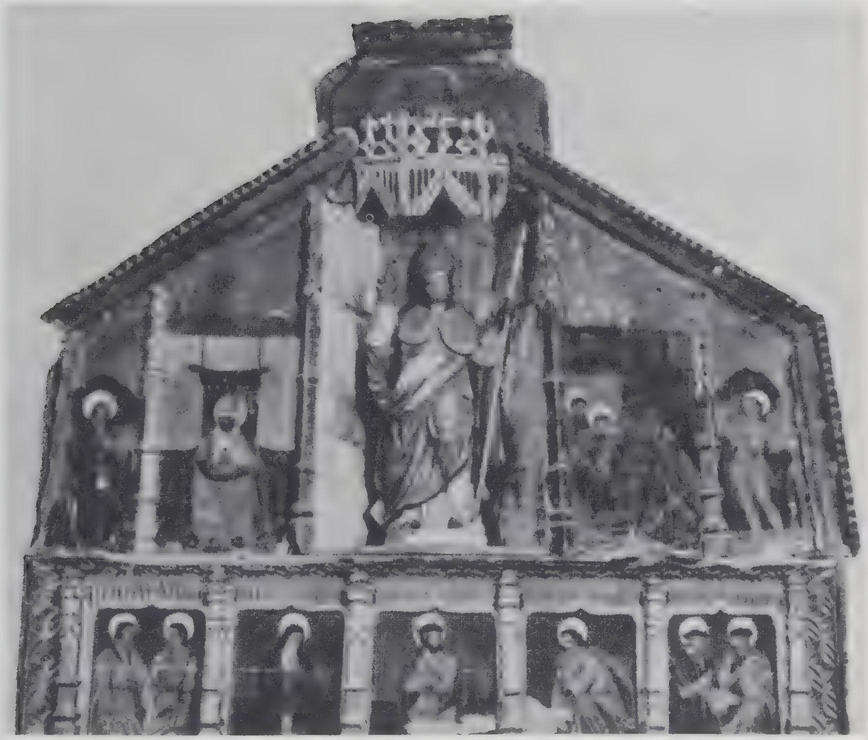

FIG. 161. THE SANEJA MASTER (?). RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, VALCEBOLLÈRE
(*From Durliat's "Arts anciens du Roussillon"*)

Peter in the predella at San Román de les Bones is not unlike, in countenance, beard, and dishevelled hair, the man facing us in the left background among the spectators of St. Vincent's torture on the rack, and we should remark also the resemblance in the figuration of the pavement in the compartment of St. Vincent's indictment and in all the sections of the other altarpiece where St. Romanus is depicted, although the pattern is not confined to the Saneja Master.

With some plausibility he may be set down as responsible for another retable, the one over the high altar of the church in the village of Valcebollère, very near Puigcerdá but on the French side of the border (Fig. 161). In a document of 1565, dissolving the partnership of the painters, José Brell, Juan Perles, and Antonio Peytaví, it is stated that they had orders for three retables in the municipality of Osséja,[26] and, since Valcebollère was then a part of this municipality, one of these retables may well be the work that now concerns us. If such was the case, the author cannot be Peytaví, whose somewhat different manner we know,[27] and we possess no securely documented production of Brell or Perles to enable us to control the possibility that either was the painter whom we seek. It is interesting to note that Juan Perles came from Peralada in the province of Gerona, thus cementing the relationship of the art of Roussillon and Cerdagne to the rest of Catalonia.[28]

The centre of the retable is now occupied by a statue of St. Hilary, dating from the eighteenth century, but the other sections are the paintings that concern us. Above him is a pinnacle of the blessing Eternal Father, and at his sides are panels of St. Anthony Abbot, a seated canonized bishop (the same as in the central niche?),[29] the Epiphany, and St. Sebastian. The predella aligns, about Christ of the Passion, the sorrowing Virgin and St. John Evangelist and at the extremes coupled saints, on the left Justus and Pastor (?) [30] and on the right Cosmas and Damian. The most persuasive detail for the attribution is the exact repetition, in the Saviour in the predella, and to a somewhat lesser extent in the St. Damian, of the blasphemously

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[26] Marcel Durliat, *Arts anciens du Roussillon, peinture*, Perpignan, 1954, p. 164; Pierre Vidal, *Histoire de la ville de Perpignan*, Paris, 1897, p. 474; and Jean Capeille, *Dictionnaire de biographies roussillonnaises*, Perpignan, 1914, pp. 77 and 477.

[27] See below, p. 420.

[28] See below, p. 395.

[29] Durliat, *op. cit.*, 164, so believes.

[30] See my vol. VII, p. 777.

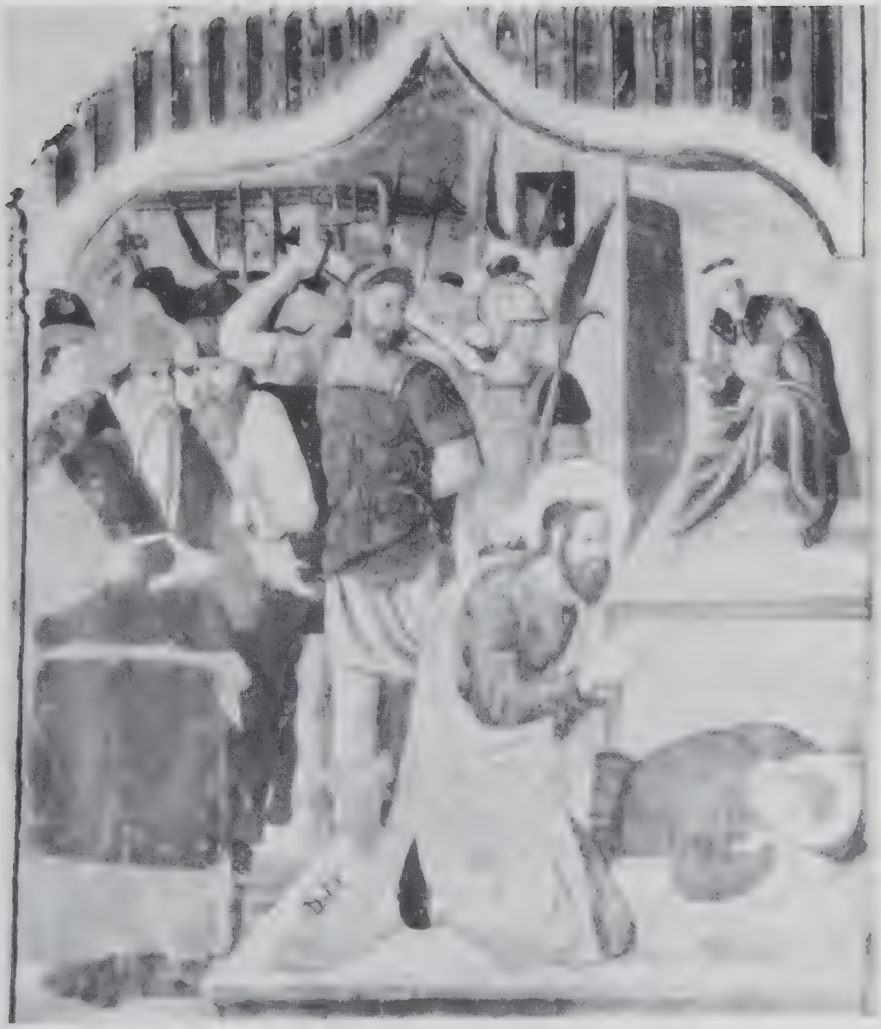

Fig. 162. SCHOOL OF THE CANILLO MASTER. DECAPITATION OF ST. JAMES MAJOR AND JOSIAS, SECTION OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, NAHUJA
(*Photo. Mas*)

roguish, outward glance of the St. Vincent on the *eculeus* at Saneja. It should be observed, furthermore, that the St. John in the predella betrays the ugly profile that mars the child on the pyre with St. Romanus in the retable in Andorra. Other analogies could also be singled out, as between the St. Joseph in the Epiphany and the man at the left in the Saneja scene of the millstone or between the Sts. Justus and Pastor and, in the episode of the *eculeus,* the youth partly hidden by the executioner's arm at the right. The evidence provided by the identity in the figuration of the haloes at Saneja must also be added, not to speak of the reappearance, in the Epiphany, of the design in the pavement that the Master liked.

A very similar style to that of the Saneja Master but so much ruder as practically to forestall a question of his authorship emerges in four panels of the story of St. James Major, all that remains of a retable, in the church of the village of Nahuja, now in France just across the border from Puigcerdá and a very short distance east of Bourg-Madame. The subjects are the rarely represented scene from the New Testament in which the mother of Sts. James and John asks Our Lord for their preëminence in His kingdom, the double decapitation of St. James and his recent convert, Josias (Fig. 162), the carting of his body by bulls into Queen Lupa's palace, and his posthumous miracle wrought for the unjustly hanged son of the German pilgrim.

Angulo[31] assigns to a pupil of the Canillo Master an Epiphany in the parish church of Barruera (in the valley of Bohí in the northern part of the province of Lérida, west of Sort), and I believe that I am right in discerning the same hand in another panel in the edifice depicting the decollation of the Baptist.[32] I take it that he finds the evidence for the discipleship under the Canillo Master in the masculine types, especially such a head as that of the kneeling Magus (Fig. 163), but the craft of the author approaches so dangerously close to the untutored performance of a mere village artist that it is scarcely worth while to labor the question of whether or not the

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[31] *Archivo español de arte,* XVII (1944), 330, n.1.

[32] Since I know the two panels only in photographs of the Mas Archive, I cannot say whether, as the nature of the bits of the carved frames included in the reproductions would seem to indicate, they were merely compartments of retables which existed at least until the Spanish civil war but were not further photographed. The variation in the figuration of the carvings implies, although not surely, derivation from two retables, one of Christ or the Virgin and the other of the Baptist, instead of a single retable comprehensive in its dedications.

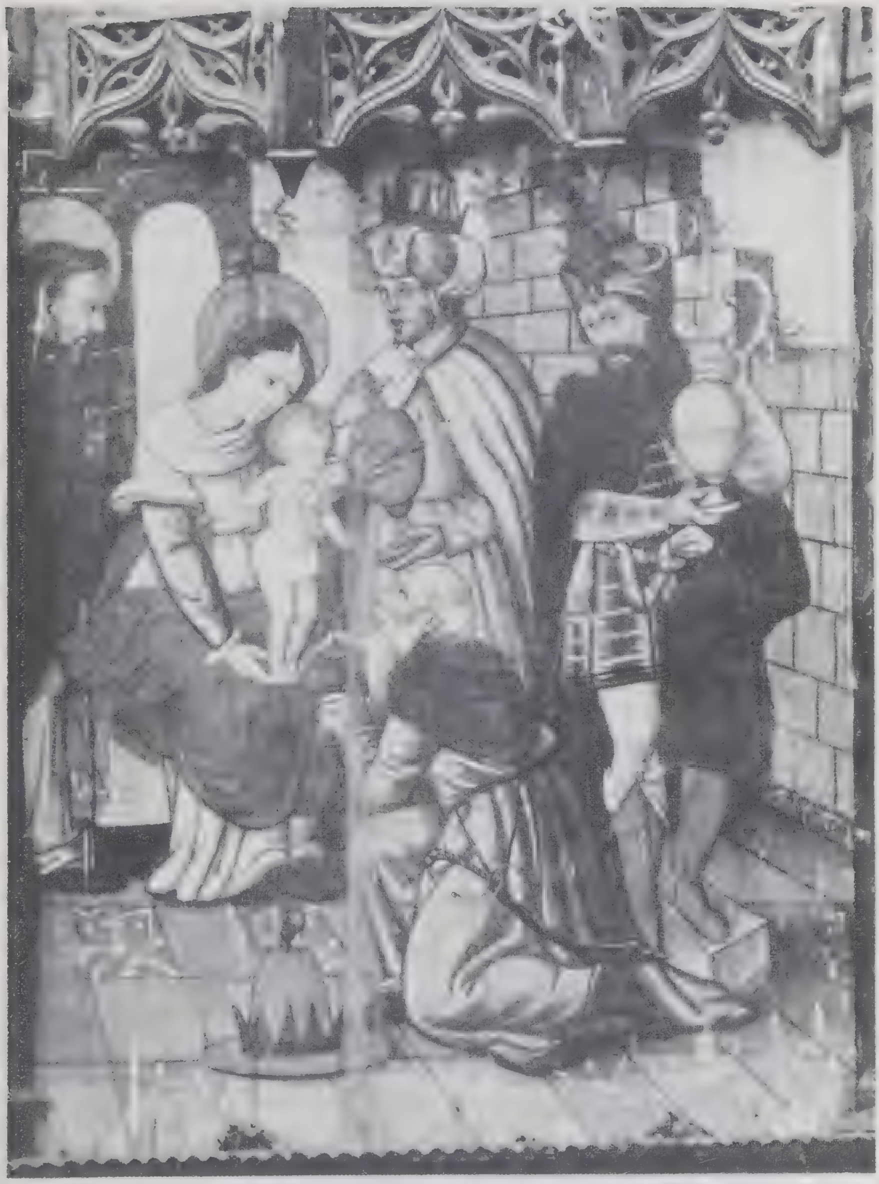

FIG. 163. SCHOOL OF THE CANILLO MASTER. EPIPHANY.
PARISH CHURCH, BARRUERA
(*Photo. Mas*)

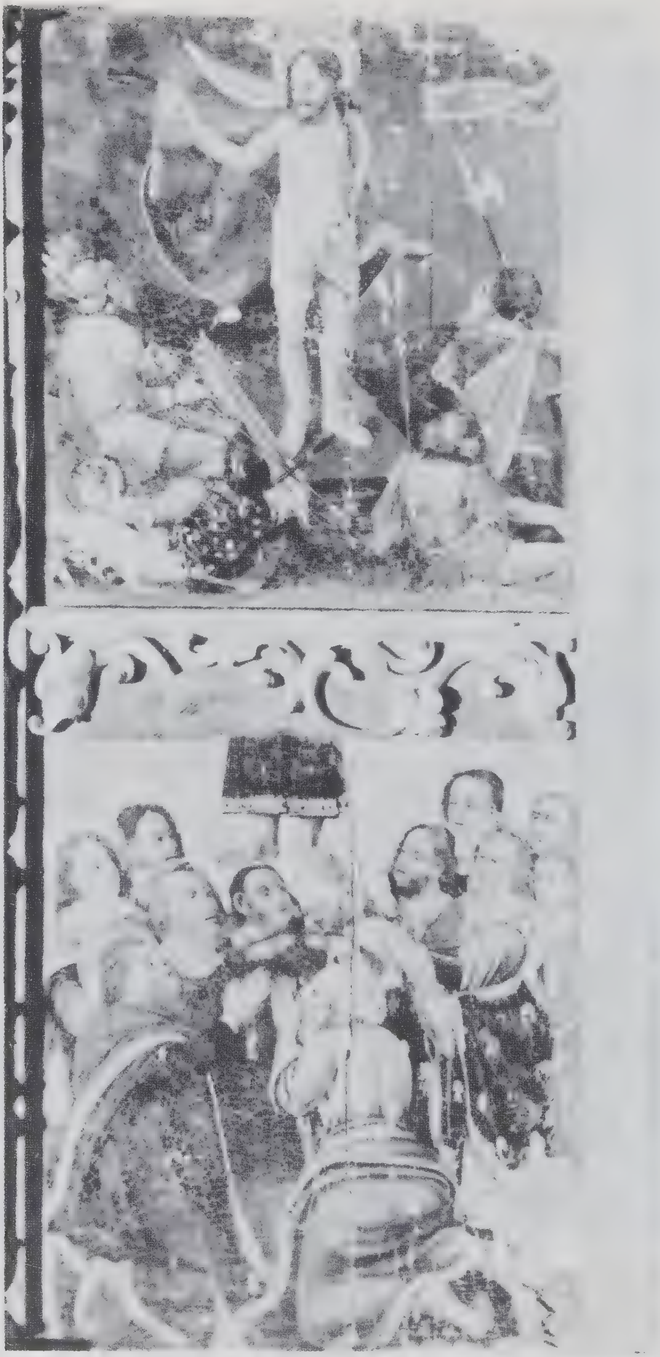

Fig. 164. THE SON MASTER. RESURRECTION (PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, LÉRIDA?) AND ASCENSION (CLARAMUNT COLLECTION, BARCELONA)
(*Photo. Mas*)

Canillo Master tried to make something of him. Certain it is that he is not identical with the painters of Saneja and Nahuja, both of whom, despite their limited capacities, are his superiors.

4. The Son Master

Another purveyor during the early Renaissance to the pious trade in western and northern Catalonia was a painter whom we may designate as the Son Master on the basis of his most extensively preserved monument, the remains of a retable that during the civil war were taken for safe keeping to the Provincial Museum of Lérida from the town of Son del Pino in the valley of the river Noguera Pallaresa. The retable was evidently dedicated to Our Lord, and the preserved parts comprise, from the main body, the Flagellation, Via Dolorosa, Crucifixion, Resurrection, and Ascension (Fig. 164) and, from the predella, which appears to have been consigned to an assistant, the central piece of the Lamentation over the Dead Christ and lateral compartments of the Nativity and Epiphany. The Via Dolorosa and Ascension are now in the Claramunt Collection at Barcelona, and it may be that the other parts have also been sold to private owners.

The Son Master manipulates a somewhat less mannered and less sophisticated aspect of the style that was employed contemporaneously by the Canillo Master, although apparently not one of his direct disciples. Of not so alert an intellect, he contents himself ordinarily with the old, well established mediaeval compositions of his themes, retaining even the symmetry that his predecessors had sought in their arrangements and lapsing for the most part into dullness in this phase of his art. When he comes to the Crucifixion, however, he rather transcends his complacent traditionalism. He impressively fills the space by no more than the three forms of the sufferers relieved against an entirely conventionalized background, with only two large and symmetrically placed skulls at the bottom to symbolize the landscape of Golgotha, and he rises in the isolated figures of the Saviour and the two thieves to a surprising expressiveness in the differentiation of their separate reactions to the tragedy. Through a curious atavism, also, he resuscitates something of the gentle and placid spirit that breathes through the production of his Catalan forerunners of some one hundred and fifty years before, the Serras. Several of the actors

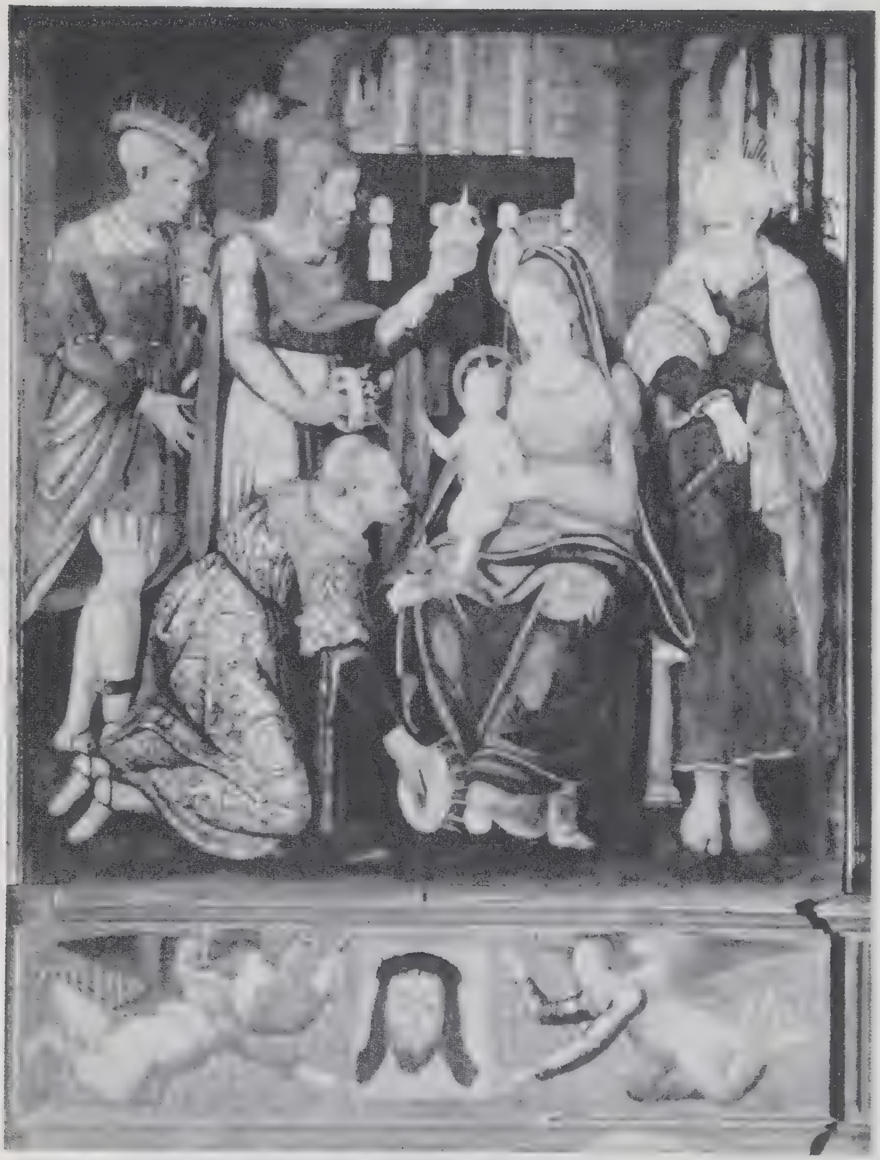

Fig. 165. THE SON MASTER. RETABLE OF THE EPIPHANY.
MUSEUM OF CATALAN ART, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

in the Via Dolorosa resemble so closely those of the Canillo Master's follower who did the retable at Nahuja that at times one gets the feeling, doubtless erroneously, that he may have been aided in this compartment by its author.

It was at a felicitous moment in his career that the Son Master created a large Epiphany, with a predella of its own depicting the veronica upheld by two flying angels, which from the parish church of Cubélls, northeast of Lérida, long since entered the Museum of Catalan Art at Barcelona (Fig. 165).[33] Among many stylistic identities, we may cite especially the exactly similar mode of modelling and of the application of the pigments in the faces, the analogy of the type of the standing Caucasian Magus and of the Christ of the veronica to several of the Apostles in the Ascension as well as to the redeemed thief in the Crucifixion, and even the similarity of the rayed haloes. Since an assistant on a retable closely reflects the manner of the head of a shop, we may call into service for proof also the resemblances of the Holy Child and of St. Joseph to the corresponding participants in the rendering of the Epiphany in the Son predella.

At my sole visit to Cubélls I failed to see, or at least to record in my notes, another work in the parish church by the Son Master, which is therefore known to me only in a photograph of the Mas Archive (Fig. 166). All that this reproduction includes is, first, a lateral section of a retable with paintings of the Ascension and Assumption, and, second, a bit of the central compartment containing a statue, the subject or period of which the photograph is not extensive enough to disclose; nor have I been able to ascertain the themes of the other sections or whether the altarpiece survived the havoc of the civil war. The photograph, however, is quite sufficient to reveal the Son Master's craft. The composition for the Ascension is somewhat varied in the retable from which the Master takes his name;

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[33] Quite independently of me Don Diego Angulo (*Archivo español de arte*, XVII, 1944, p. 327, n. 2) has perceived the interrelationship of the Cubélls Epiphany and the Son retable, but he describes the author of the latter as only an inferior member of the shop of the man who executed the former. I cannot but think that, in thus refusing to see the same artist in the two monuments, he is influenced by comparing with the Cubélls Epiphany, not the main body of the Son retable, but its predella, in which I have acknowledged the collaboration of an assistant. A comparison of the treatment of the Epiphany in the predella with the version from Cubélls is particularly unflattering for this assistant, but the painter of the retable's main body seems to me the equal of the author of the Cubélls picture in drawing, color, and the essentials of his craft (not to speak, here in the note, of the stylistic affinities), although at Cubélls he perhaps exerted himself to a greater degree.

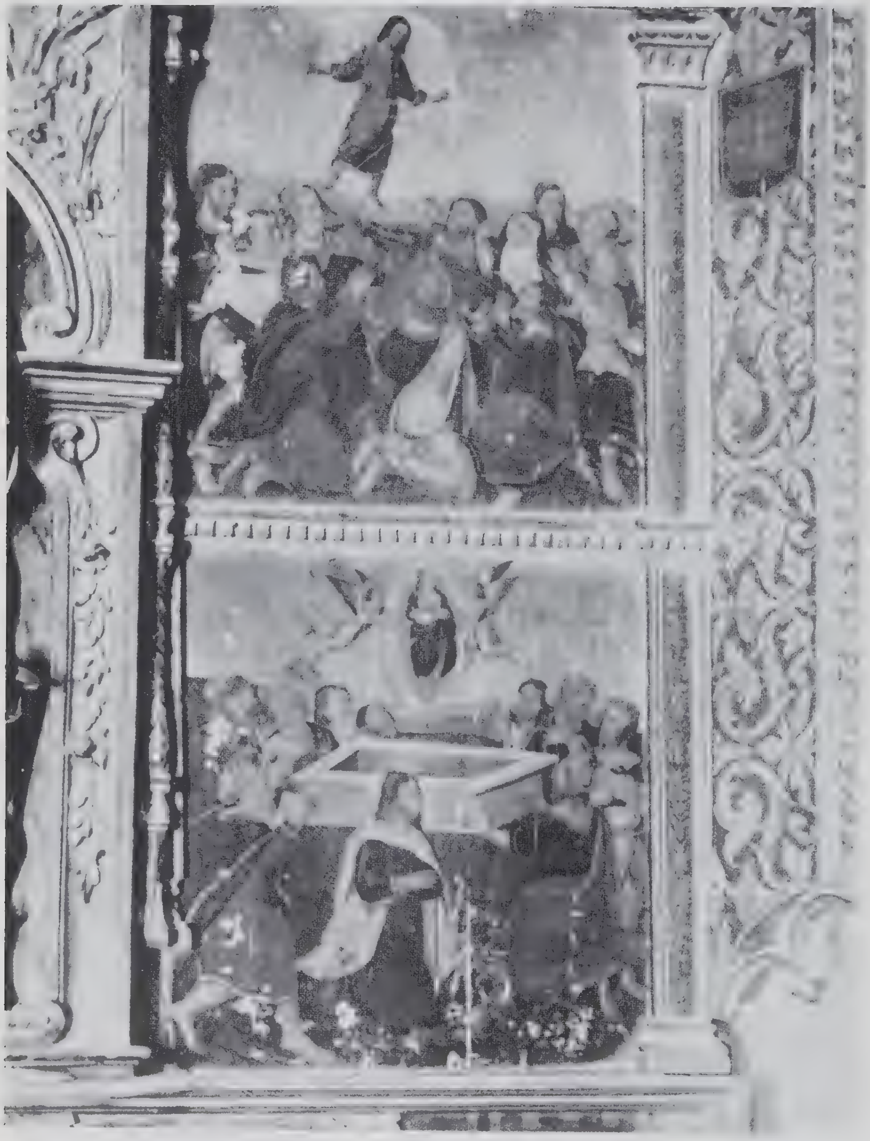

Fig. 166. THE SON MASTER. ASCENSION AND ASSUMPTION, SECTION OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, CUBÉLLS
(*Photo. Mas*)

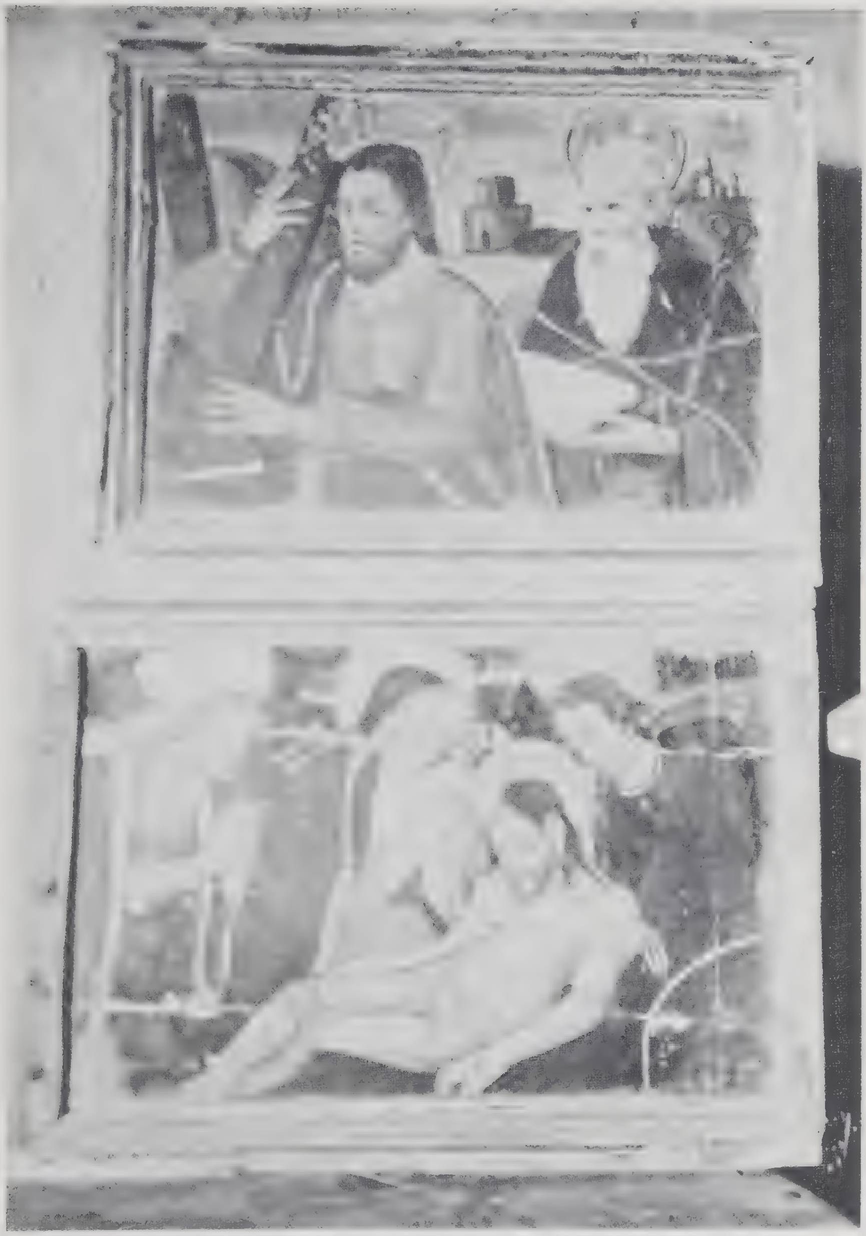

FIG. 167. THE SON MASTER. STS. ANDREW, ANTHONY ABBOT, AND LAMENTATION OVER THE DEAD CHRIST. PARISH CHURCH, ALBELDA
(*Photo. Mora*)

but otherwise the two Cubélls scenes exhibit his types, postures, and his haloes in their most characteristic phases.

Together with panels of the fifteenth century that have concerned us in volume VII and with important works of the Aragonese Sijena Master that will demand much of our attention in volume XIII, the church at Albelda, north of Lérida, contains, or at least contained before the civil war, two pieces of a predella by the Son Master, one representing the Lamentation over the Dead Christ and the other showing half-lengths of Sts. Andrew and Anthony Abbot (Fig. 167). The Virgin and holy woman at the left reproduce pretty closely the correspondingly placed figures in the Lamentation of the retable of Son del Pino; the nearest analogue for the Christ is perhaps the redeemed thief in the same retable; the St. Andrew is a recurrent type in the Son Master's production; and the St. Anthony finds a counterpart in the St. Joseph of the Cubélls Epiphany.

HARVARD-RADCLIFFE FINE ARTS SERIES

A HISTORY OF SPANISH PAINTING

VOLUME XII — PART II

A HISTORY OF SPANISH PAINTING

BY

CHANDLER RATHFON POST
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

VOLUME XII — PART II

THE CATALAN SCHOOL IN THE EARLY RENAISSANCE

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Part II

THE CATALAN SCHOOL
IN THE
EARLY RENAISSANCE

CHAPTER XV

ROUSSILLON AND CERDAGNE [1]

During the Renaissance and indeed until 1659 [2] Roussillon and Cerdagne remained a part of Catalonia, and the painting of these provinces continued to exhibit the same close ties with the Catalan school on the southern side of the Pyrenees as in the Romanesque and Gothic periods. Like the Canapost Master [3] in the late Middle Ages, we shall find that the artists, such as Jaime Forner,[4] Antonio Peytaví, and possibly Pedro Gascó,[5] obtained patronage on both sides of what is now the border between Spain and France although those considered in the present chapter focused their activity, as was the case with their predecessors, chiefly on the north side of the frontier. So far as any differentiating characteristics exist, there is principally to be discerned, as was natural geographically, a certain amount of French influence, which emerges, however, more in Roussillon than in Cerdagne, despite the fact that one of the later exponents of the profession in Cerdagne, Antonio Peytaví, actually hailed from Toulouse.

For the painter of Roussillon at the period who is marked by most freshness, force, and individuality and to whom several extant works can be ascribed, I am forced to invent a pseudonym since no document or signature has revealed to us his true name, and I have chosen the Master of the Perpignan Organ-shutters because the title, though unwieldy, is the most clearly distinctive at which I am able to arrive. Its source is his most striking achievement, the huge shutters that used to enclose the organ in the cathedral of Perpignan and are now hung over a lateral exit from the building. The fact that at least the majority of his preserved works are found in Roussillon argues that

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[1] The major part of this chapter could not have been written without the extensive aid of the eminent scholar of Roussillon, Professor Marcel Durliat, who generously shared with me his knowledge, discoveries, and many photographs before he published the broad and penetrating results of his studies in his monumental work, *Arts anciens du Roussillon, peinture*, Perpignan, 1954.

[2] Vol. VII, p. 559.

[3] See below, p. 673.

[4] See above, p. 209.

[5] See above, p. 255.

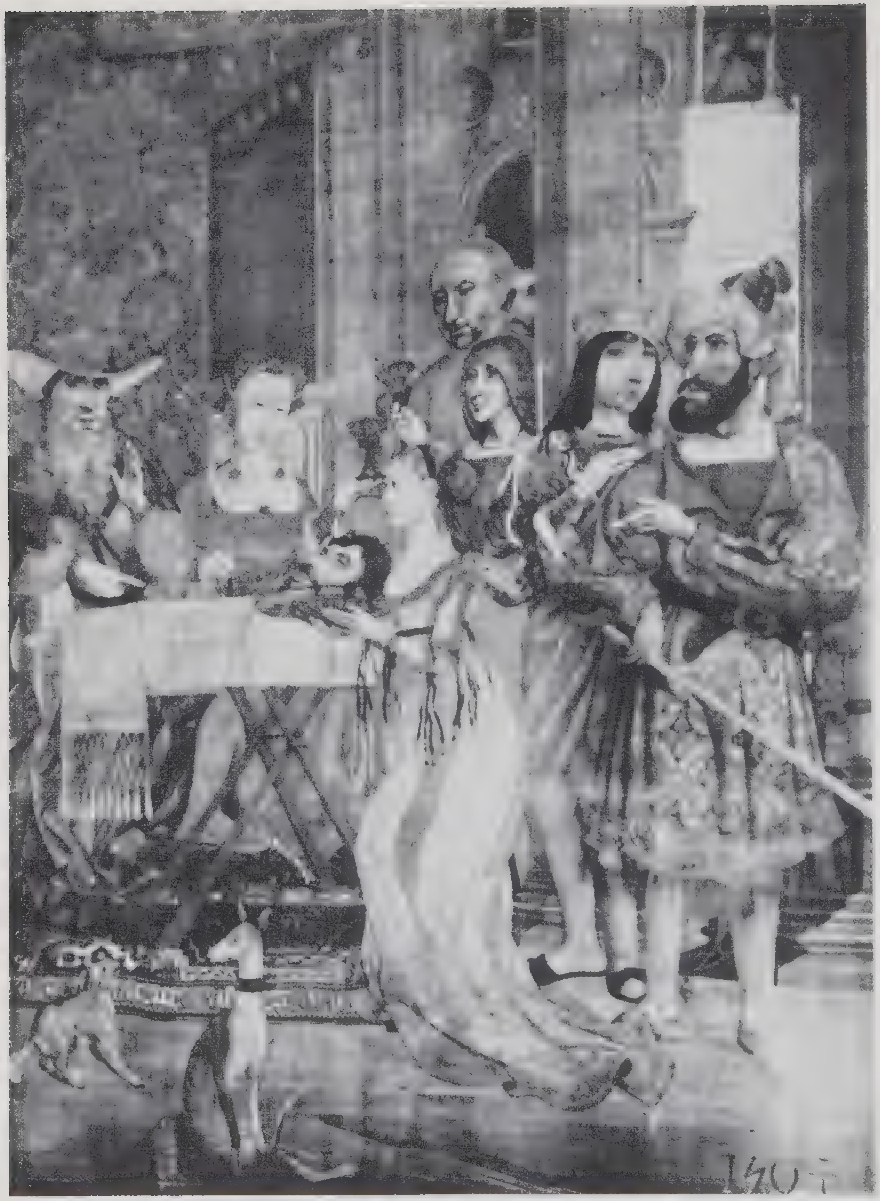

Fig. 168. THE MASTER OF THE PERPIGNAN ORGAN-SHUTTERS.
BANQUET OF HEROD, SECTION OF ORGAN-SHUTTERS.
CATHEDRAL, PERPIGNAN
(*Photo. Comet*)

his life was there centered, but we shall find that quite possibly he illustrated the tendency of the province of Gerona to share with Roussillon the services of artists.

The main themes of the shutters are the Baptism of Christ and Salome's presentation of St. John's head at the banquet of Herod (Fig. 168), but the pieces extend downwards to include compartments of Sts. Stephen and Lawrence for the purpose of covering the bottom section of the instrument. The date 1504 is entered in the lower right corner of the scene of the banquet, but alas! it is accompanied by no signature.[6] The shutters reveal little stylistic connection with the immediately anterior, late mediaeval schools of Roussillon or of Catalonia in general or with any phase of Hispano-Flemish achievement, save that the old Spanish appreciation of the decorative values of brocades in pictorial compositions is still a very vital factor in the author's aesthetic outlook. The unwholesome young man at the right in the scene of the banquet looks as if he might derive from such a type of the Marinyans Master[7] as the prominent stoner of Sts. Cosmas and Damian in the panels at Serdinya, and other works of our artist suggest that he may have partly evolved his manner out of the precedents set by this artist of Roussillon and by the Canapost Master.[8] Now and then one feels indistinct parallelisms to the procedure of the St. Felix Master in the neighboring province of Gerona, such as a fondness for the brilliancy of the costumes of the time and an affection for dogs, but there is no absolutely unquestionable evidence of contact between the two painters, although in the case of a member of our artist's circle the relationship seems fairly tangible.[9]

Some of the heads, as of Sts. Stephen and Lawrence and, in the banquet, of Herodias, the attendant lady, and the man above her, resemble vaguely the types of another contemporary in Catalonia, Juan Gatón, and we must not forget that we possess only single figures by this painter and no authenticated treatments of narrative to enable us to decide whether he was equal to the liveliness of the Perpignan representations; but it seems highly unlikely that the reputation of such a provincial should have spread to the rather distant

[6] The plate holding the Baptist's head contains an inscription that neither Durliat nor I can decipher.

[7] See below, p. 670.

[8] See below, p. 673.

[9] See below, p. 414.

Roussillon and obtained commissions for him there. In any case, our knowledge of his attainments is far too scanty to permit even the hypothesis that he is the painter of Perpignan. Nor is it possible to place one's finger upon much in the organ-shutters or in other works by him that could be denominated as French, except perhaps the seductiveness and elegance of Salome. The two memorable retainers of Herod standing at the right, especially the sinister youth, would naturally be interpreted as strongly Iberian types; but in attempting to solve the problem of the Master's origins and affiliations, we must not underrate the personal initiative with which the shutters and his other achievements show that he was endowed. The Baptism and the figures of Sts. Stephen and Lawrence are more traditional than the banquet of Herod but yet embody highly individual and vividly presented conceptions of humanity.

One of the most arresting manifestations of the painter's mental alertness is a precocious interest, for so early a date as 1504, in an imaginative treatment of the architecture of the Renaissance, illustrated not only by the rather complicated spatial relationships in the opulent apartment of the feast but also by the whimsical Ionic order framing the two saintly deacons. He is much concerned also with botany and zoology. Pretty vegetation grows in the waters of the Jordan and on its banks; the ground upon which Sts. Stephen and Lawrence rest their feet provides the soil for wild flowers; a prominently emphasized aquatic bird is drinking from the river of the Baptism; and two pets from Herod's kennels have been admitted into the very front of the banqueting hall, one of them belonging to the same breed as the hound for which the St. Felix Master had such a predilection. In the shutters only, among the Perpignan artist's recognized works, he betrays a curious quirk in his rather singular mind, an evidently purposed and arbitrary exaggeration of the size of some of his actors, as most conspicuously in the two retainers at the feast who have already called for our comment, the intent perhaps being to make his most eccentric figures more perceptible to the spectator at a considerable distance below the organ.

We come across his craft again in the predella of a retable of the Virgin the parts of which have been dismantled and are now scattered about the church at Argelès-sur-Mer,[10] just south of Perpignan. Like certain other Spanish artists of the Middle Ages and Renaissance,

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[10] For a late mediaeval retable of St. Michael in the church, see my vol. VII, p. 570.

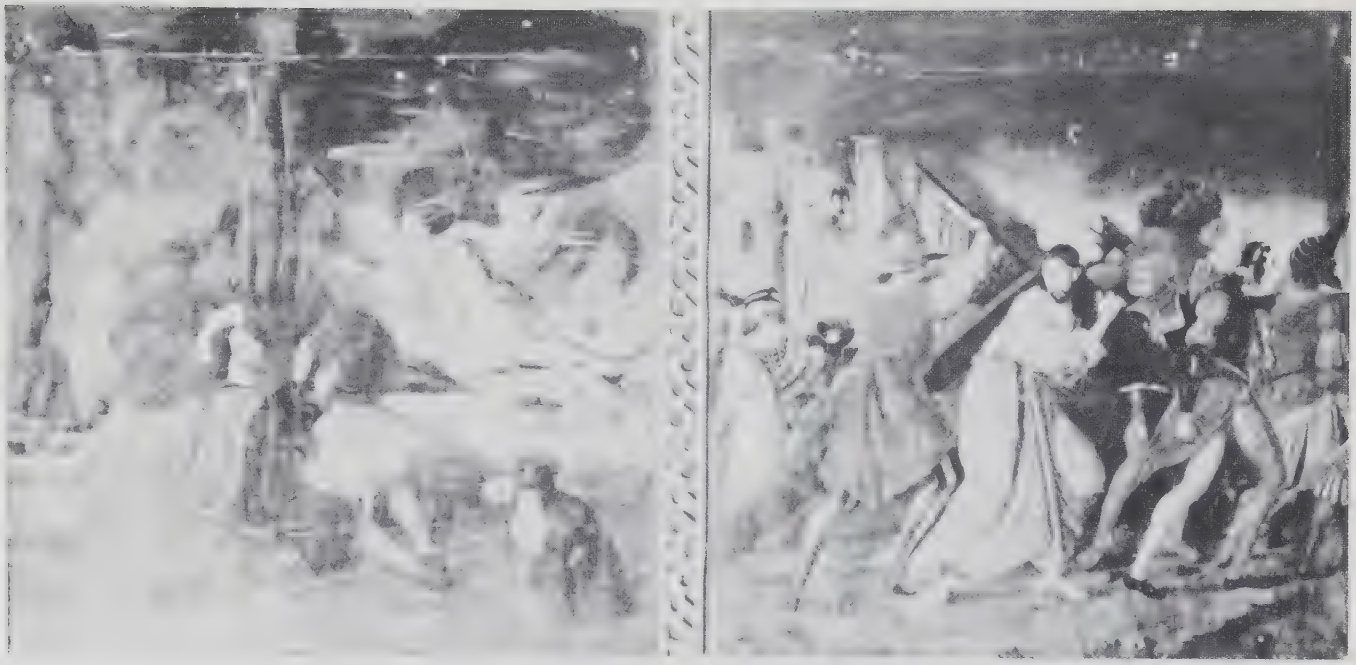

Fig. 169. THE MASTER OF THE PERPIGNAN ORGAN-SHUTTERS. ST. ROCH COMFORTED BY AN ANGEL AND THE VIA DOLOROSA, SECTIONS OF PREDELLA OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, ARGELÈS-SUR-MER

(*Photo. Jauzac*)

he reserved for his own brush no more than the section nearest to the spectator, the predella, and even here only three of the four compartments, leaving the panels in the main body of the structure and the fourth section of the predella to be executed by a collaborator, closely allied in style, except that here and there the Master of the Organ-shutters may himself have chosen to do a few figures or small passages. The subjects of the panels in the main body are the Seven Joys of the Virgin, the Annunciation, Nativity of Christ, Epiphany, Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost, and Dormition, indicating that there was originally a large central compartment containing a sculptured or painted effigy of Our Lady. The panel of the Annunciation includes the kneeling lay donor, still in the diminutive proportions to which such figures were reduced in the paintings of the Middle Ages. The middle of the predella has also disappeared, whether a tabernacle or merely a panel depicting Christ of the Mass of St. Gregory, and what remains consists of a pair of scenes from the Passion, immediately flanking the lost central piece and representing the Via Dolorosa (Fig. 169) and the Harrowing of Hell, and at the extreme ends two episodes from the lives of saints, Roch receiving in the wilds spiritual comfort from an angel as well as material assistance from the dog with the bit of bread, and Lawrence suffering martyrdom upon the gridiron. The compartment of the Harrowing of Hell is the one consigned at least largely to the collaborator.

Amidst the general conformity of the three parts of the predella to the style of the organ-shutters, there are details that impose the attribution to the same artist. The clinching proof is the identity of the head of the second man from the left in the Via Dolorosa with that of the barbarically queer courtier at the right in the banquet of Herod, and there is a rather similar type in the soldier turning his head beside Christ. In physique and face, the St. Lawrence, if raised from his prostrate position and clothed, would look like the two canonized deacons of the shutters. The interest in dogs emerges in the affectionate delineation of Roch's faithful companion, of a different breed from Herod's pets, and behind the saint there rises a clump of twisted trunks of trees as at the right, in the shutters, in the compartment of the Baptism. Since the panels in the main body of the retable are the production of a painter intimately dependent upon the author of the three pieces of the predella, we may note that the

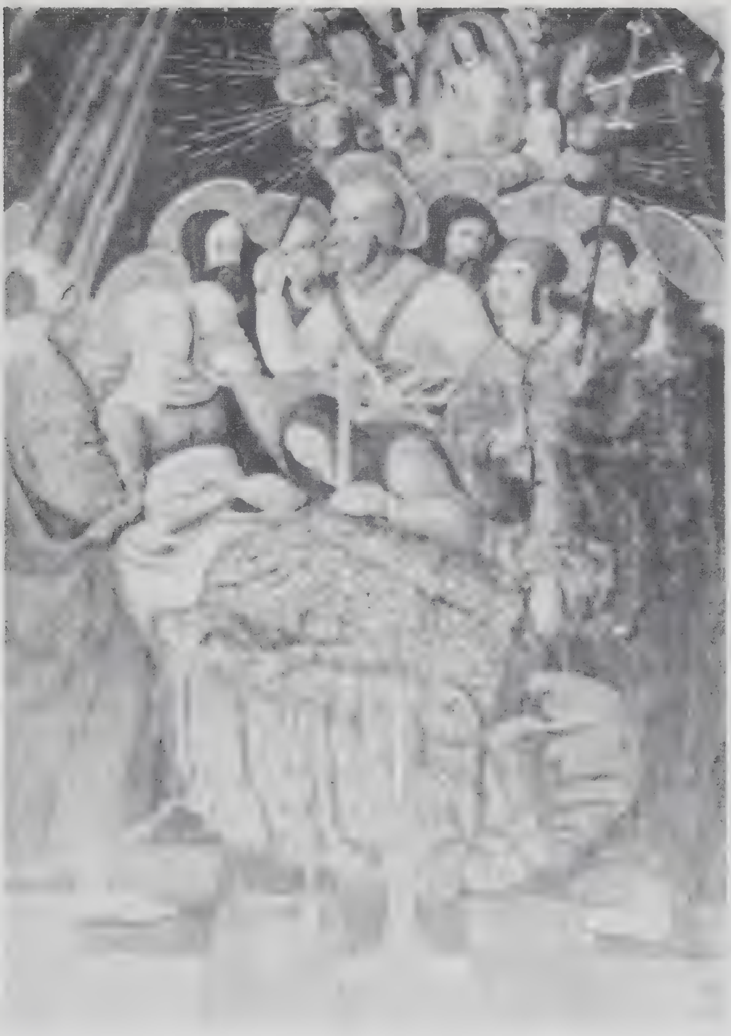

Fig. 170. COLLABORATOR OF THE MASTER OF THE PERPIGNAN ORGAN-SHUTTERS. DORMITION, SECTION OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, ARGELÈS-SUR-MER
(*Photo. Jauzac*)

Apostle at the extreme left in the Dormition has a long, dark moustache exactly like that of the man peering through the door at the back of Herod's feast and that medallions of human heads are inset in the architecture of the Renaissance in the Nativity and Epiphany as in the walls of the potentate's palace.

Not much need be added to what has already been said in the preceding paragraphs about the painter responsible for the main body of the retable. Manipulating with less technical expertness and with less imagination the general style of the Master of the Organ-shutters and employing types which are only modifications of those of his companion, he enlivens the time-honored compositions for the sacred themes with little or no invention. The Dormition (Fig. 170) seems to be based upon the treatment of the subject by the Master of the Organ-shutters, vaguely reminiscent of Schongauer's engravings of the subject, in another work which will immediately concern us. The Catalan affection for embossing was still potent enough, in the sections by the lesser of the two artists, to cause the retention of raised stucco in the single rings on the circumferences of the haloes and in the processional cross in the Dormition.

The further work to which the Master of the Shutters made his contribution, in this instance collaborating with two better rivals than his associate at Argelès, is the best known pictorial monument of the early Renaissance in Roussillon, the retable in the chapel of Notre Dame d'Espérance, also called Notre Dame de la Magrana,[11] in the cathedral of Perpignan. The statue of the Madonna at present in the central compartment is modern, but all the other parts of the retable are paintings of the early sixteenth century unfolding the life of the Virgin. The narrative begins in the predella with four scenes flanking a Lamentation over the Dead Christ and depicting the Expulsion of Sts. Joachim and Anne from the Temple (with his vision enacted in smaller scale in the background), the Meeting at the Golden Gate, Mary's Birth and her Presentation. In the main body of the structure, the three subjects at the left are the Annunciation, Nativity of Christ, and Epiphany; those at the right depict the Saviour, after the Harrowing of Hell, bringing to His mother the redeemed of the old dispensation (including the detail of the crown of thorns upon her prie-dieu),[12] Pentecost, and the Dormition; and above the statue, a very formal treatment of the Coronation takes the place of the usual Crucifixion. The three compartments at the right in the main body of the retable are the achievement of a personality different from but contemporary with the painters of the other sections in the undertaking, a fact that the recent cleaning has made all the more patent; and this personality is none other, I am confident, than the Master of the Perpignan Organ-shutters. The haloes in the scene of Christ appearing to His mother are not the same as the ones in the other two panels and, with the single, raised outer ring, resemble those of the collaborator at Argelès; but this consideration will not outweigh the complete accordance of the painting otherwise with the compartments of Pentecost and the Dormition, and it is to be remembered that the author of the Annunciation and Coronation in the retable does not abide by a single kind of nimbus.

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[11] *Magrana* is the common Catalan form for pomegranate, and *mangrana* is a less frequent variant. Durliat (*op. cit.*, 137) has dispelled the tradition that the retable was once in the chapel of Notre Dame dels Correchs ("of the Ravines") in the church, Vieux St. Jean, adjoining the cathedral.

In the three pieces that the Master of the Organ-shutters made for the retable in the cathedral of Perpignan, the conformity with his general manner is self-evident, as we have seen in the case of the Argelès predella, and we need only remark a few identities. The head of Christ in the Baptism of the shutters is absolutely reiterated in the Apostle at the right who looks away from the Virgin in the Pentecost, and the strange youthful spectator at the right in the banquet of Herod is no more than a morbid version of the Apostle just above the bending St. John in the background of the Dormition (Fig. 171). The member of the College of Twelve next in line in this compartment of the retable is scarcely differentiated facially from the man visible in a door in Herod's feast to whose moustache I have alluded above. The three pieces done by the Master of the Organ-shutters in the retable enlarge to a certain degree our conception of his attainments. Something of the neurotic mood of Antwerp mannerism is given to the Pentecost by the nocturnal lighting, by the agitation of the tongues of flame, and by the excitement of the child-angels above the Virgin's seat. The partial dependence of the Dormition upon Schongauer's engravings of the theme probably occasioned the very un-Spanish type of the Virgin's head. The Master of the Organ-shutters exhibits here in the three compartments less archaeological curiosity than his collaborator who did the majority of the panels in the rest of the altarpiece, but the child-angels in the Pente

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[12] Vol. VI, p. 270.

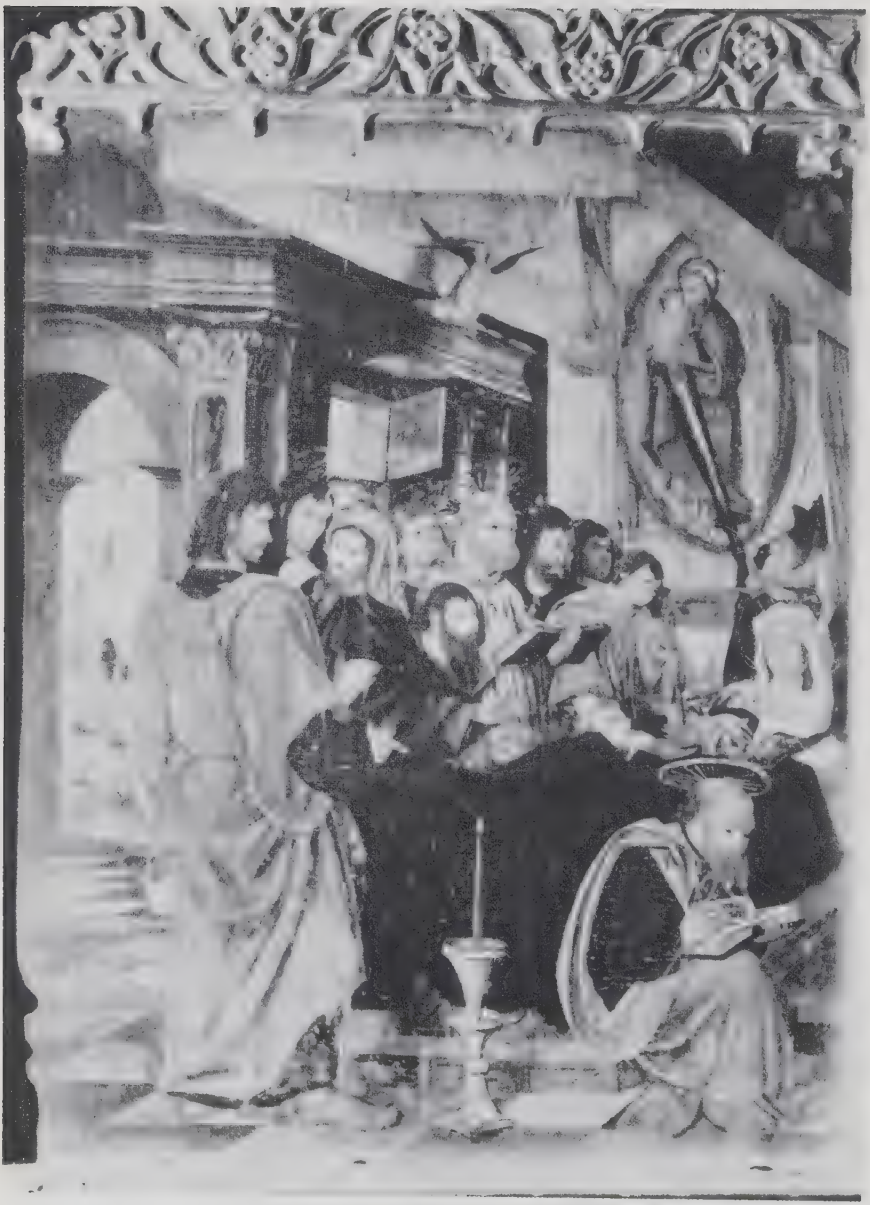

Fig. 171. THE MASTER OF THE PERPIGNAN ORGAN-SHUTTERS. DORMITION, SECTION OF RETABLE OF NOTRE DAME DE LA MAGRANA. CATHEDRAL, PERPIGNAN
(*Photo. Mas*)

cost are in reality a whole bevy of nude, romping Italianate *putti*.

The artist to whose lot fell the lion's share in the retable of Notre Dame de la Magrana and by whom I have yet to discover any other extant work, I will designate by the title collaborator A. The parts that he did are very plainly the whole predella and, in the main body of the altarpiece, the Nativity of Christ and the Epiphany. In his stylistic amalgam, the Flemish contribution, probably as already interpreted in France, is more tangible than in the production of the Master of the Organ-shutters or than in almost all Catalan painting at the commencement of the sixteenth century. The types both of St. Anne and of the Virgin reflect the precedent of the Low Countries; the draperies often retain Flemish shapes and puckerings; and the diminutive angels with which the northerners were so fond of punctuating their pictures flutter through the tops of several of these scenes at Perpignan. The strain from the Low Countries, however, seems to be transmuted by the refining temper of French art, and we probably should not be wrong in defining as French also the agreeable delicacy of draughtsmanship and of general execution as well as the reduction of the garishness of Flemish color to a soft richness, brightened only here and there by the gold woven into the garments.

At the same time the author is very much alive to the influx of the Renaissance. The sacred events take place in architecture which is more luxuriant and more definitely Plateresque than the edifices of the Master of the Shutters and which attracts too much attention, though frequently opening to gently pretty landscape. The painter doubtless conceived the settings as ancient and as proper to the period of the stories that he related, but the excessive archaeology of the Renaissance betrayed him into cluttering the background of the Meeting at the Golden Gate with a piece of antiquarianism introduced merely for its own sake, a classical monument or shrine of some sort embellished with simulated and not too modest statuary. The old Catalan spirit is still potent enough to make many of the costumes out of even louder brocades than the organ-shutters display, especially in the Nativity of Christ, the Epiphany, and the Lamentation; and the bold patterns of the fabrics are often still presented to us in arbitrary frontality for the sake of greater prominence. The compositions are traditional, not embodying the Catalan tendency of the period to take over the arrangements of Dürer, but they are accented now and then with bits of alleviating invention. In the Expulsion

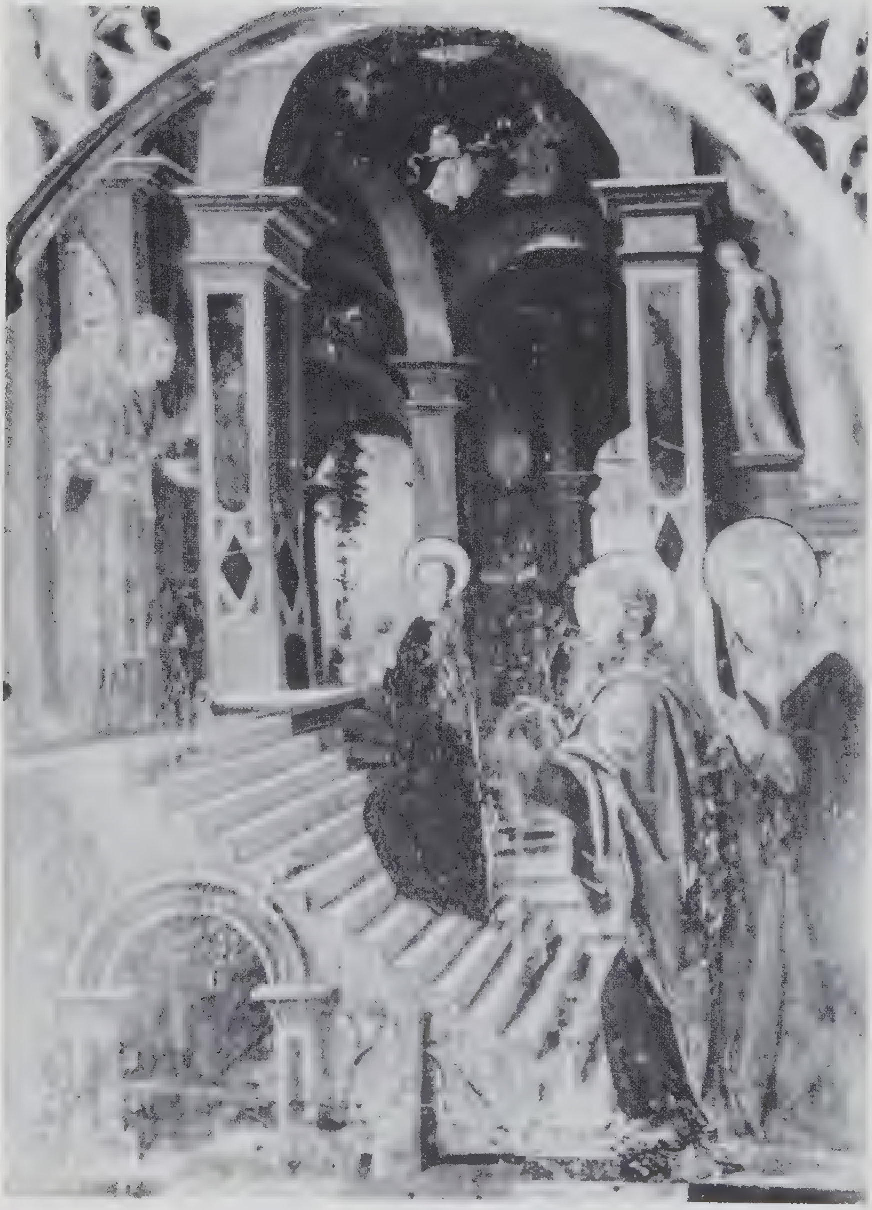

Fig. 172. COLLABORATOR A IN THE RETABLE OF NOTRE DAME DE LA MAGRANA, CATHEDRAL, PERPIGNAN. PRESENTATION OF THE VIRGIN IN THE TEMPLE
(*Photo. Mas*)

from the Temple, the priest, standing on the steps of the edifice, has delegated to a secondary cleric the task, at a lower level, of pushing Sts. Joachim and Anne away by physical force. The Birth of Our Lady takes on something of the mood of a lyric poem through the introduction not only of angels, here in the guise of winsome children rather than the little Flemish forms in the painter's other panels, serenading above the chamber, but also of a pair plying their instruments right among the busy midwives. In apt symbolism the Temple of the Virgin's Presentation (Fig. 172) is decorated with a statue of the discomfited Synagogue as if on the portal of a mediaeval church; and in the Epiphany St. Joseph lifts a curtain, apparently for the purpose of allowing the humble ox and ass to view the magnificence of the Magi's homage.

The third artist associated with the retable, who executed only the Annunciation and Coronation and to whom I give the name of collaborator B is made of somewhat sterner stuff (Fig. 173). The single authorship of the two compartments is proved not only by the same technical methods but also by detailed identities. The formation of Gabriel's face, for instance, is repeated in the Virgin of the Coronation and only less precisely in the bevy of angels in this ceremony, especially in the one just above the bend in Christ's arm. The correspondences extend even to Morellian minutiae, such as the curve and shortness of the eyebrows of Our Lady and the angels or, in both scenes, the owl-like beak of the dove of the Holy Spirit. Despite the settings of fully evolved architecture of the Renaissance, particularly in the Annunciation, where the painter grapples elaborately with the new science of perspective, he gives a slightly more archaic impression than the other two contributors, so that we may amuse ourselves with the surmise that he might have begun the retable and then was succeeded in the enterprise by the Master of the Organ-shutters and collaborator A. He reveals a strong influence of Flemish precedent, not modified, at least palpably, by the strain of French delicacy that collaborator A had absorbed, and in the First and Second Persons of the Trinity and even the Virgin in the Coronation he cultivates a solemn severity for which the Catalan school does not commonly show a predilection. When we have to do with so personal and gifted an artist, it is curious that no other achievements by his hand, as correspondingly in the case of Collaborator A, should have come within my cognizance; nor can I find anyone in Roussillon or

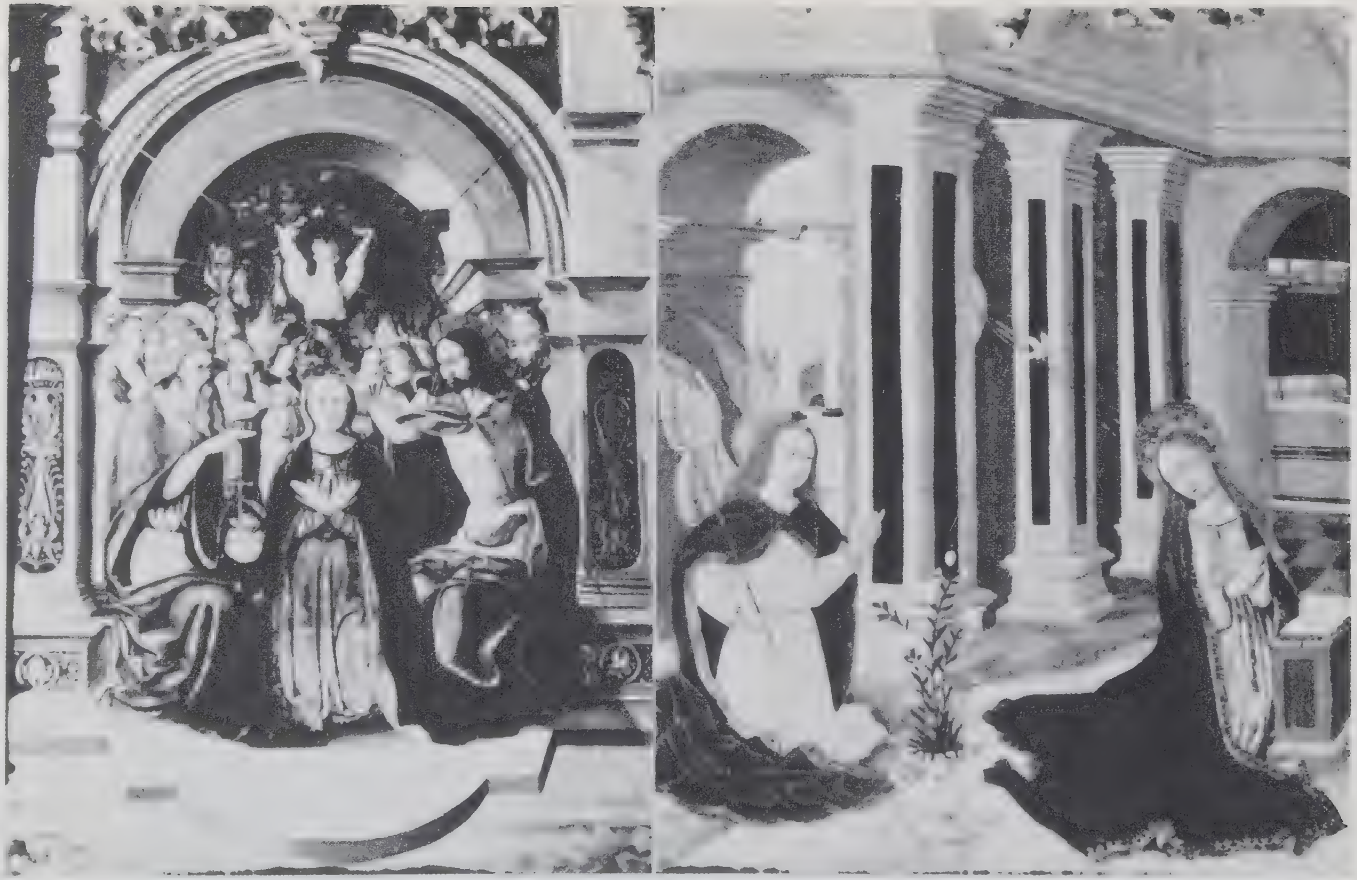

Fig. 173. COLLABORATOR B IN THE RETABLE OF NOTRE DAME DE LA MAGRANA, CATHEDRAL, PERPIGNAN. CORONATION AND ANNUNCIATION
(*Photo. Jauzac*)

indeed in the rest of Catalonia who could justly be selected as his teacher, not even the Canapost Master.

To return to the Master of the Perpignan Organ-shutters, there is a good deal of justification for believing that his popularity extended farther south than Roussillon, if we are willing to ascribe to him a long, horizontal panel of the Nativity in the Diocesan Museum, Gerona, stated to have been found in the town of Estañol, just west of the city, and to have once decorated a chest (Fig. 174). The general agreement with his modes is patent, and to bolster the possibility of the attribution it remains only to ferret out very specific affiliations. The most inescapable of these occurs in the foremost shepherd who reiterates once more the profile with projecting jaw and concave line of the nose that is so peculiar to our Master and appears in a less gentle aspect in the bearded courtier on the shutters and in the similar participant in the Argelès Via Dolorosa. The falling end of the cap divides the face in the same way as the hair of the second Apostle from the left in the Dormition of the retable of Notre Dame de la Magrana. To the second kneeling shepherd the reader will discover many close approximations if he will finger through the photographs of the monuments by the Master registered in the preceding paragraphs. The setting resembles his architectural passages, though with somewhat more elaborate experimentation in the perspective of receding rooms. There is indeed a further reason for caution in making the attribution categorical, the not negligible claims of another painter to the panel, the St. Felix Master. Analogues to the prominent shepherd, though less persuasive than those of the Roussillon artist, are forthcoming, among many examples particularly in one of the quarreling soldiers and in the mounted Longinus wounding Christ's side in the Crucifixion of his Tarragona retable; and it is to be noted that in the scene of the resurrection of Lazarus in this retable ivy prettily overruns the walls of the cemetery in the way that it decorates the ruined edifice of the Renaissance which stands for the stable in the Estañol Nativity.

The panels of a retable of St. Michael in the church at Vivès, near Le Boulou south of Perpignan, were at some time barbarously covered with a polychrome wash, but those which have now been relieved of the coating certainly incorporate the general manner of the Master of the Organ-shutters and look as if they might have been executed by his collaborator at Argelès (Fig. 175). The two central

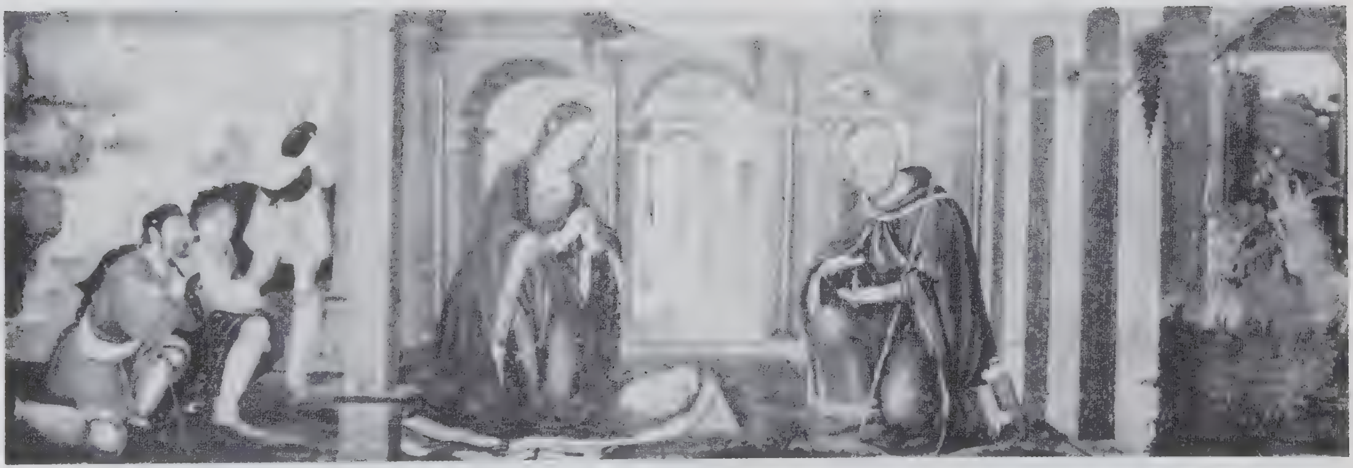

Fig. 174. THE MASTER OF THE PERPIGNAN ORGAN-SHUTTERS (?). NATIVITY.
DIOCESAN MUSEUM, GERONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

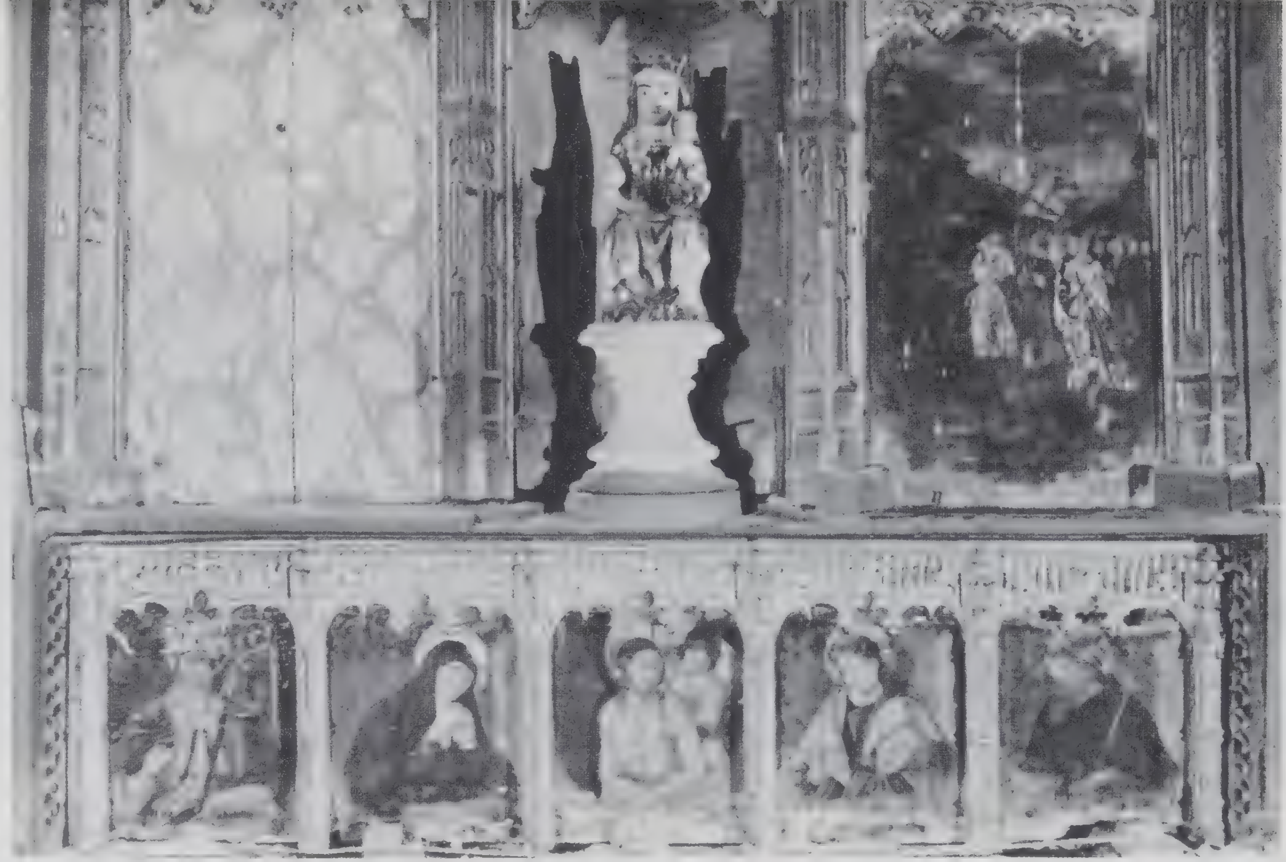

Fig. 175. SCHOOL OF THE MASTER OF THE PERPIGNAN ORGAN-SHUTTERS. RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, VIVÈS

(*Photo. Jauzac*)

niches, one over the other, now contain statues not contemporary with the paintings, a Madonna of the thirteenth or fourteenth century and, above, a St. George of a much more recent time. Two narrative compartments at the right have been cleaned and depict the combat of St. Michael and his angels against the demons and the episcopal procession to Monte Gargano, where the bull had appeared as a symbol of the archangel. The most intact parts are the pinnacle of the Crucifixion and the predella, comprising forms in half length, in the middle the dead Christ supported by an angel and at the sides the sorrowing Mother, St. John, a canonized bishop, and St. Anthony Abbot. The technical level, at least in the predella, is superior to the average of the Argelès collaborator, and yet the similarities to his craft are fairly convincing, for instance the bushy moustache of St. Anthony and his facial likeness to such a figure as the Apostle just to the right of St. Peter in the Argelès Dormition.

On the other hand, I am loath to see the hand of the Argelès collaborator of the Master of the Perpignan Organ-shutters in a fragment of a retable of St. Peter in the church at Passa, south of Perpignan, representing in a lower compartment the Apostle receiving the keys from Christ and in the upper subdivision walking over the Sea of Tiberias to Him after the Resurrection (Fig. 176). The style is so extremely close to the modes of the collaborator that I have tried more than once to convince myself of a single authorship — in the end, unsuccessfully, for, although the haloes have the single, embossed rings on their circumferences as at Argelès, the types of humanity are not quite the same, and the painter of the scenes from the life of St. Peter is a less capricious and a somewhat more competent performer.

The Master of the Organ-shutters must have controlled a number of painters producing in his manner, inasmuch as the church at Passa harbors a fragment of still another retable executed by a member of the coterie not identical with any of the others whom we have catalogued. At the lower level we see the arraignment of St. John Evangelist in Rome, and at the upper his boiling in oil (Fig. 177). Certain figures, as, in the scene of the fiery ordeal, Domitian and the soldier with the halberd, so approximate the types of the Master of the Shutters that I have sometimes wondered whether he himself could not have taken some part in the enterprise. Leaning slightly more to the fashions of the High Renaissance than the piece

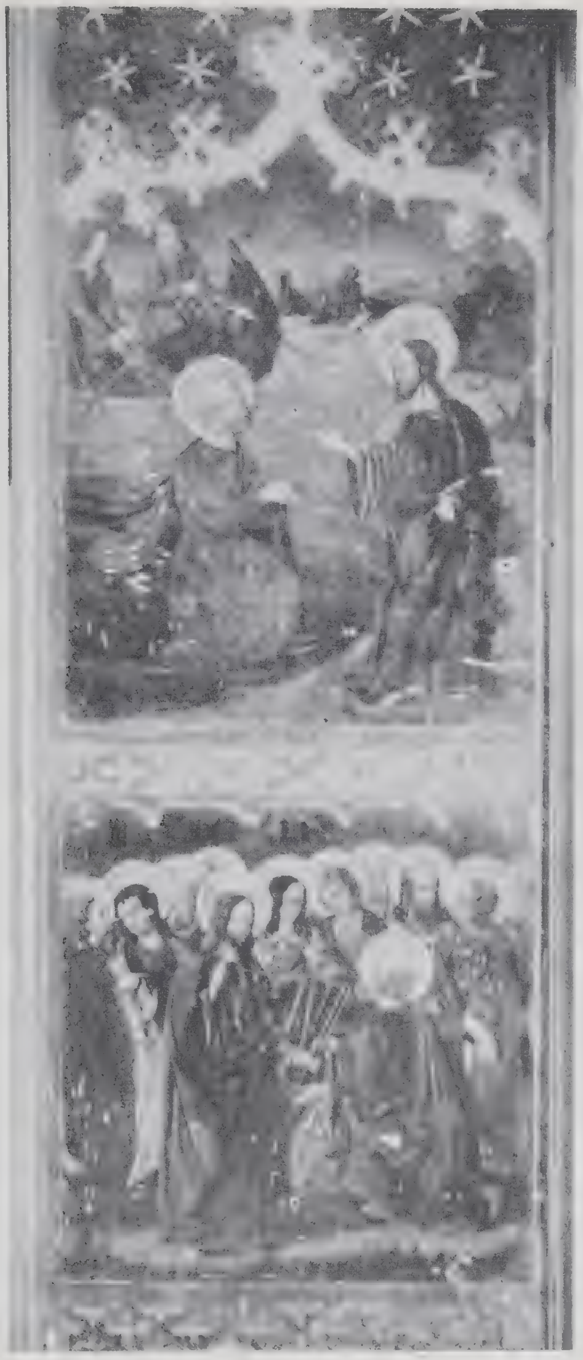

FIG. 176. SCHOOL OF THE MASTER OF THE PERPIGNAN ORGAN-SHUTTERS. SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF ST. PETER. PARISH CHURCH, PASSA

(*Photo. Jauzac*)

from a retable of St. Peter in the church, the episodes from the life of St. John have the interest of also revealing nearly indubitable evidence of the influence of the Gerona Master of St. Felix.

The extant pictorial production of Cerdagne during the early Renaissance is less distinguished than that of Roussillon, perhaps because the region was not so metropolitan in character, although painters, such as Antonio Peytaví and José Brell, enjoyed a vogue also at Perpignan, or because the preserved examples are found only in small rural churches. To the very beginning of the period belongs an anonymous craftsman for whom I invent the title of the Hix Master from the town in France, just across the border from Puigcerdá, which houses in its church his most considerable existing work, a retable of St. Martin. The central section has been lost, containing probably a painted or sculptured effigy of the canonized bishop as well as a surmounting, painted Crucifixion, and sculptures of an early Gothic Madonna and of a fairly modern Crucifix have been substituted; but the lateral, narrative compartments and the predella remain to us. The two episodes from St. Martin's life depicted at the left are the thieves attacking him on his way to visit his parents before his elevation to the episcopate and the Virgin with Sts. Agnes and Thecla appearing to him, not, as usual,[13] in his cell but outside his dwelling and without the customary addition of Sts. Peter and Paul to the number of supernatural visitors (Fig. 178). The corresponding themes at the right are the commonly seen episodes of an angel giving sleeves of gold to him while saying mass and his discomfiture of Satan on his death-bed. The Man of Sorrows in the middle of the predella is set between compartments exhibiting half-lengths of the sorrowing Mother and St. John, of St. Catherine (with the ordeal of the wheels enacted in the landscape) and of St. James Major.

The Hix Master imparts the effect of having been a not too worthy pupil of the painter who did the panels of Sts. Cosmas and Damian at the not very distant Serdinya; [14] but he alters their style to show the advent of the Renaissance in a slightly greater idealization, though progressing in little else beyond mediaeval standards and certainly not equal in talents to his probable inspirer. To choose just one concrete example of the interrelationship, the Virgin, St. Agnes, and

[13] Vol. XI, p. 123.

[14] See below, p. 670.

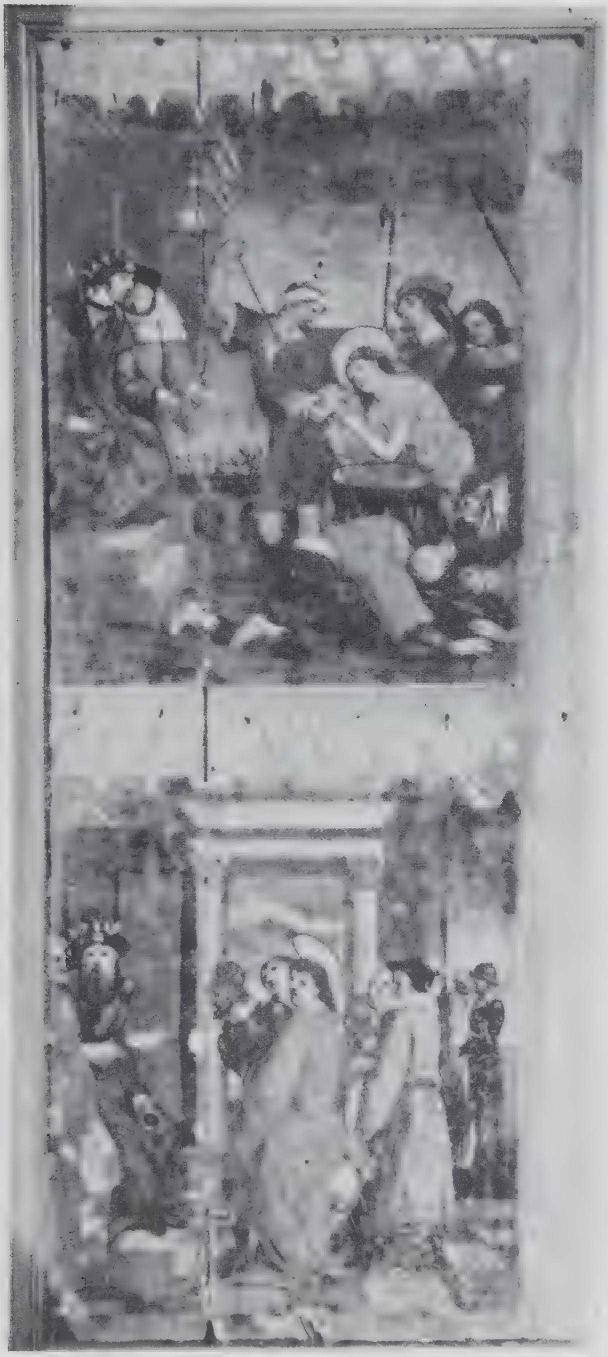

FIG. 177. SCHOOL OF THE MASTER OF THE PERPIGNAN ORGAN-SHUTTERS. SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF ST. JOHN EVANGELIST. PARISH CHURCH, PASSA
(*Photo. Jauzac*)

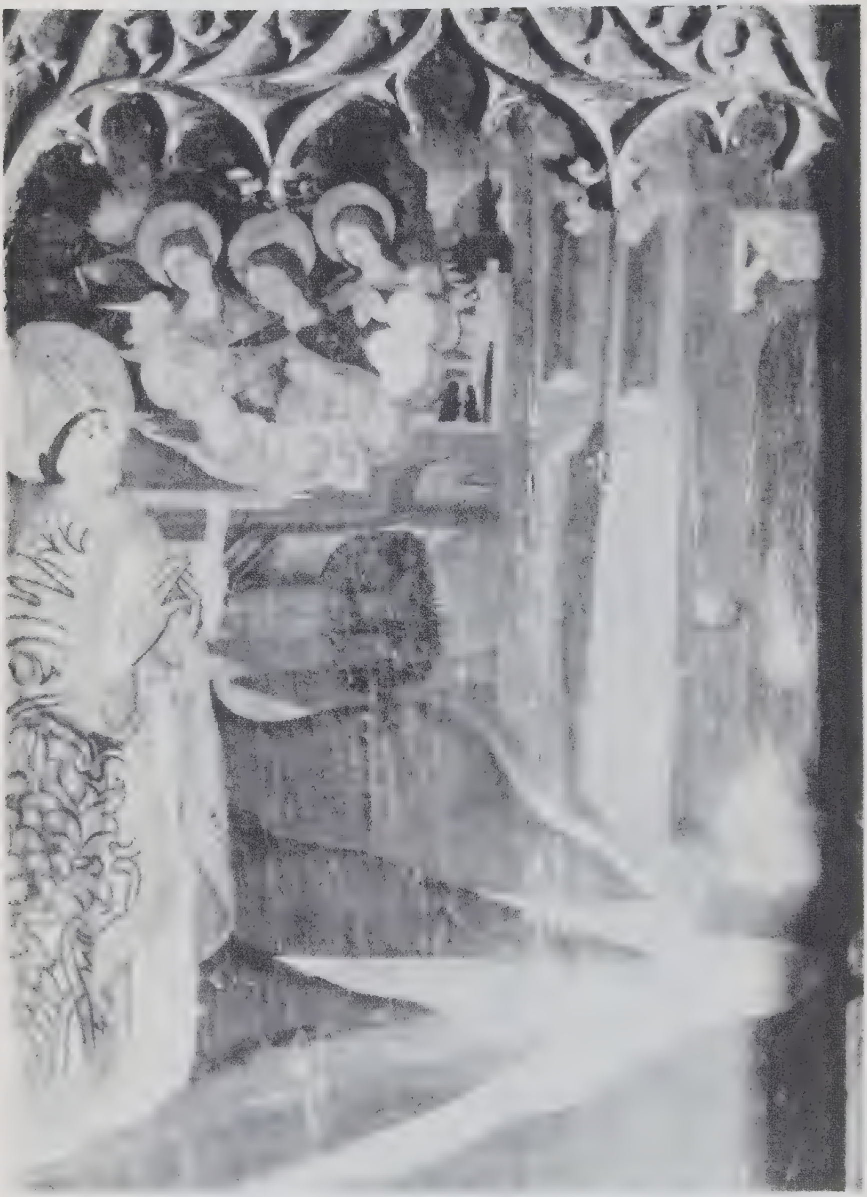

Fig. 178. THE HIX MASTER. VISION OF ST. MARTIN, SECTION OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, HIX
(*Photo. Mas*)

St. Thecla at Hix should be compared with the youth directly above the stoned Sts. Cosmas and Damian.

The retable in the church of Angoustrine in the same district but originally in the near-lying *ermita* of Saint Martin d'en Valls is such an abject ruin that I never paid much attention to it until Durliat correctly discerned in it [15] the hand of the painter responsible for the altarpiece at Hix. Also dedicated to the ubiquitously popular St. Martin, it has the interest of bearing on the escutcheons of the *guardapolvos* at the sides inscriptions of the name of the master of works in the church, Pedro Colomer, and of the date, 1508, a year entirely consonant with the style. The effigy of the principal compartment, whether painted or sculptured, has again disappeared, but the surmounting pinnacle, depicting St. Martin's mass, is preserved, so far as we can really speak of preservation in practically any part of the battered monument (Fig. 179). Another subject the same as at Hix is in the upper right compartment, the denunciation of the fleeing devil by the moribund St. Martin, and in both these cases mere variants of the Hix compositions are utilized. The three further narrative scenes are his rescue of the hanged, youthful pilgrim, his stilling of the tempest at the prayers of the pagan in the laboring ship,[16] and the resort of the afflicted to the shrine of his tomb, in continuance of a kind of theme much loved in mediaeval Spanish art. From the predella there have come down to us only the half-lengths of the grief-stricken Virgin and St. John which must originally have flanked a dead Christ and virtually duplicate the corresponding figures in the Hix assemblage. For further proof of the attribution, one should remark especially the analogy of the angel in the episode where the mass is depicted to Our Lady, St. Agnes, and St. Thecla in the other altarpiece, the resemblance of St. Martin, as he manifests himself for the sake of the hanged lad and the storm-tossed vessel, to the holy bishop receiving the visit of the three celestial ladies, and the likeness of the acolytes' robes in the compartments of the mass and of the saint's death in both retables.

In the church of Vernet-les-Bains, there is a predella of half-lengths of the dead Christ, the Virgin, St. John Evangelist, and two canonized ecclesiastics which bears some similarity to the style of the Hix Master but not enough to establish a unity of authorship.

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[15] *Op. cit.*, 152.

[16] Vol. VII, p. 410.

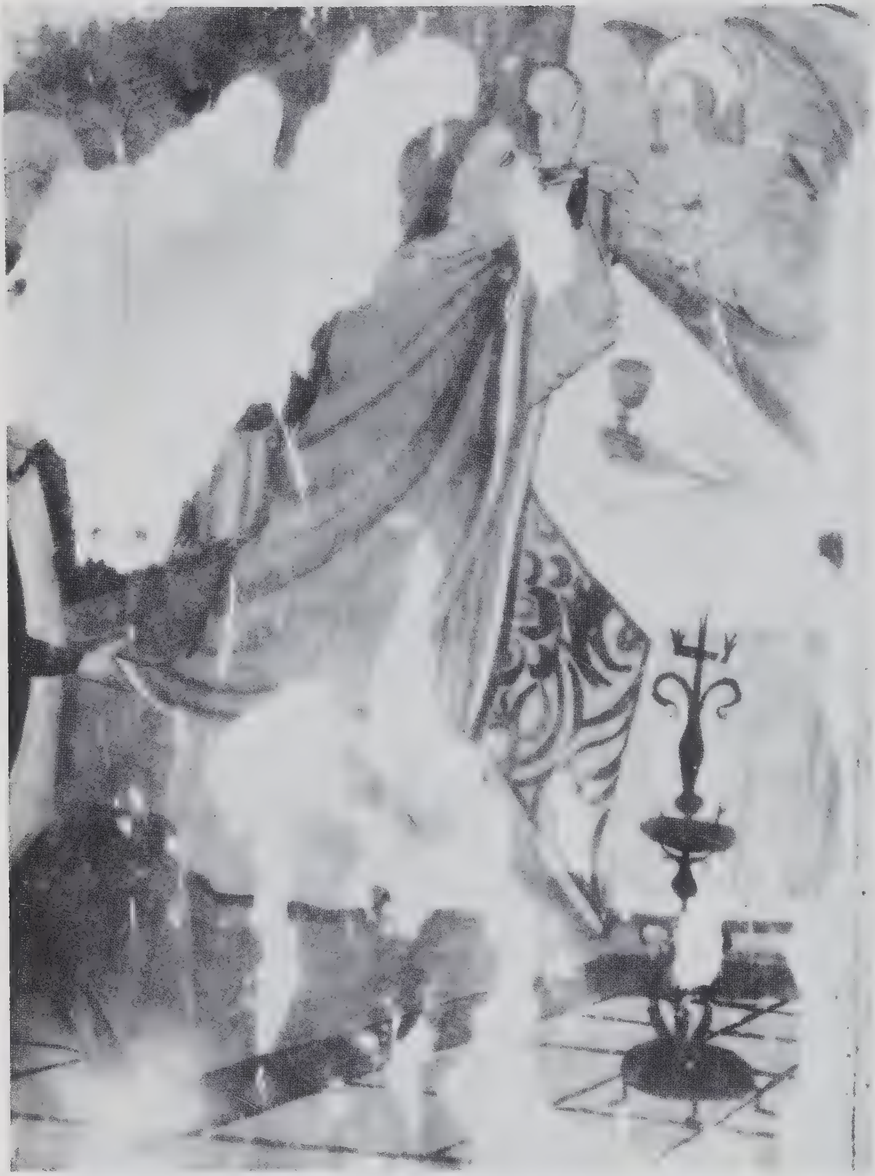

FIG. 179. THE HIX MASTER. MASS OF ST. MARTIN, SECTION OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, ANGOUSTRINE
(*Photo. Mas*)

To another, later manner popular in the region we cannot attach the name of a single painter but, as in a number of other instances recorded in my volumes, we are obliged to assign it to two partners, since they are jointly designated in a contract as the authors of the one extant, documented retable in which the style is embodied. The church at Iravalls, just northwest of Bourg-Madame, possesses the retable over its high altar, and the partners are Antonio Peytaví and Miguel Verdaguer; but, inasmuch as the former stands forth more prominently in the annals of the period, the likelihood is that he was the creative spirit in the association and that Verdaguer was no more than an assistant, faithfully reproducing his comrade's attainments. The dates of the two men and their style carry us beyond the ordinary limits of this volume, but it is not unfitting to consider them now because they seem somewhat affiliated with the followers of the Canillo Master who were also employed in the district of Puigcerdá and Bourg-Madame and because they are still rather archaic for the time in which they worked.

Miguel Verdaguer scarcely emerges in the documents in which he finds mention except as a collaborator of Peytaví, and he is described as dwelling, like his partner, at Perpignan, though having originated in Lérida; but Antonio, who came from Toulouse in France, is often recorded in the archives both as associated in commissions with painters besides Verdaguer and as receiving separate orders. Much of his activity, whether by himself or with others, consisted of polychromy of sculpture as well as of the execution of actual paintings. The stretch of this activity, so far as we know it, reaches from April 7, 1562, until his death on September 16, 1592. His reputation extended as far to the west as La Seo de Urgel, where, after having a specimen of his skill approved, he was honored, from 1573–1575, with two commissions in polychromy, one of them in unison with Verdaguer,[17] who continued to be associated with him at times and died some time between 1586 and 1595; but for our purposes nothing would be gained by recapitulating Peytaví's tasks in polychromy elsewhere or by itemizing his lost, painted altarpieces in other places.[18]

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[17] See Pedro Pujol in *Analecta sacra tarraconensia*, I (1925), 346–351. This writer ascribes to Peytaví some canvases in the church of the Piedad at La Seo de Urgel, but Durliat, in a letter to me, expresses doubts about the attribution.

[18] For all these works, see Pierre Vidal, *Histoire de la Ville de Perpignan*, Paris, 1897, pp. 473–476; F. Monsalvatje, *Obispado de Elna*, Olot, III (1913), 141 and

Among Professor Marcel Durliat's most significant contributions to our knowledge of the art of Roussillon and Cerdagne is his publication [19] of the contract, dated November 29, 1572, which authenticates the sole, extant, as yet documented work of Peytaví and Verdaguer in formal painting rather than mere polychromy, the retable of St. Fructuosus over the high altar of the church at Iravalls. Whitewash has hidden the original panels, but Durliat has caused a section of one of them to be cleaned, revealing a part of the scene of the arraignment of the hallowed bishop of Tarragona and of his co-martyrs, Sts. Augurius and Eulogius, his deacons [20] (Fig. 180). The fragment is too slight to exhibit anything more definite stylistically than average competence in modes that may be described as practically those of the High Renaissance; but happily the evidence is sufficient to enable us to assign to the partners by comparison other productions that give us a fuller and more detailed view of their attainments.

The production that, in the district, furnishes the most potent proof of their authorship is the large retable, which, over the high altar of the church at Ur (near Iravalls), was set in a new architectural frame at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the statue of St. Martin at the centre was made and there were other sculptured and painted additions. The parts remaining from the sixteenth century are: four rectangular, narrative compartments at the sides, depicting the emperor Valentinian punished for his discourtesy to the great bishop by fire bursting forth at the foot of his throne,[21] the saint resuscitating the youth at the mother's prayer, the mass of St. Martin [22] (Fig. 181), and his death as Satan flees and an angel receives his soul; and a pinnacle of the Crucifixion, flanked, under volutes, by half-lengths of Abraham and Moses, wearing circular haloes instead of those of polygonal shape which in earlier Spanish art had distinguished the worthies of the elder dispensation. Among the most tangible details enforcing the attribution are the analogy of the head of St.

155; Jean Capeille, *Dictionnaire de biographies roussillonnaises*, Perpignan, 1914, pp. 477 and 645; J. M. Madurell in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, IV, 1–2 (1946), 66–69 and 160–162, and IV, 3–4 (1946), 384–387; and especially Durliat, *op. cit.*, 168–177. The retable in St. Jacques, Perpignan, ascribed by Vidal on documentary grounds to Peytaví, is not preserved.

[19] *Op. cit.*, 170.

[20] For St. Fructuosus, see my article in the *Gazette des beaux-arts*, December, 1954, p. 317.

[21] Vol. XI, pp. 123–126.

[22] See above, p. 414.

Martin in the imperial presence to that of St. Fructuosus, the repetition, in this St. Martin, of the pointing finger of one of the deacons in the Iravalls panel, constituting a favorite gesture in the output of Peytaví and Verdaguer, and the reappearance, in St. Martin at mass, of the deacon's projecting nose coming well down over the upper lip.

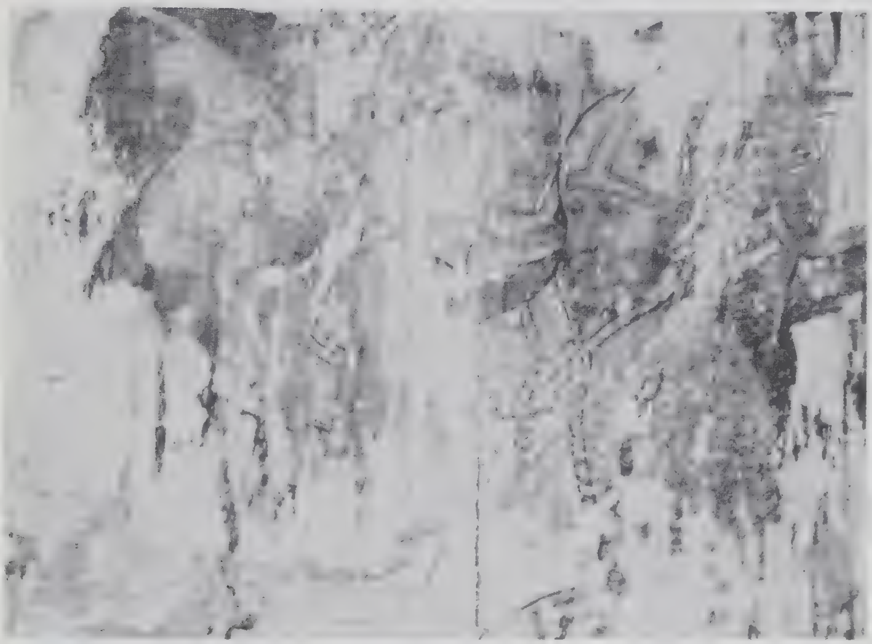

FIG. 180. ANTONIO PEYTAVÍ AND MIGUEL VERDAGUER. ARRAIGNMENT OF ST. FRUCTUOSUS AND HIS TWO DEACONS, SECTION OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, IRAVALLS
(*Courtesy of Professor Durliat*)

The broader outlook permitted by the Ur retable upon the manner of Peytaví, who seems to have been the controlling personality in the partnership, gives the impression that he may have been formed under the influence of Jaime Forner, before the latter moved to Barcelona or even afterward; [23] but there are affiliations, probably not fortuitous, also with the fashions of the Canillo Master's pupils, the painters of Saneja and Nahuja,[24] who found patronage in the same district.

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[23] See above, p. 210.

[24] See above, pp. 379 and 386.

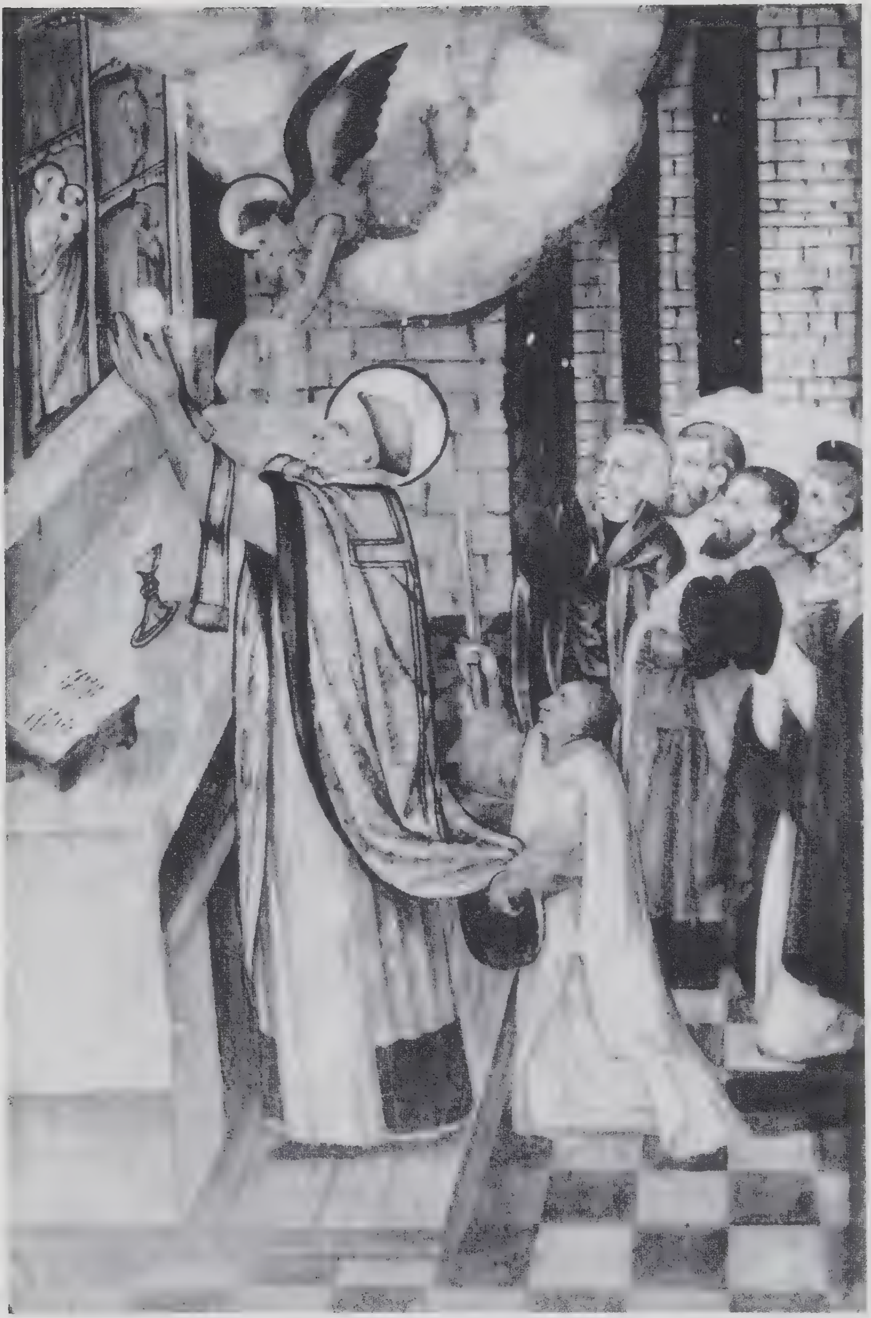

Fig. 181. ANTONIO PEYTAVÍ AND MIGUEL VERDAGUER. MASS OF ST. MARTIN, SECTION OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, UR
(*Photo. Mas*)

The designs in the haloes are somewhat more elaborate in a retable of the Virgin in the church of the village of Sainte Léocadie, a little further to the east, but the style is plainly identical with that of Ur. The original sculpture or painting has been lost from the central compartment, but above this the panel of a veronica of the face of Christ belongs to the cycle by Peytaví and Verdaguer. The four lateral compartments are included in this cycle, depicting the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, and Epiphany (Fig. 182), as well as the predella, which displays in the middle division the Pietà and in the side pieces standing effigies of saints, at the left Sts. James Major and Roch and at the right Sts. Stephen, Cosmas, and Damian. The Ur panel of St. Martin's mass furnishes the most concrete of the analogies with the retable at Sainte Léocadie. The foremost, aged assistant at the eucharist is scarcely differentiated from the oldest Magus in the Epiphany; a single model seems to have served for the younger, bearded devotee in the mass and for the St. Joseph in the Adoration of the Kings; the angel bringing to St. Martin the miraculous sleeves should be compared with the Virgin in the Visitation; and the acolyte of the mass has the same profile as St. Elizabeth greeting Our Lady. The Moses at Ur also is like the St. Joseph in the Nativity; and in both retables there appears a predilection for representing walls of brick. The assemblage at Sainte Léocadie is tied to the documented altarpiece of Iravalls by the repetition of the outward glance of the left of the deacons of St. Fructuosus in the St. Stephen of the predella. The compositional similarity of the Pietà to the version in Jaime Forner's retable at Sitges is one among several elements occasionally cropping forth in the output of Peytaví and Verdaguer to suggest their indebtedness to this artist's precedent. It is quite imaginable that they might have seen a similar rendering of the subject in a lost work by Forner in Roussillon or Cerdagne.

Their stylistic relationship to the exponents of the school of the Canillo Master is the cause of my long hesitation whether to ascribe to Peytaví and Verdaguer or to the painter of Nahuja a panel in the church of the town of Latour-de-Carol, adjoining Iravalls, the subject of which is St. Stephen looking up "steadfastly into heaven" as he is dragged to martyrdom (Fig. 183); but I have finally decided that the claims of the two partners are preponderant. Some of the deacon's captors approximate the types of the Nahuja retable, but the one at the extreme left and his facially similar companion on the right find

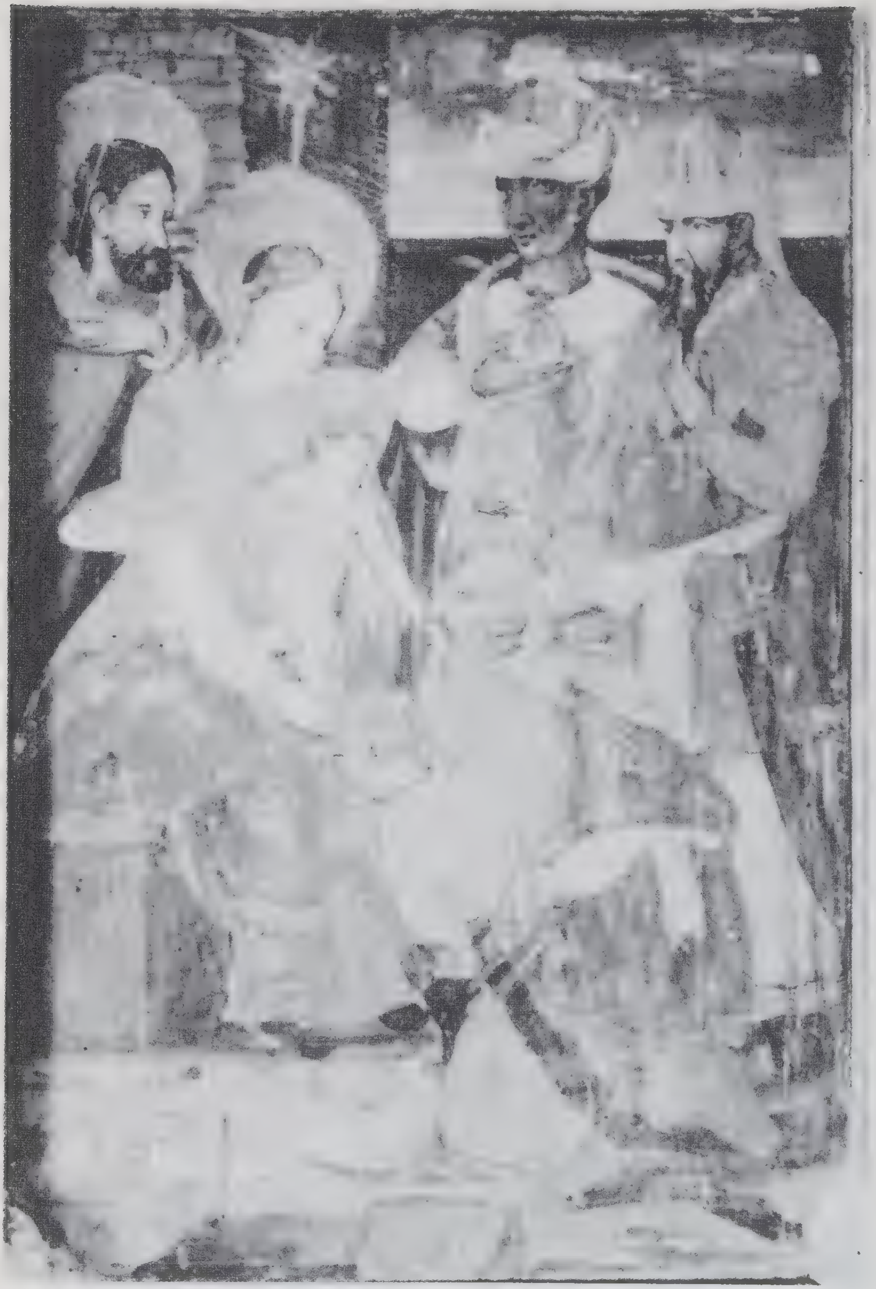

Fig. 182. ANTONIO PEYTAVÍ AND MIGUEL VERDAGUER. EPIPHANY, SECTION OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, SAINTE LÉOCADIE
(*Photo. Mas*)

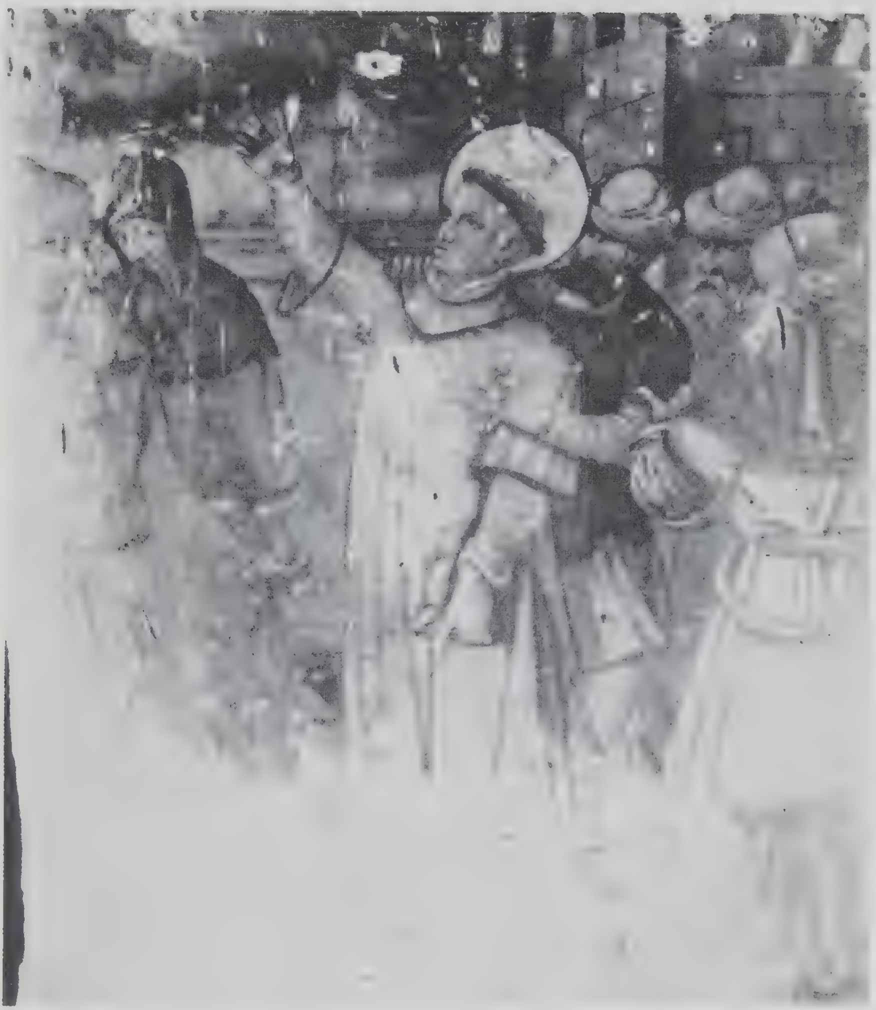

Fig. 183. ANTONIO PEYTAVÍ AND MIGUEL VERDAGUER. ST. STEPHEN DRAGGED TO MARTYRDOM. PARISH CHURCH, LATOUR-DE-CAROL
(*Photo. Jauzac*)

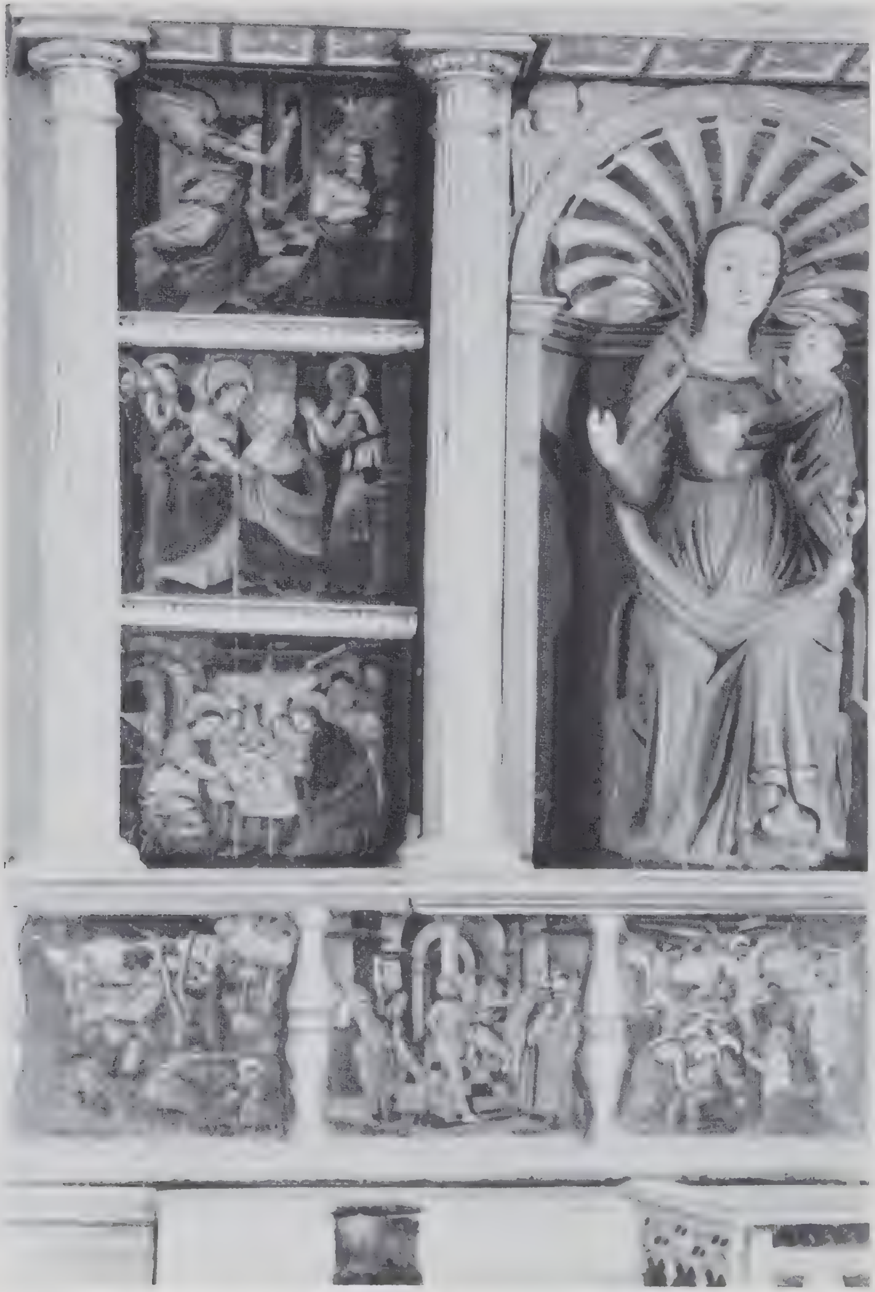

Fig. 184. ANTONIO PEYTAVÍ AND MIGUEL VERDAGUER. SECTION OF RETABLE OF THE VIRGIN OVER HIGH ALTAR. PARISH CHURCH, EVOL
(*Photo. Jauzac*)

a counterpart in the emperor Valentinian at Ur confronted by St. Martin. More determinative are the likeness of St. Stephen to the prominent companion of St. Fructuosus at Iravalls in countenance and his reiteration of the characteristic gesture with pointing finger. It is to be noted also that he has the piercing eyes of the St. Stephen in the predella of the retable at Sainte Léocadie.

I have postponed until here a more capacious work shown through style to be by Peytaví, whether or not in collaboration with Verdaguer, the retable of the Virgin over the high altar of the church at Evol, near Olette and thus closer to Perpignan itself, because the productions hitherto discussed form a geographically contiguous group which we should expect to have occupied the attention of a single artist, with or without collaborators, and because we need the combined evidence of these paintings to demonstrate their oneness with the Evol altarpiece. A statue of the Madonna fills the main compartment, and the painted lateral panels depict the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity (Fig. 184), Purification, the young Christ among the Doctors, and the Resurrection. As at Ur, there is an emphasized pinnacle, containing at the centre the Assumption, surmounted by the Coronation, and at the sides the Ascension and Pentecost. The predella aligns about the Crucifixion other scenes of the Passion, the Agony in the Garden, Flagellation, Crowning with Thorns, and Via Dolorosa. The sarcophagus of the Virgin in the Assumption is inscribed with the year 1578, and at the bottom of the retable there remains from a somewhat earlier structure a tabernacle bearing the date 1553 and embellished with figures of the Virgin and St. John Evangelist whose author I fail to recognize. The stylistic unity with the other works that we have brought together is so written all over the Evol altarpiece that it is not necessary to amass detailed arguments like those with which we have encumbered the preceding pages. The characteristic types reappear, the St. Joseph, for instance, in the Visitation and scene of Christ among the Doctors not differentiated from the foster-father of Christ in the Epiphany at Sainte Léocadie, and the hawk-beaked Zacharias in the Visitation belonging to the same class of hoary old men as, in the same Epiphany, the kneeling Magus. The compositions of the Annunciation, Visitation, and Nativity are reiterated from the Sainte Léocadie retable, in the two latter cases with an ampler stage according to the more pretentious scope of the Evol assemblage; but I will leave to the reader the pursuit of the many other items of cor-

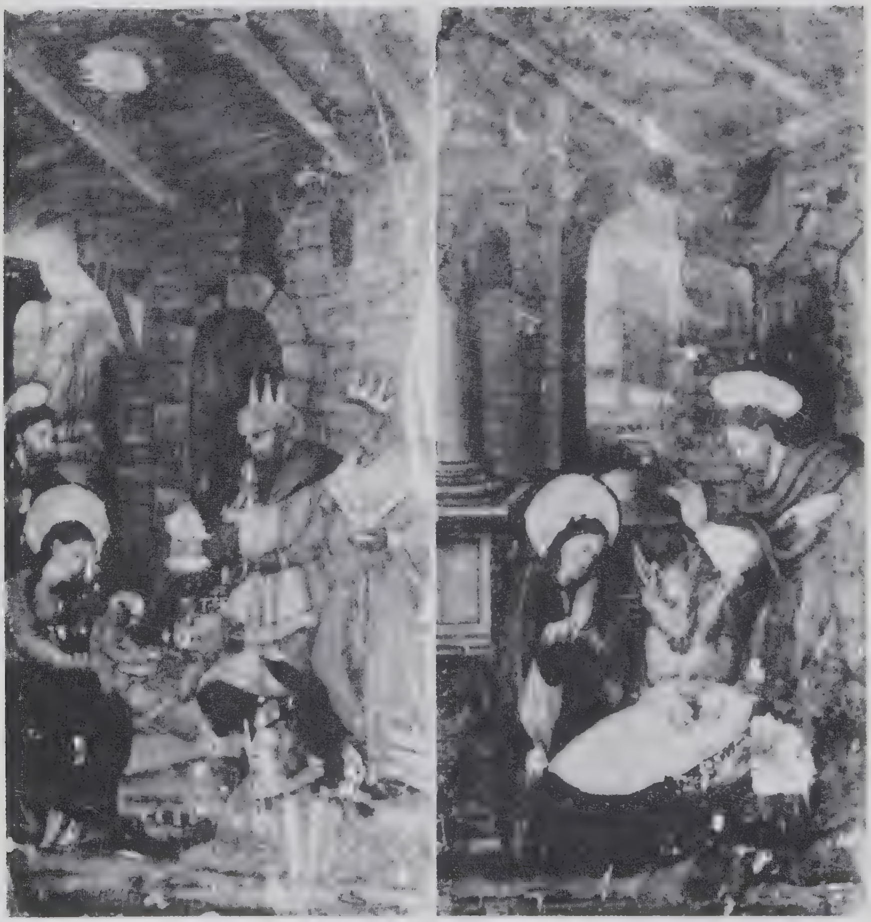

Fig. 185. ANTONIO PEYTAVÍ AND MIGUEL VERDAGUER. NATIVITY AND EPIPHANY. ERMITA OF SAINT CHRISTOPHE, NEAR PRADES
(*Photo. Comet*)

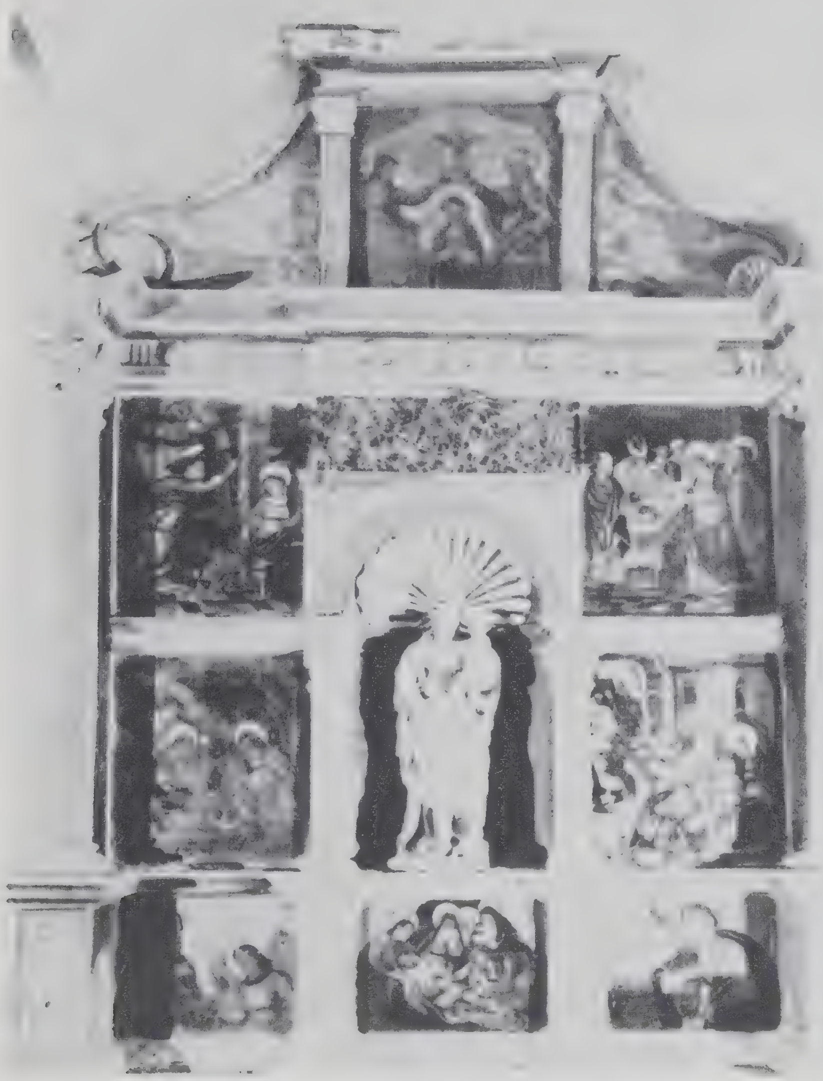

FIG. 186. ANTONIO PEYTAVÍ AND MIGUEL VERDAGUER. RETABLE OF THE VIRGIN. PARISH CHURCH, TRESSERRE
(*Photo. Jauzac*)

respondence. The analogy of the Annunciation to the rendering by Forner in the Sitges retable would again supply ammunition to those who wish to contend for his influence upon the partners.

Professor Durliat [25] has keenly perceived an intimate connection between the Peytaví firm and panels (Fig. 185) of the Nativity and Epiphany in the *ermita* of Saint Christophe, once the parish church of the long abandoned village of Llugols, just northwest of Prades; but I myself am willing to be a little more audacious and actually claim them for the firm itself. He rightly finds their nearest relative in the retable at Sainte Léocadie, in which the corresponding scenes are, more or less, only variants of the Llugols renderings. The consideration that the Virgin in the renderings is somewhat younger slightly troubles him; but she is the same type of womanhood, and the difference in her age is outweighed by the analogies in the other participants, as well as in additional respects. Even the figuration of the haloes is the same as at Sainte Léocadie, and it is only the necessity imposed by the greater height of the panels that occasioned at their tops more architectural setting than the firm ordinarily took the pains to insert.

Subsequently to the publication of his book, Durliat has kindly sent me a photograph of a retable of the Virgin in the church at Tresserre, near Le Boulou south of Perpignan (Fig. 186), which he has justly classified in the same group as the altarpieces of Sainte Léocadie and Evol and which therefore, in my opinion, would be a production of Peytaví, with or without the assistance of Verdaguer. A shrine with a sculptured, standing Madonna, holding the Child, is at the centre, and the scenes of the Annunciation, Nativity, Epiphany, and Purification are consigned to the sides; there is a *remate* of the Coronation, set between volutes, so that the general construction is like what the altarpiece of Ur must originally have looked like; and in the predella the Lamentation over the Dead Christ is flanked by disproportionately large half-lengths of St. Roch (with his accompanying angel) and of St. Ursula. Because Peytaví seems to have largely regarded his profession as a commercial proposition and so did not exert himself to vary his compositions once evolved, the events from the Virgin's life are treated in much the same way as in his other works. The Annunciation and Coronation are practically duplicates of the versions at Evol; the Purification in the Evol retable is only slightly modified at

[25] *Op. cit.*, 177.

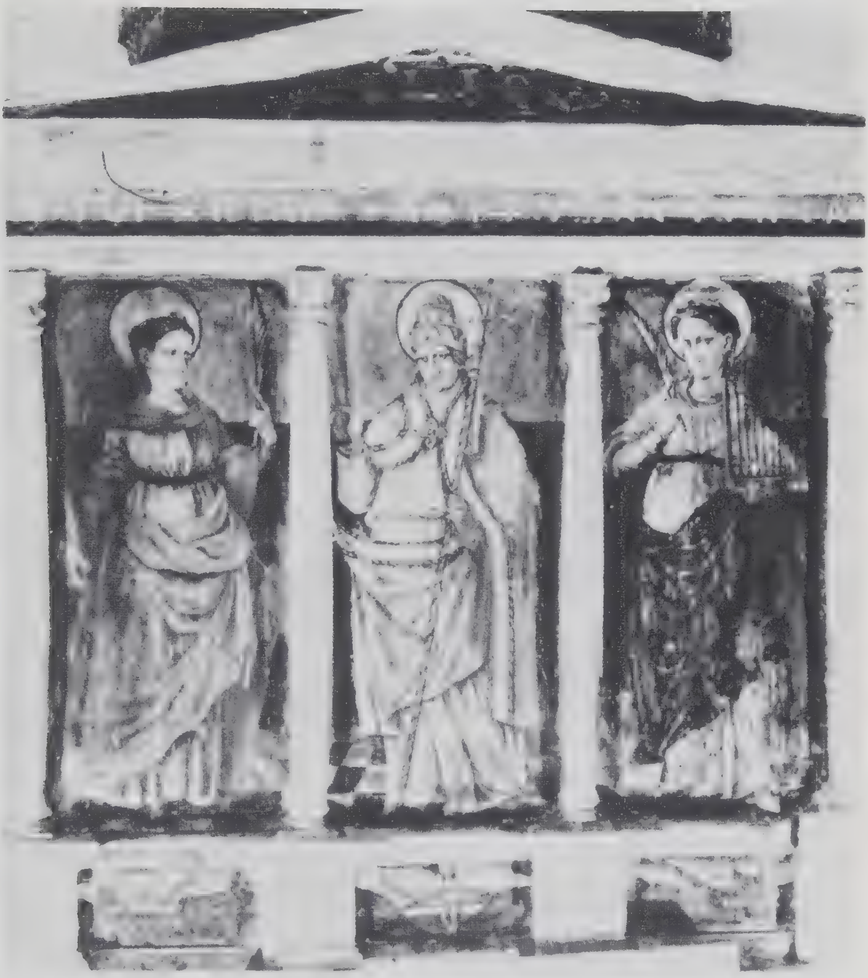

Fig. 187. CIRCLE OF ANTONIO PEYTAVÍ. RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, OREILLA
(*Photo. Jauzac*)

Tresserre; the Nativity scarcely changes the Sainte Léocadie rendering; and the Epiphany recalls the arrangements and types in this scene at Sainte Léocadie and Llugols.

The church at Oreilla (near Olette and Evol) contains a not very ambitious retable related to the manner of Peytaví and Company but, so far as I can see, not quite identical with it (Fig. 187). An iconographic interest attaches to the altarpiece by reason of its heterogeneous comprehensiveness and the rarity of two of the sacred personages included. At the centre stands the pope, St. Linus, the successor of St. Peter in the see of Rome, much honored in Roussillon, where he is said to have been born,[26] and at the sides are the likewise erect effigies of Sts. Eulalia and Cecilia. In the predella the forms are set against landscapes, in the middle the arrow-punctured St. Sebastian and at left and right St. Gaudericus the Ploughman in two episodes from his life, turning over the glebe with his team of oxen and then praying in the fields.[27]

The author of the Oreilla retable seems very definitely to have painted a diptych published by Durliat[28] which has passed from the Tribunal de Commerce at Perpignan to the Museum of the city. The left wing displays the old Romanesque theme of the Pantocrator (here conceived as God the Father) surrounded by the signs of the Evangelists, and on the right wing there is represented the Crucifixion, which bears the date 1580 inscribed beneath the cross. To be persuaded of the unity of style, one need only compare the St. John in the Crucifixion with the Oreilla St. Cecilia and the Magdalene with the St. Eulalia.

[26] The inscription above him reads Ley, the Catalan for Linus.

[27] For St. Gaudericus see the Bollandists under the day of his feast, October 16. A southern Frenchman himself, he enjoyed a special cult in Roussillon because some of his relics were preserved at the great monastery of St. Martin de Canigou in the province, and he is a counterpart of St. Isidore the Ploughman of Madrid: cf. my vol. II, p. 154.

[28] *Op. cit.*, p. 180, and illustrated on p. 175.

CHAPTER XVI

MAJORCA

Whereas in the fifteenth century the painting of the island turned for models both to Catalonia and Valencia, it separated itself more in the Cinquecento from Catalan currents, while retaining, especially in the person of the Calviá Master,[1] its Valencian allegiance. The situation is thus diverse from that of Sardinia, nor is it possible to find in the Balearic Isles any extant productions of the period by Catalan masters of the mainland or, *vice versa,* in Catalonia proper any works securely attributable to Majorcan painters. The present chapter, therefore, should probably have been comprised in volume XI, which treats the Valencian school, but, since it was there omitted, its publication must not be longer delayed.

1. Manuel Ferrando

The best of the Balearic painters of the period, Manuel Ferrando, affords an outstanding example of the at least partial artistic divorce of the island from the Catalan school. Among his Spanish rivals of the early Renaissance, he possesses the distinctive interest of Pedro Berruguete in that we are able with absolute definitenss not only to assert his education in Italy but also to name the exact spot where this education occurred. Both artists indeed prove to have been trained in central Italy, Berruguete at or in the region of Urbino and Manuel Ferrando at Arezzo. We are also provided with another instance in which our modern studies have once more demonstrated the accuracy of Vasari, who, as himself an Aretine, would be particularly well informed about the art of his own city and who declares that the painter of Arezzo, Domenico Pecori, was assisted in three works by a Spaniard whose name he does not specify but who is indisputably shown to have been Manuel Ferrando by stylistic comparisons of the two of these works that have survived with Manuel's documented production from Valldemosa. Some critics have loosely guessed that the Spaniard who aided Pecori was Lo Spagna (Giovanni di Pietro), but the keen eye of Bertaux long ago detected that he can be no other than Manuel Ferrando. The internal evidence of Pecori's works forestalls also the identification of his collaborator with Fernando de Llanos or Fernando Yáñez de la Almedina, and, correspondingly, there is not enough of the Leonardesque in Manuel to permit the supposition that he was the *Ferrando spagnuolo* who is known to have assisted Leonardo in the painting of the Battle of Anghiari.[2]

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[1] Vol. XI, p. 148.

The statements about Pecori's Spanish helper are made by Vasari in his life of Bartolommeo della Gatta (whose real name was Pietro Dei and whose pupil Pecori was), and he goes on to declare that a reason for Pecori's employment of the Spaniard was that the latter had more skill in oils whereas the Italian excelled naturally in the more indigenous medium of tempera. It thus becomes extremely probable that Ferrando betook himself to Italy already pictorially educated in the tradition of Spain where, because of the potent Flemish influence, the technique of oils had been more extensively developed than in the sister peninsula. We are uninformed of the antecedents of Manuel Ferrando before he appears at Arezzo and then in Majorca, but his origins in western Spain are suggested not only because there was a larger resort to oils in the schools of this region than in Catalonia, Valencia, or the Balearic Isles but also because both his Christian name and surname are much less common on the east coast and islands than in the kingdom of Castile and Leon. He can be placed in Italy with surety in 1506, prior to his emergence in Majorca, since this is the date of one of Pecori's pictures upon which Vasari says that he collaborated, the Circumcision now in the church of S. Agostino at Arezzo.

The artistic personality of Manuel Ferrando is established by the preservation of a documented work of 1517,[3] the large painting on cloth, now in the Museo de la Lonja at Palma but coming from the great Carthusian monastery of Valldemosa on the island and commemorating the foundation of this institution by King Martin the Humane of Aragon in 1399 (Fig. 188). Gorgeously enthroned in the middle of the picture, the Madonna and Child receive the homage of King Martin, who kisses the Infant's foot, and of the prior of the monastery, to whom the young Saviour hands the book of the

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[2] *Ibid.*, p. 177.

[3] Despite assiduous search I am forced to admit that I have been unable to ferret out the place where the document is published, but it must exist and contain the information given in my text above, since it is so reported by all those who have given any attention to Manuel Ferrando.

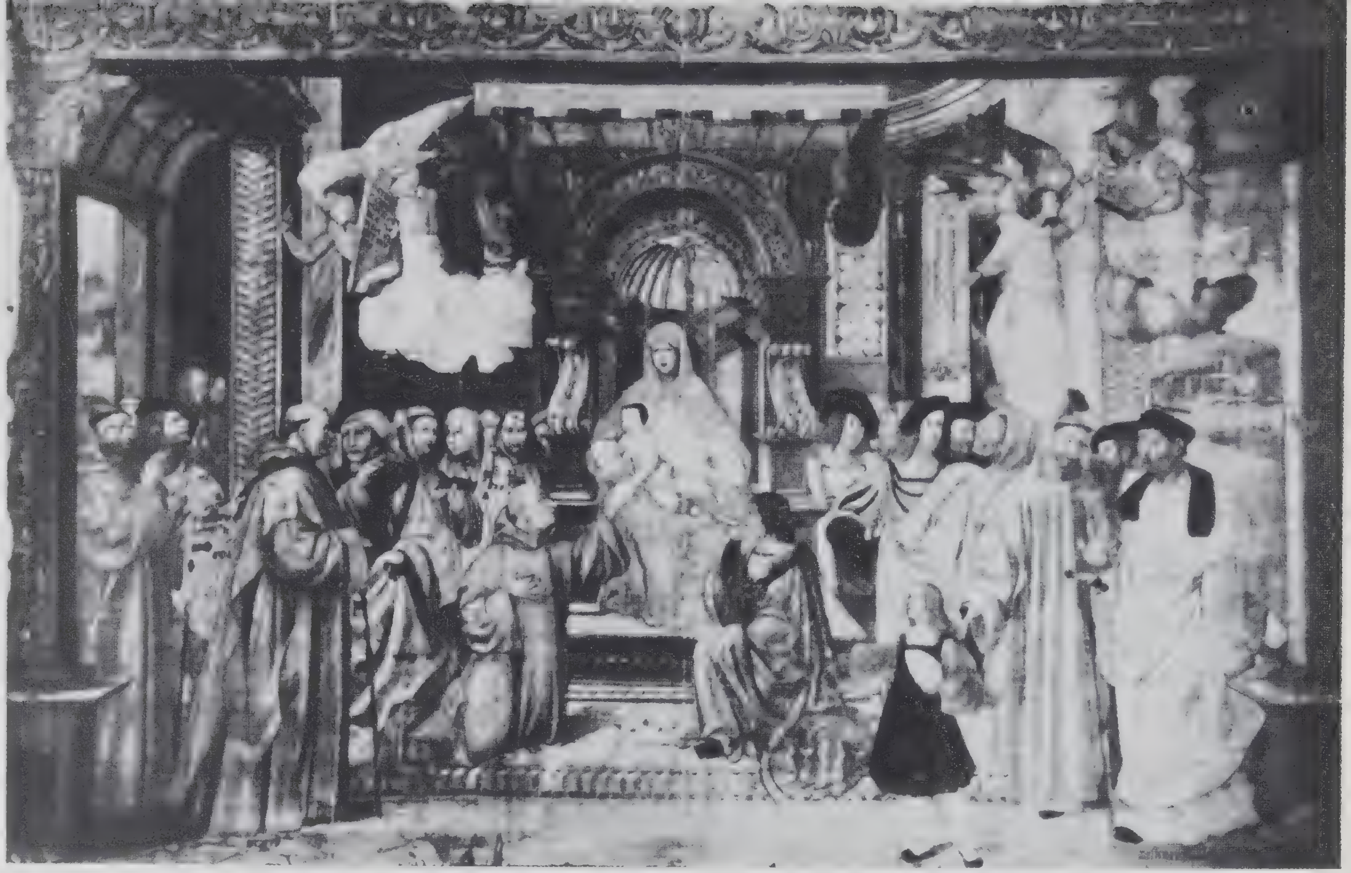

FIG. 188. MANUEL FERRANDO. MADONNA OF VALLDEMOSA. MUSEO DE LA LONJA, PALMA
(*Photo. Mas*)

Carthusian rule. Round about on either side other Carthusians, secular clergy, and laymen witness the ceremony, while in the air flutter angels, the one at the left bearing a tablet with a petition for alms taken from Luke XI, 41, "Date eleemosynam, et ecce omnia munda sunt vobis," and a pair at the right evidently conceived as bearing from heaven the Carthusian rule with which the Child below endows the Order.[4] A number of the assemblage are identified by inscriptions set beside or under them: at the left, with their titles but not their actual names, not only the prior but also the vicar of the Order, who stands prominently in the foreground with a staff; a distinguished layman, Mossén [5] Paláu, conversing with the vicar, and a younger and dapper gentleman, Mossén Borresá Cavaller,[6] looking upward to the angel with the eleemosynary tablet who seems to be directing the message especially to him; in the left background close to the throne, two ladies, Madona Amadés and Madona Dardés; and at the extreme right a conspicuous canon, Mossén Pau (= Pablo) Olesa (belonging to a family recorded to have been benefactors of Valldemosa), and behind him in the crowd, next to a Raphaelesque gallant, another middle-aged layman, Mossén Grabyal Casellas.[7]

Manuel Ferrando declares himself here as a fairly competent exponent of the Umbro-Florentine style of the early Cinquecento with little or nothing of the Spanish artist left in him. In other works of his we shall be able to discover Iberian characteristics, but far from sufficiently definite to reveal from what part of the peninsula he had

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[4] My eyes will not penetrate the dimness of the inscription on the throne's canopy: it seems to begin with the word *Principium*, and may record the founding of the monastery.

[5] In modern Spanish usage, the title *Mossén* is pretty well confined to clergymen, but in earlier centuries it was a more comprehensive appellation of honor. The Catalan and Majorcan form is *Mossen* and the Castilian *Mosén*, which Manuel Ferrando uses in all instances except one, but it cannot for this reason be argued that he came from western Spain, if we remember the generally loose spelling of the period. In the volume on the *Islas Baleares* in the series, *España, sus monumentos y artes*, page 978, note b, the name is read as *Palas*, but it seems to me, Palao, which would be the modern Catalan surname *Paláu*.

[6] *Cavaller* is the Catalan for *Knight*.

[7] In the above-mentioned note in the volume on the Islas Baleares, one of the Carthusians is stated to be labelled as the procurator of the Order, but neither my notes taken in front of the picture nor the available photographs reveal whether he is the figure at the extreme left or the monk at the right talking to Mossén Pau Olesa. Under the inscription that identifies Borresá there appear to be some letters which could be a part of the word *procurator* and would thus apply to the figure at the left, but vestiges of writing can be detected on the lower border of the habit of the Carthusian at the right.

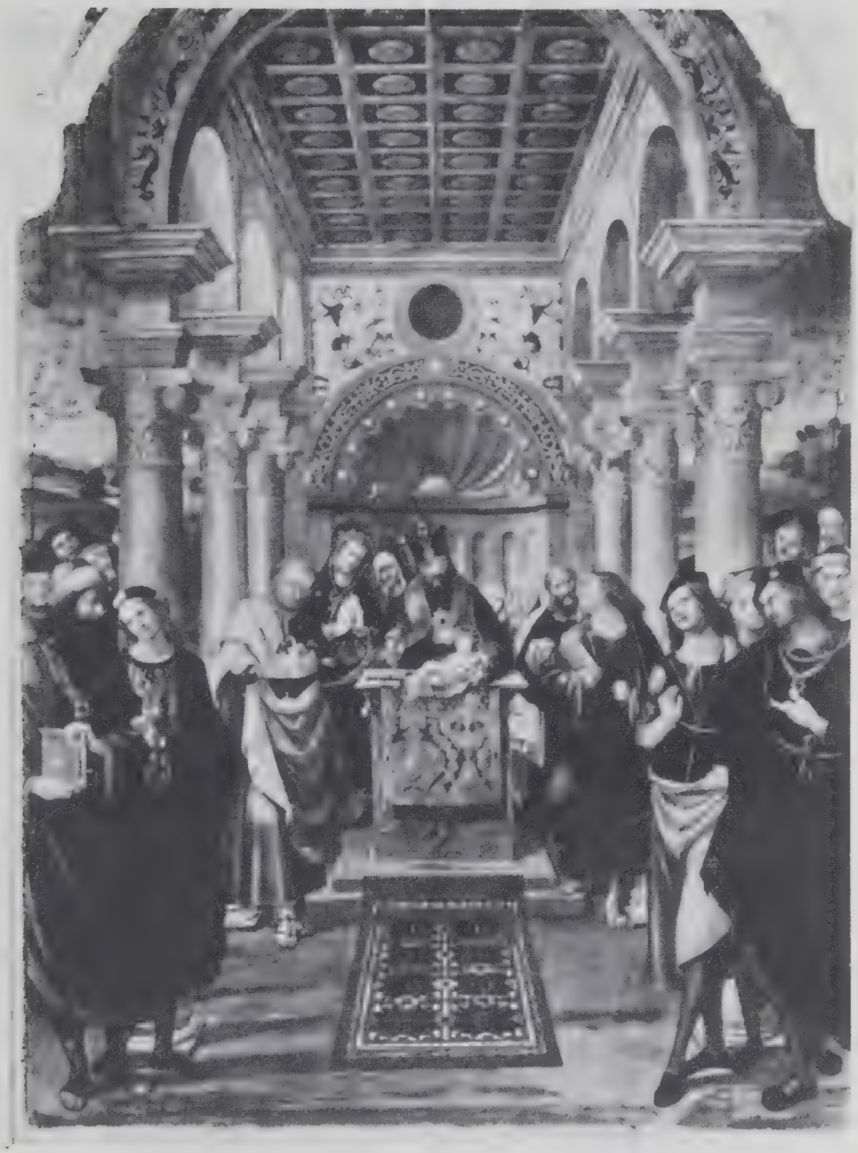

FIG. 189. DOMENICO PECORI. CIRCUMCISION.
S. AGOSTINO, AREZZO
(*Photo. Alinari*)

originally hailed. He follows the precedents of Pecori very faithfully, and in certain instances his types are so nearly or entirely identical with those of the Italian that on his return to Spain he must have copied from memory or from sketches which he brought back with him figures painted by Pecori, if we are unwilling to believe that these figures in Pecori's works embody his actual collaboration. The most tangible example is the head of Mossén Borresá which repeats that of the youth with his foot on the altar in Pecori's Circumcision in S. Agostino at Arezzo (Fig. 189), a picture in which Vasari testifies to the coöperation of Ferrando. It is a type inherited from one of Pecori's inspirers, Signorelli, and we shall find Ferrando reproducing it even more exactly in the work which we shall next ascribe to him. It can be seen again in the kneeling man in the front at the left in the second extant production of Pecori where Vasari asserts Ferrando's assistance, the Madonna of Mercy now in the Pinacoteca at Arezzo. The Madonna herself was the source of the Virgin in Ferrando's picture in the Museo de la Lonja, and the angel at the left above the Madonna supplies a very direct source for all of Manuel's celestial spirits. In his life of Niccolò Soggi, Vasari says that this painter did the arcade in Pecori's Circumcision, and, whether or not the Italian biographer meant that Soggi executed the niche at the arcade's end, it was the luxuriantly ornamented kind of architecture incorporated in the niche that Ferrando imitated not only in the throne but in the whole edifice in which he places the groups of the Virgin's devotees. He even practically reproduces the decorative *motif* on the arch over the niche. Pedro Berruguete had also found precedent for his own opulent thrones in the architecture of central Italy.

The most distinctive quality of Manuel Ferrando, which we do not discover in the extant creations of Pecori, is a gift for vigorous portraiture, exemplified, for instance, by the Mossén Paláu and the Mossén Olesa. Even the head of Borresá, although it belongs to a generalized type that was a favorite with Manuel, is incisively individualized. The Carthusian just at the left of the throne seems likewise a portrait, and we should perhaps not be wrong in interpreting as possibly a Spanish trait in the picture the way in which in rigidly frontal pose and strength of character this figure recalls Bermejo's Sto. Domingo de Silos.

Ferrando's panel depicting the Miracle of the Gentleman of Cologne, now in the March Collection at Sa Vall, Las Salinas,

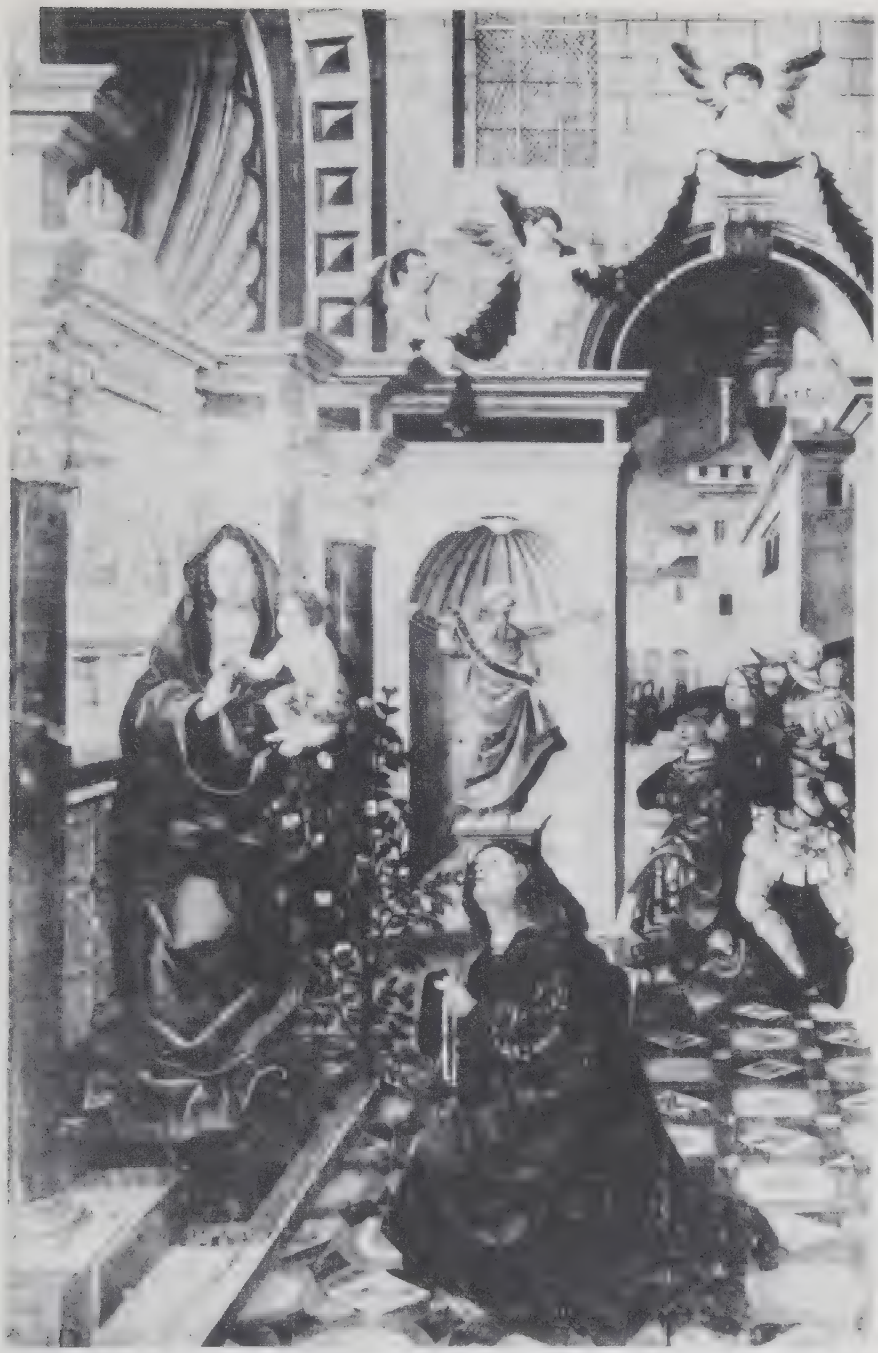

FIG. 190. MANUEL FERRANDO. MIRACLE OF THE GENTLEMAN OF COLOGNE. MARCH COLLECTION, SA VALL, MAJORCA
(*Photo. Tous*)

Majorca (Fig. 190), exhibits more tangibly the Spanish touch but in a less complimentary manner, namely in a partial provincialism of drawing betrayed by certain passages. In his conception of this frequent theme in the art of eastern Spain,[8] he devises a composition that closely resembles the version by the Armisén Master.[9] The Gentleman kneels in the middle of the picture before the Madonna who stands at the left in front of a magnificent altar of simulated sculpture. He clasps a rosary, with the cult of which the subject was connected, and out of his mouth there issues the symbolical rosebush from which the infant Saviour has picked a flower to hand to His mother, while the Gentleman's would-be assassin, surrounded by his companions, is deterred from his vengeance by the sight of the Virgin's manifestation of herself. The supernatural character of the event is signalized by the presence of child-angels or *putti* draping a wreath over the doorway that leads out of the room in which the miracle occurs, and in a niche in one of the walls there is simulated a statue of Jesus, the son of Sirach,[10] holding a scroll with a verse, applying to Our Lady of the Rosary, from the book that he composed, Ecclesiasticus (XXIV, 18), "Quasi plantatio rosae." The counterfeiting of a painting within a painting is common enough in Spanish art of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, but Manuel Ferrando shows initiative in depicting a sculptured retable over the altar before which the Virgin is placed. He possessed enough of the scientific and architectural interests that had entered the central Italian school with Piero della Francesca to represent with a fair degree of accuracy a rather elaborate vista of a city and of its inhabitants through the door that looks out into the open from the scene of the miracle.

The fact that a former owner of the picture at Palma, Señor Fanolo Morell, stated [11] it to have entered his collection from an undivulged source in Majorca would at once suggest, in view of its obvious execution at the beginning of the sixteenth century, that Manuel Ferrando might deserve the credit; and no one who, proceeding with this supposition, concentrated attention merely upon the Gentleman of Cologne himself could deny his authorship, for the figure falls within exactly the type of luxuriantly tressed, upward gazing gallant incorporated in the Mossén Borresá of the Valldemosa painting and literally repeats the youth in Pecori's Circumcision to whom we have already had occasion to refer. The proof, however, by no means stops there. The two Raphaelesque adolescents who accompany the assassin, for example, act as spectators at the right of the throne in the Valldemosa painting, and both the Holy Child and the *putti* over the arch reiterate the dark-haired and very Iberian kind of infant who is held by the Valldemosa Madonna. The factor in which Manuel most evinces a Spanish provincialism is the difficulty that he experiences in articulating the excited postures of the half-kneeling assassin and of his older comrade.

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[8] See, for instance, my vols. VII, p. 260, and XI, p. 314.

[9] Vol. VIII, p. 185.

[10] In volume VI, p. 334, I was therefore too hasty in saying that perhaps the only appearance of Jesus, the son of Sirach, in sacred art, was on the wings made by the Borbotó Master for a sculptured Pietà at Játiva; and I have been informed by the eminent hagiologist, Guy de Tervarent, that he enjoys the distinction of being represented also in one of the statues on the north portal of the cathedral of Chartres.

[11] See J. Folch y Torres in *Gaseta de les arts*, August 1, 1925, p. 4.

In claiming for Ferrando a panel of St. George's fight with the dragon in the Collection of the Conde de España at Palma (Fig. 191), I myself harbor few or no reservations, but I am bound to acknowledge that the evidence is not very concrete and that one must rely partly upon a general feeling for the master's style. The provenience is unknown or at least undisclosed, but a spot somewhere in Majorca is implied not only by the picture's presence in a Palma Collection but also by a fairly manifest acquaintance on the part of the painter with the earlier Balearic version of the theme by Pedro Nisart.[12] The similarity in the arrangement of the two principal figures, St. George and the princess, is not very significant, since in these respects virtually all compositions of the subject were more or less analogous,[13] and it is rather the setting that bespeaks an interrelationship. In both pictures one side of the background is occupied by a rising and most elaborately represented town (Palma?) with its harbor alive with maritime pursuits and with its open places the resorts of citizens intent on their various business. We must not, however, lightly set aside the possibility that the presumptive author, Ferrando, was conversant with the lost treatment of the theme by Jan van Eyck upon which Nisart seems to have based his rendering, for a Flemish version,[14]

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[12] Vol. VII, p. 615.

[13] I fail to see, however, a connection with Carpaccio's treatments of the fight which, I believe, some have wished to discern.

[14] Ascribed by Friedländer (*Die altniederländische Malerei*, XIV, 84 and 88) to Roger van der Weyden and by Charles de Tolnay (*Le Maître de Flémalle et les Frères Van Eyck*, Brussels, 1939, p. 57) to the Master of Flémalle. Erwin Panofsky

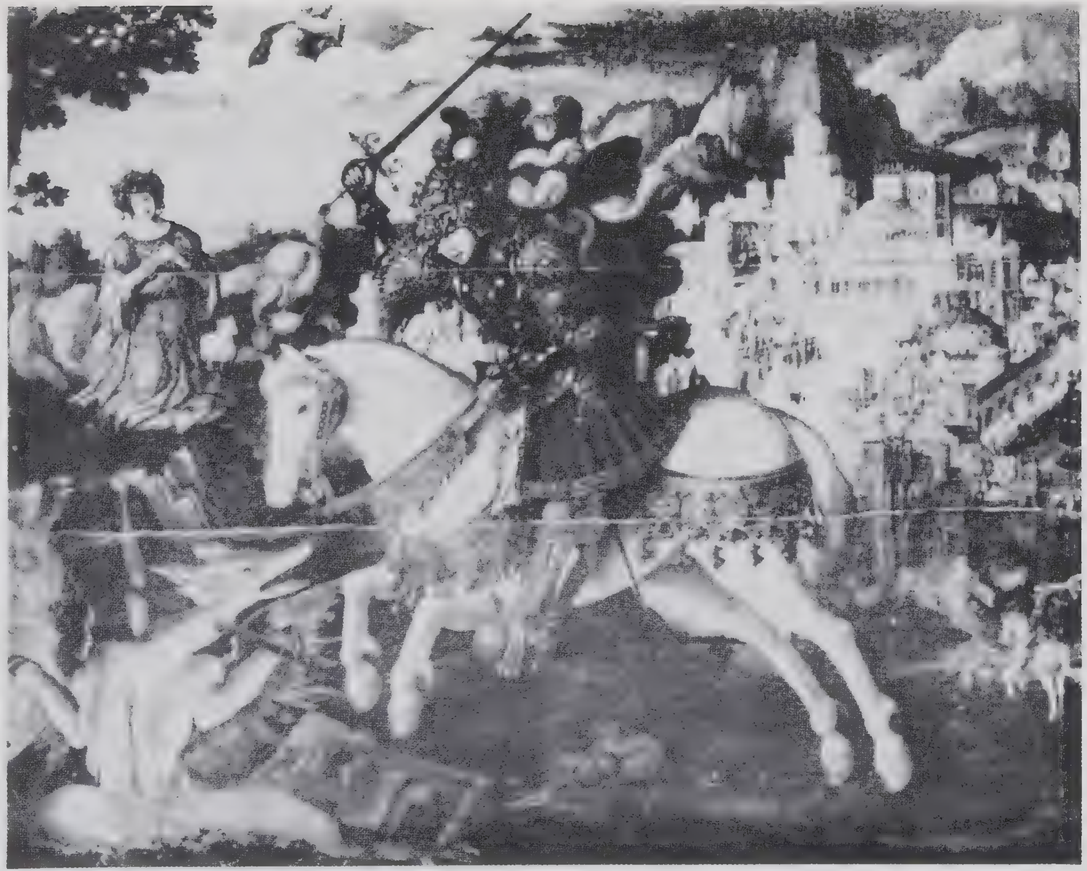

FIG. 191. MANUEL FERRANDO (?). ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON. COLLECTION OF THE CONDE DE ESPAÑA, PALMA
(*Photo. Tous*)

belonging to the heirs of Lady Evelyn Mason at London and likewise probably derived from the Van Eyck treatment, also displays a background of a city on the littoral. It may very well be a dependence upon Nisart that partly occasions in the Conde de España's panel a somewhat more primitive effect than in the paintings in the Lonja and in the March Collection, but the mode of rendering the actors in the scene is at once observed to place the picture in the sixteenth century.

Within this manner of the Renaissance the way of modelling the countenances and the nature of the chiaroscuro at once insistently point to Manuel Ferrando, but more specific links with his works are by no means entirely lacking. A kind of face very like that of St. George is several times encountered in his output, for instance in the second upgazing youth among the spectators of the vision of the Gentleman of Cologne; and the Eternal Father who with extraordinary iconography is depicted in the heavens as directing the fight resembles closely in features the statue of Jesus, the son of Sirach, in the panel of the March Collection. The ostentatious emphasis upon the saint's armor is paralleled upon another of the men who view the miracle of the Madonna of the Rosary and, like the princess's costume, indicates in the master a (Spanish?) fondness for splendor, embodied also in the showiness of the architectural backgrounds in the other two paintings. The flights of cloud, already perturbed with a baroque agitation, behind St. George (or are they meant as the fluttering folds of his mantle?) recall in their formation, as well as in their light and shade, the nebulous puff beneath the angel at the extreme right in the documented picture.

If I am right in attributing the panel owned by the Conde de España to Ferrando, we get a broader conception of his artistic personality and a somewhat perplexing one, for in addition to his Italianism we shall have to take account of contact, either direct or through exported paintings that he saw, with the Antwerp mannerists such as the Master of 1518 or with other Flemings of the early sixteenth century, for example Ysenbrant. It is only thus that we can explain the eery, bleak mountainous landscape with its weird chiaroscuro, as well as the fantastic nature of the Gothic city perched below the jagged cliffs. We are treated also to the expression of an interest-

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(*Early Netherlandish Painting*, Harvard University Press, 1953, pp. 425 and 482) wisely refuses to identify the painter.

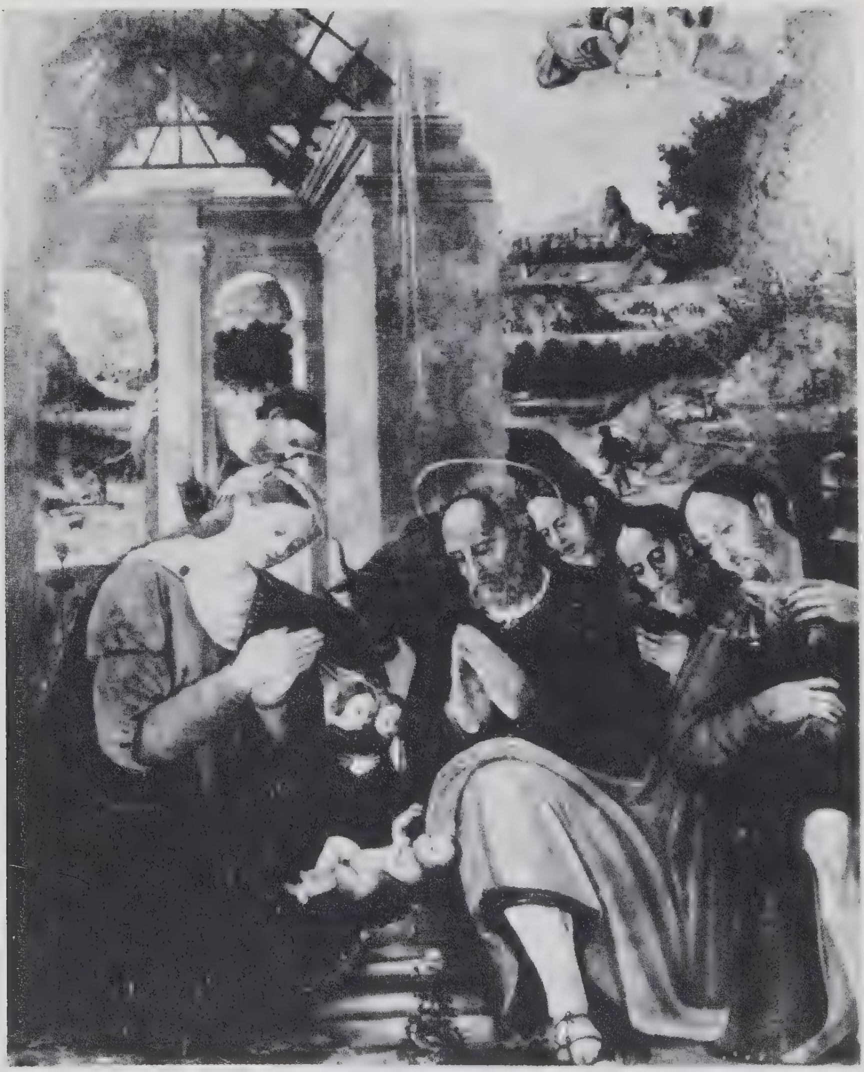

FIG. 192. THE CAMPOFRANCO MASTER. NATIVITY. COLLECTION OF THE MARQUÉS DE CAMPOFRANCO, PALMA
(*Photo. Tous*)

ing imagination that the other works would scarcely have led us to suspect. The dragon is no longer so much the grotesque monster of mediaeval art, but Manuel has conjured up in his mind the semblance of one of the prehistoric saurians (no modern reconstruction of which he could ever have seen!); and among the subordinate episodes in reduced scale in the background, he has represented the princess, followed by her mounted champion, as naturalistically pulling the conquered beast out of the swamp that had been its lair.

2. The Campofranco Master

The affiliations with Catalonia are just as dim in the case of the second Balearic painter of the Renaissance whom it falls within our province to consider, and indeed, if any relation to a school of the mainland is verily to be postulated, we should choose Valencia in the circle of Vicente Juan Masip. In the frequent torturing of what powers I have of ingenuity to find names both distinctive and clear for my anonymous artists, I cannot hit upon any for the man who now concerns us except a sobriquet derived from the owner of one of his productions, the Marqués de Campofranco at Palma who possesses a Nativity by his hand (Fig. 192). The other production of the Master that I have recognized, representing the common Spanish iconographic fusion of the Immaculate Conception with the Assumption (Fig. 193), would not afford a distinctive pseudonym because the picture belongs to the works now gathered in the episcopal palace, Palma, and is of unascertained or undivulged provenience; but it has the significance of showing that the Master was active in Majorca and that the Nativity was not imported into the Collection of the Marqués de Campofranco from a non-insular source.

We perceive in the Nativity an artist of no more than average talents, with a predilection for rather large and forceful types, which may witness to an acquaintance with the achievements of Vicente Juan Masip but is united to a certain gentleness of feeling expressed particularly in the Virgin, in the more than usual winsomeness of the Child, and in the captivating little angels beside Him. The majority of the Spanish painters of the period have not yet been adequately appreciated for the beauty of their settings of landscape, and the author of the Nativity does not lose by comparison with his rivals, indulging us in a vista of notable amplitude filled with pleasantly

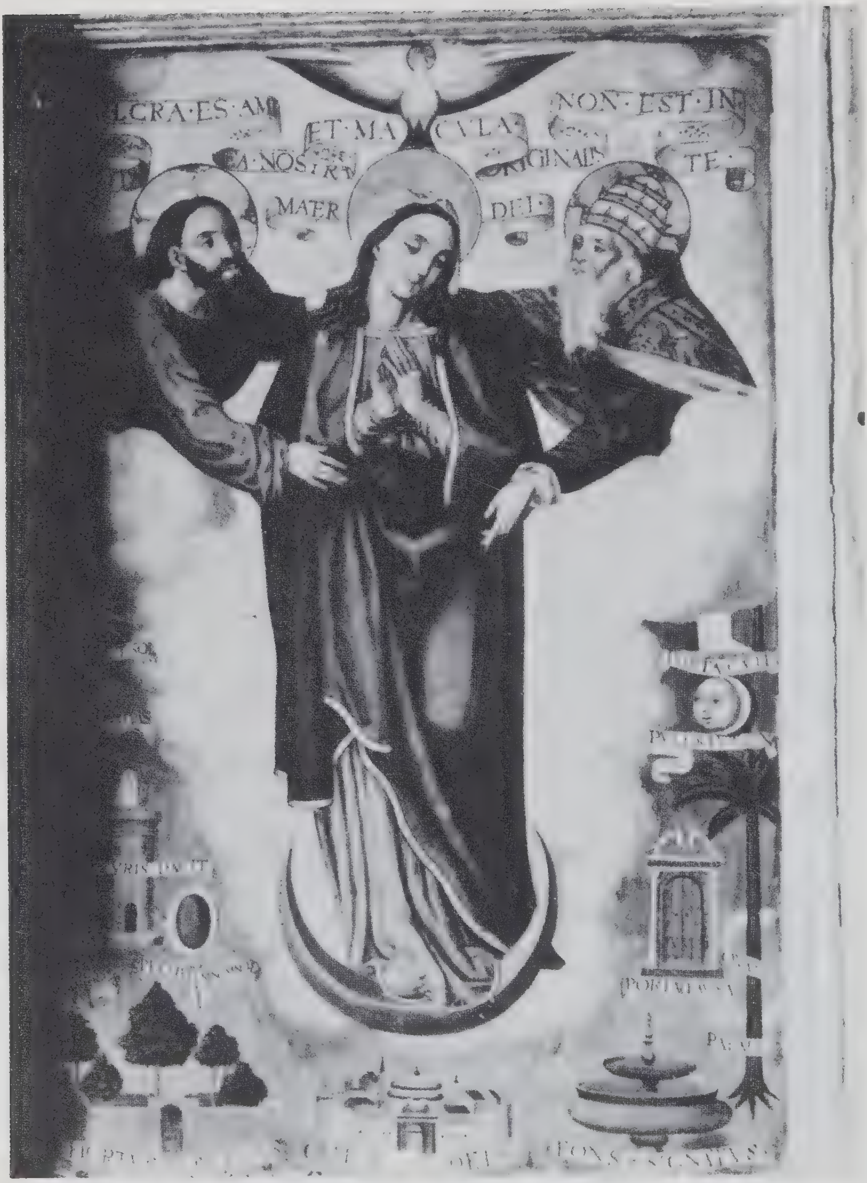
LCRA·ES·AM
ET·MA
CVLA
NON·EST·IN
A·NOSTRA
ORIGINALIS
TE
MATER
DEI

FIG. 193. THE CAMPOFRANCO MASTER. IMMACULATE CONCEPTION. EPISCOPAL PALACE, PALMA
(*Photo. Mas*)

disposed details of foliage, roads, fields, rocky eminences, and the harbor of a town that once more may be intended as Palma. The fields and roads teem with human activity — with shepherds on all sides keeping their flocks while a pair of angels bring them the joyful message from above, with the picturesque train of the Magi winding its way toward Bethlehem and as episodically extended as in any representation of the events of the Holy Infancy by painters in the international movement of a century before, and with what seems to be an enactment of the Flight into Egypt in the extreme left distance.

The reader may at first balk at my attribution of the picture in the episcopal palace, Palma, to the Campofranco Master because of the varied coiffure and somewhat diverse countenance of the Virgin; but I submit that two different artists could not have created heads so virtually identical as those of Christ receiving His mother into the heavenly places and of the shepherd leaning round a column in the Nativity, a type reiterated with little or no change in the other three rustics. Were it necessary, we could lay stress upon other correspondences, such as the delineation of the hands, but we are denied the opportunity for a comparison with the landscape in the Nativity, since Mary is relieved merely against a background of cloud and surrounded by the multiplied symbols of the Immaculate Conception.[15]

3. The Master of Edward VII

There are two other places in my books in either of which the personality in the painting of Majorca upon whom I am bestowing the above pseudonym might have been more appropriately ensconced than at the present point. Since he apparently derived his style more largely from Valencia than from Catalonia, he perhaps should have been treated in volume XI; but I neglected to include him there, and I feel myself obliged now at once to atone for the omission. Nevertheless, anyone with a strict sense of congruity might seek for him rather in the volume that I hope in the future to devote to the fully evolved Valencian Renaissance, upon which his manner already edges, but, as in a number of other instances in the volumes

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[15] Vol. IV, p. 440, n.3. Some of the symbols listed in this note are absent in the Majorcan version, but their place is taken by the "cypressus" and "palma" of chapter XXIV of Ecclesiasticus (a passage in the Apocrypha that the Church applies to Our Lady), by the "fons signatus" of the Song of Songs, IV, 12, and by the "porta clausa" of Ezekiel XLIV, 2.

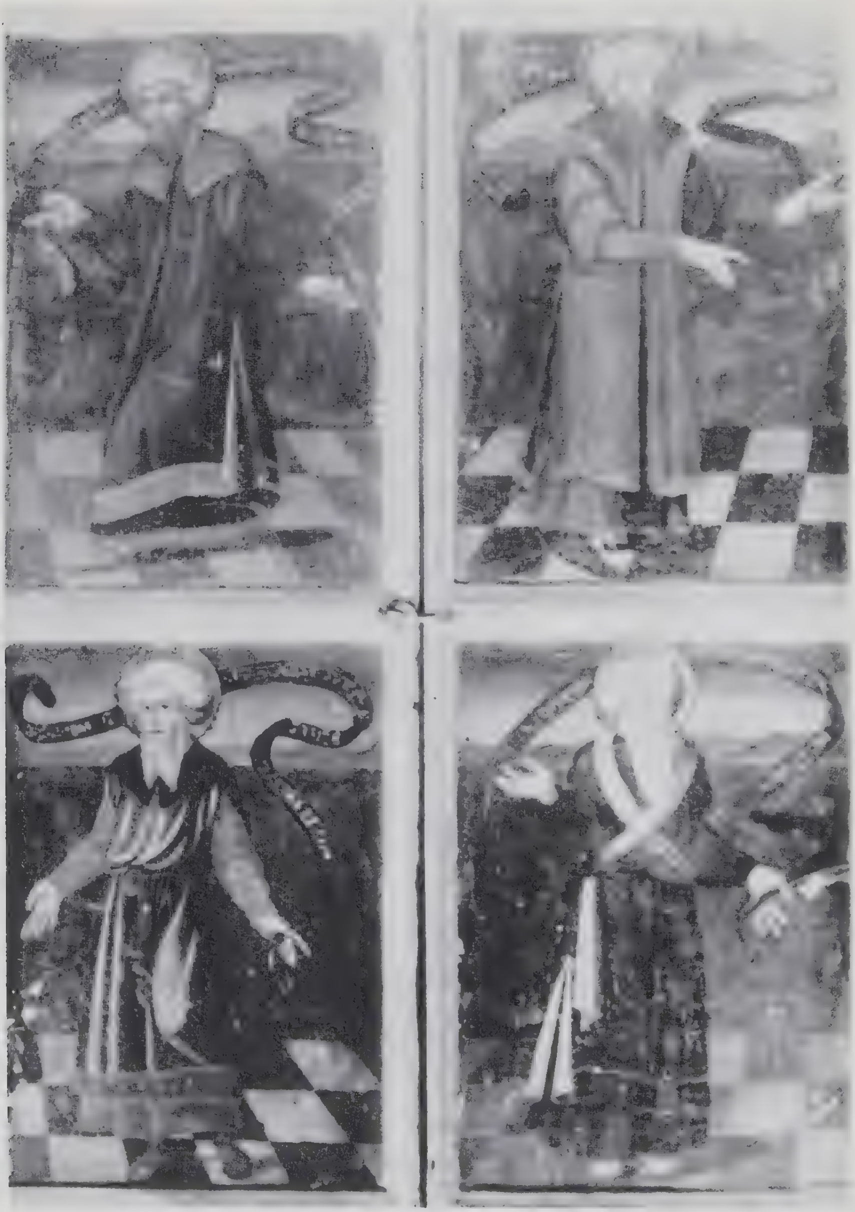

Fig. 194. THE MASTER OF EDWARD VII. PROPHETS, EXTERIORS OF WINGS OF A TRIPTYCH. CONVENTO DE LA CONCEPCIÓN, PALMA
(*Photo. Tous*)

that center upon the transition from the Middle Ages to the later period, enough of the past tradition lingers on in the painter's works not to make him a wholly unsuitable companion to the other artists whom we are assembling within the present covers. The sobriquet that I have chosen for him is occasioned by the consideration that the most instructive production by him with which I am familiar was once among the possessions of King Edward the Seventh of England. I wish that sufficient information about any of his productions were at hand to furnish us with a less fantastic, distinctive title, but perhaps documentary discoveries will at some time compensate by disclosing his real appellation.

The work at Palma most comprehensively exhibiting the elements of his style is a triptych in the Convento de la Concepción including in the principal compartment a veronica of the suffering Christ, on the interiors of the wings the anchorites, St. John Baptist, standing, and St. Jerome, kneeling, and on their exteriors, four Prophets in full length (Fig. 194). The banderoles carried by these worthies of the old dispensation are inscribed with their names and with verses from their writings, but the words are so badly blurred, run together, and more or less obliterated that I have succeeded (and only so through long concentration and much straining of the eyes) in entirely deciphering no more than what the scrolls on the right wing say. David is at the upper level here, unfolding the sentence from Psalms LXXXIV, 9,[16] "Respice in faciem Christi tui"; and Isaiah stands below, quoting from his prophecy, LIII, 3, "Quasi absconditus vultus eius et despectus, unde nec reputavimus eum." The upper figure on the left wing is Solomon, but I cannot unravel the statement on his banderole, or even with surety the name of the Prophet beneath him: doubtless the accompanying verses are as aptly selected with reference to Our Lord's countenance on the veronica as in the case of David and Isaiah. Above the sacred countenance we read "Ecce Homo," and at the bottom, "Exivit Jesus portans spineam coronam." [17]

The Master of Edward VII proves to be a rather humdrum scion of the Valencian school as it attained expression particularly in the Cabanyes Master. The same artistic *milieu* had produced the Calviá Master, whose *floruit*, however, appears to have occurred slightly

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[16] Or, according to another numbering, LXXXIII, 10.

[17] In the Vulgate, John XIX, 5, the order of the words is "coronam spineam."

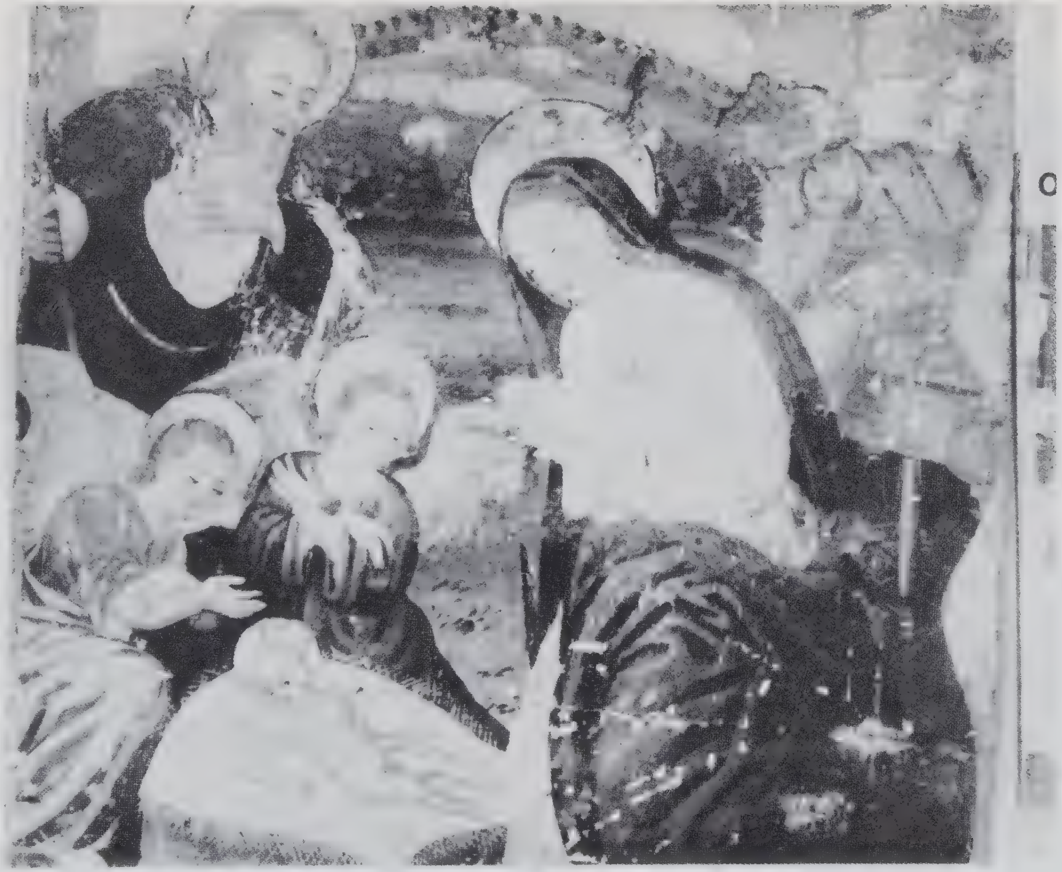

FIG. 195. THE MASTER OF EDWARD VII. NATIVITY. EPISCOPAL MUSEUM, CATHEDRAL, PALMA
(*Photo. Tous*)

earlier and who advanced less far toward the Romanized ways of the High Renaissance.

The Episcopal Museum attached to the cathedral of Palma contains two panels obviously embodying our Master's handicraft, fragments of some retable from the cathedral or at least from the diocese, depicting the Annunciation and Nativity (Fig. 195). The most tangible evidence of the authorship is provided by a comparison of the St. Joseph in the Nativity with the Isaiah of the triptych's wings.

In certain of the painter's works, the well integrated iconographic scheme, whether devised by him or his patrons, somewhat makes amends for the intrinsic dullness of his aesthetic attainments. We have observed, in the triptych of the Convento de la Concepción, the ingenious discovery of sentiments for the Prophets' scrolls to agree with the subject of the veronica, and elaborate symbolism enriches his panel of St. Augustine now in the Galerías Costa at Palma (Fig. 196). In very much the same manner as St. Thomas Aquinas had been depicted by Andrea da Firenze as trampling upon a triad of false teachers in a fresco in the Spanish chapel in S. Maria Novella at Florence, St. Augustine stands crushing beneath his feet the archheretics whose doctrines he so sedulously combatted, Sabellius, Donatus, and Manes, the protagonist of the Manichaeans, all three labelled with their names.[18] In a painting of this great Father of the Church by Pedro Cavaro in the Cagliari Museum,[19] we shall find Manes represented in corresponding discomfiture. The ordinary emblems of St. Augustine in Spanish art are slightly modified in the Palma picture, in that the church which he holds in one hand is not illuminated by a ray from his other hand but by a star above his shoulder. The attribution is sufficiently attested by the resemblances to the Prophets of the triptych, not only in the physical type but also in the nature of the landscape that forms the saint's background.

To another work of our Master there attaches an adventitious interest, the fact that it once belonged to no less a personage than King Edward the Seventh of England. Shown in the Exposition of French Primitives at Paris in 1904 and there wrongly classified in the French school of *c.* 1550, it consists of four compartments with scenes from

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[18] In the case of the last heretic, all but the final ES has been lost from the inscription through the injuries suffered by the panel, but it must have read MANES, who could not have failed to be included among the representations of the chief targets of the saint's denunciations.

[19] See below, p. 505.

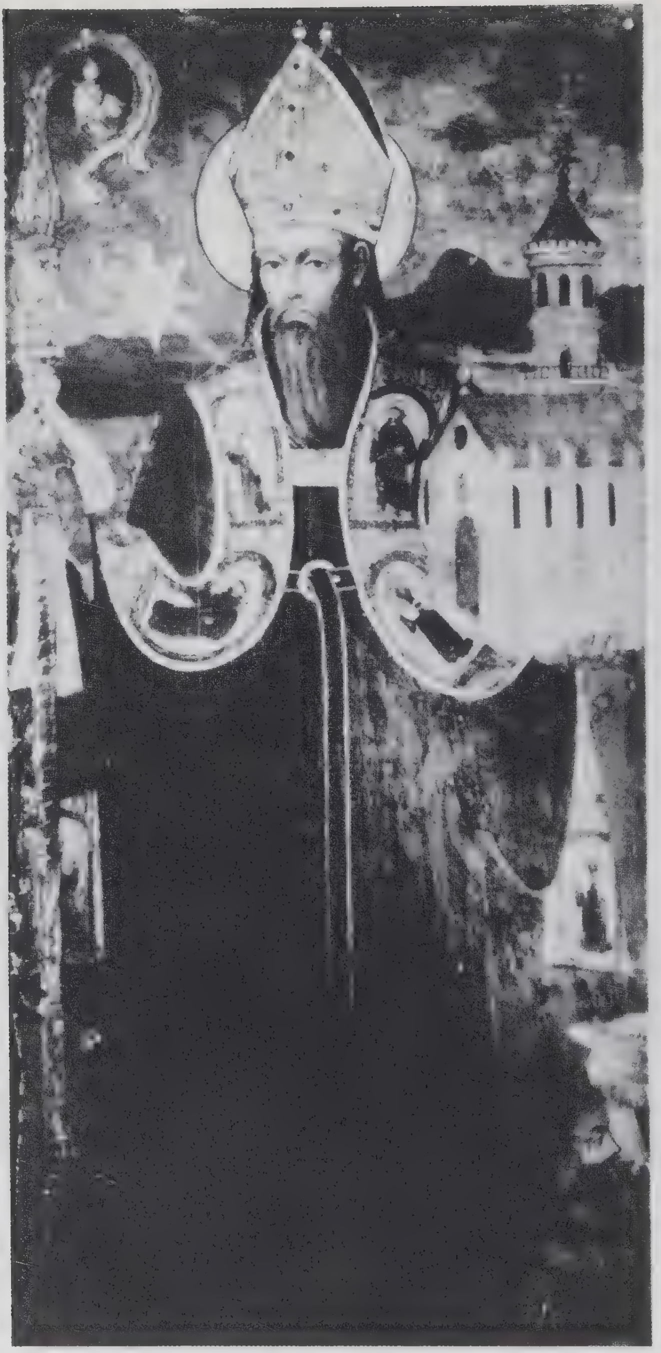

FIG. 196. THE MASTER OF EDWARD VII. ST. AUGUSTINE. GALERÍAS, COSTA, PALMA
(*Photo. Mas*)

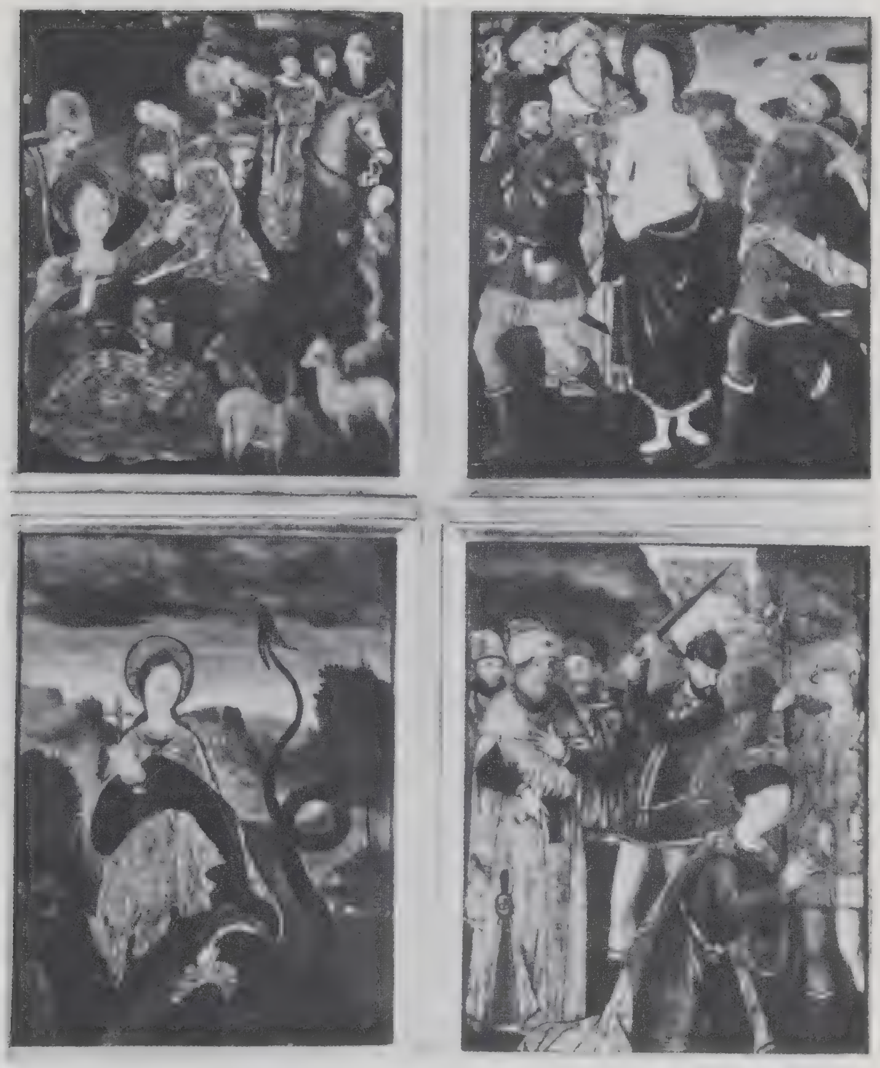

Fig. 197. THE MASTER OF EDWARD VII. SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF ST. MARGARET. FORMERLY IN THE COLLECTION OF KING EDWARD VII
(*Photo. Cooper*)

the story of the virgin martyr whom in previous volumes we have seen to be so popular in Majorca, St. Margaret (Fig. 197). Probably once lateral sections of a retable or parts of its predella, they depict Olybrius's seizure of the maiden as she tends the sheep, her flagellation, emergence from the dragon, and decapitation. The entire, general agreement with the Master's style will be borne in forthwith upon anyone who has scanned the other productions by him that I have listed, but again we may resort to the Prophets of the triptych for concrete proof, i.e., the absolute identity of the Isaiah with Olybrius (depicted as a white-bearded old man) in the episode of the flogging. Almost as persuasive is the similarity of the decapitator of St. Margaret to the Sabellius upon whom St. Augustine tramples, a type much affected by our painter and resembling Charles V in features and costume. If it were demanded, there could be added such Morellian evidence as the use of the same curl at the back of the hair for St. Margaret undergoing decollation and for the angel at the left in the Nativity of the Episcopal Museum.

It can be at least argued that the Master of Edward VII did two small panels, depicting the Buffeting of Christ and the Via Dolorosa, that used to be built into the upper centre of the conglomerate structure over the high altar of the Majorcan hamlet of Castellig, which comprises chiefly the retable by the Castellig Master of some hundred years earlier.[20] I am ashamed to confess that I do not find in my notes taken at Castellig in 1931 that I paid any attention to these fragments, which may now have been removed to the Museo Arqueológico (Luliano) at Palma, so that I am forced to rely upon the photograph made of the whole structure and now belonging to the Mas Archive, Barcelona, in which the reproductions of the two panels of the sixteenth century are of slight dimensions and somewhat dim. Nevertheless, in the Via Dolorosa, which is unusually shown as taking place in a street of Jerusalem rather than outside the walls of the city, there may be seen at the back of the group goading Our Lord on to His Crucifixion one of the characteristic types of the Master which recall the appearance of Charles V, and the general manner is not discordant with the attribution.

Exactly the same faults as in the delineation of the perspective of the street of the Via Dolorosa are betrayed in the rendering of the Temple in which there occurs the Marriage of the Virgin in a panel

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[20] Vol. XI, p. 387.

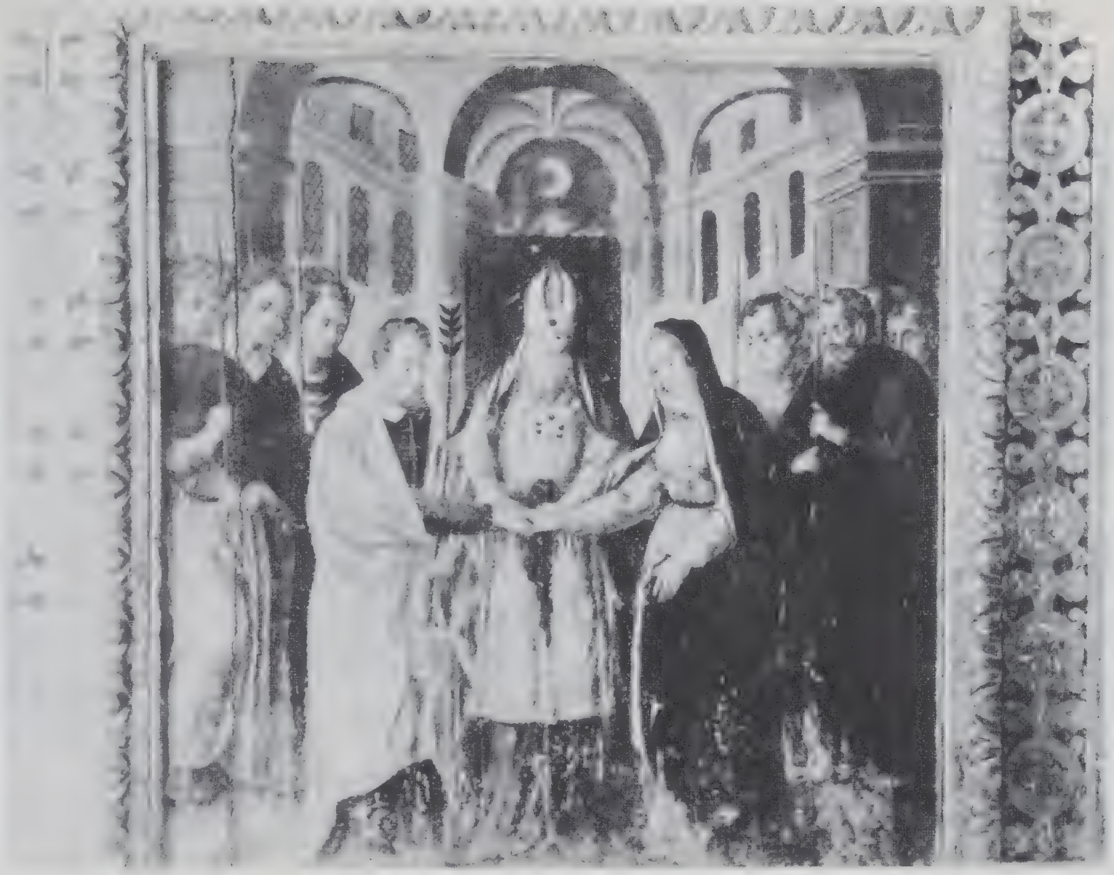

Fig. 198. THE MASTER OF EDWARD VII (?). MARRIAGE OF THE VIRGIN.
EPISCOPAL MUSEUM, CATHEDRAL, PALMA
(*Photo. Mas*)

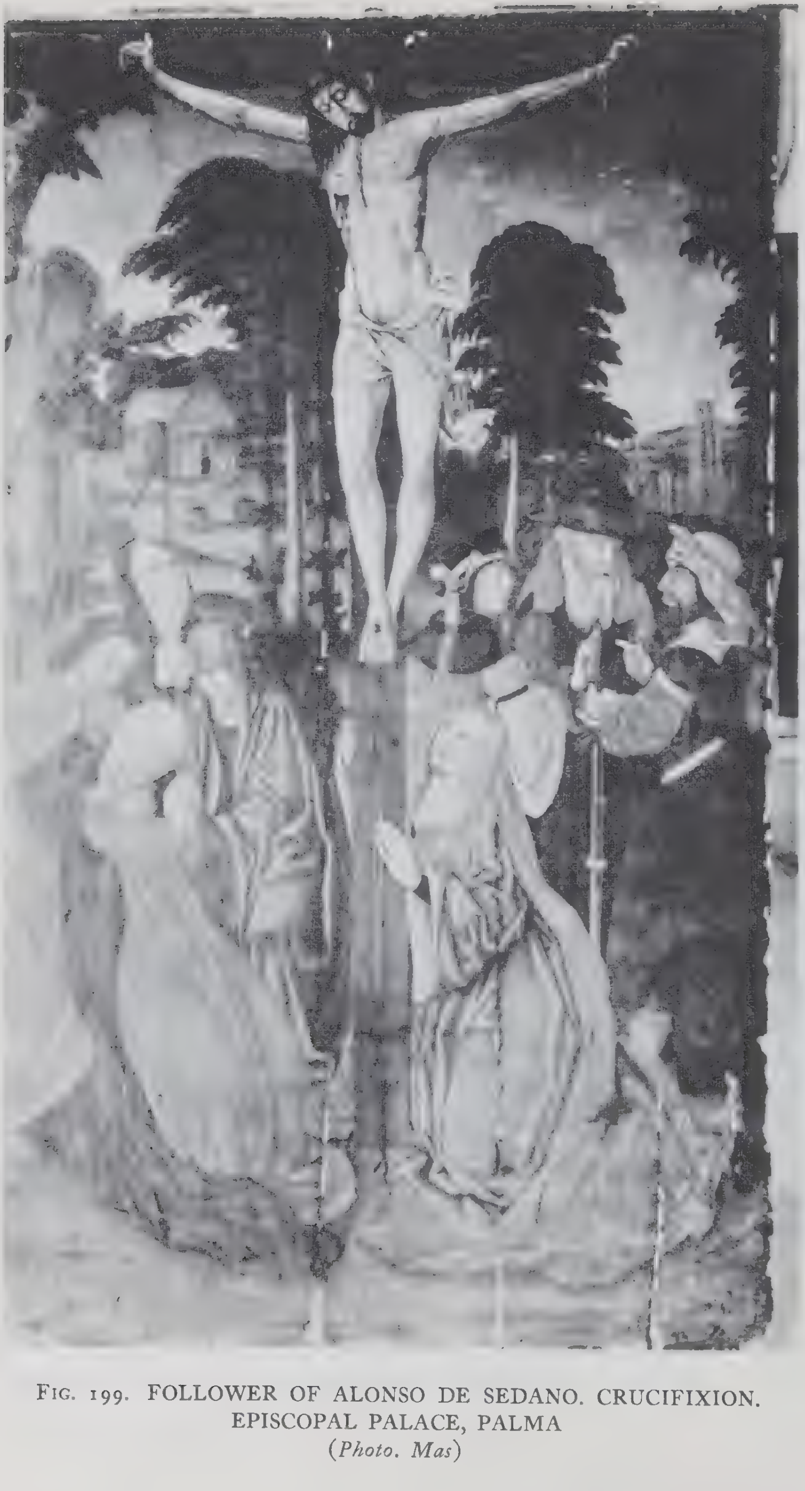

Fig. 199. FOLLOWER OF ALONSO DE SEDANO. CRUCIFIXION. EPISCOPAL PALACE, PALMA
(*Photo. Mas*)

in the Episcopal Museum, Palma (Fig. 198), and further conformities with the works of the Master of Edward VII make him a likely parent for the picture. The high priest, for instance, falls within the general class of the artist's long-bearded old men, and the rejected suitors are comparable to the Gabriel of the Annunciation and the angels of the Nativity in the fragments in the same Museum that we have examined above. Whether or not the Marriage comes from the same original retable as these fragments, I have not been able to ascertain.

4. A Follower of Alonso de Sedano in Majorca

The title of this paragraph also brings us into contact with a work that, like the productions of the Master of Edward VII, would be more logically discussed in some other of my series of volumes, but I have delayed registering it in the unrealized hope that I might unearth further indubitable achievements by the same hand which might clarify the questions that it raises. The work is a Crucifixion in the episcopal palace at Palma, manifestly declared by its types and landscape the creation of a close imitator of the Castilian intruder into the artistic *milieu* of the island, Alonso de Sedano,[21] and it may well have been executed just before the year 1500 (Fig. 199). We jump forthwith to the hypothesis that the author might be the Majorcan painter, Pedro Terrenchs,[22] who collaborated with Alonso de Sedano in at least one instance and by whom no authenticated production has come to light to show what his style really was, and there is the added consideration that, since he spent a period in Valencia, the Crucifixion perhaps reveals an acquaintance with the composition of the great version of the theme by Rodrigo de Osona the Elder, in S. Nicolás of this city; [23] but it must not be forgotten that we know of another artist equally suited to the identification with Terrenchs, the San Francisco Master, who, although he exhibits a somewhat less precise indebtedness to Alonso de Sedano, yet manipulates modes more tangibly affiliated with the Valencian school.[24] Moreover, the Provincial Museum at Logroño in northern Spain contains a Crucifixion that with a simpler composition is disturbingly like the Majorcan

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[21] Vols. V, p. 326, IX, p. 800, and X, p. 342.

[22] Vols. V, p. 328, and VI, p. 482.

[23] Vol. VI, fig. 68.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 482.

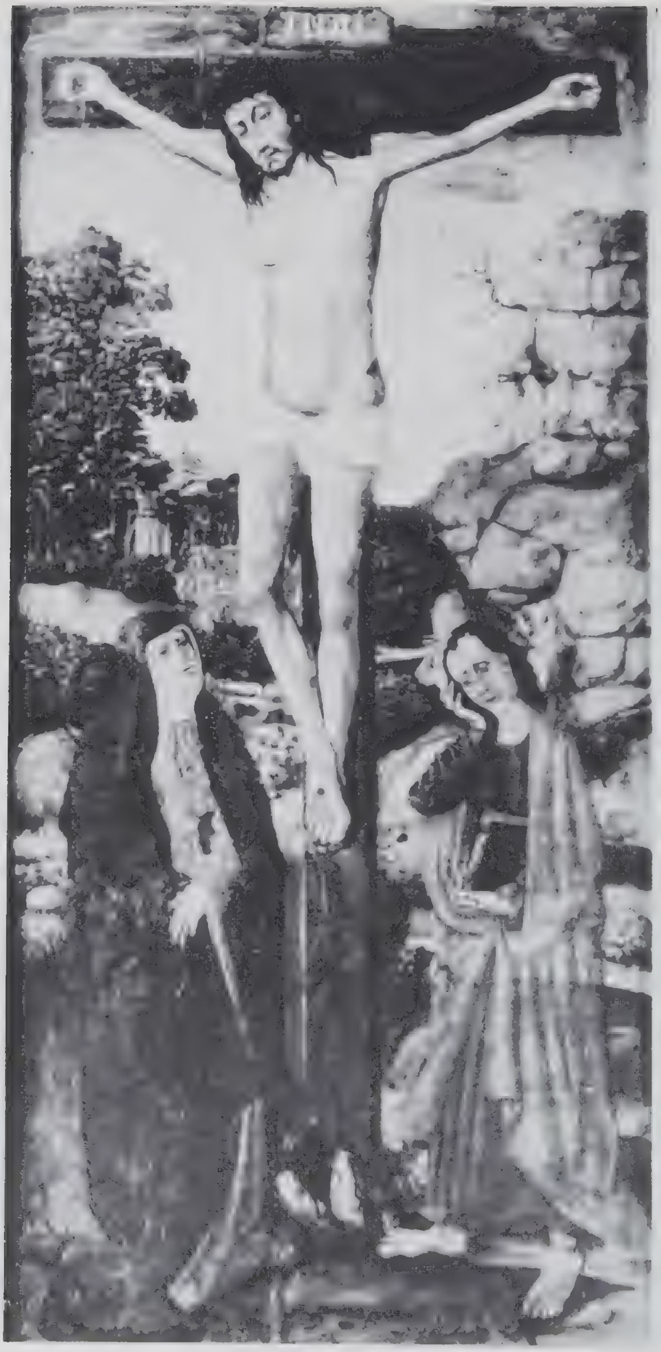

Fig. 200. FOLLOWER OF ALONSO DE SEDANO.
CRUCIFIXION. MUSEUM, LOGROÑO
(*Photo. Mas*)

example in types, especially the St. John, and in landscape (Fig. 200); and, although I am not prepared to say that it is by the same artist, the evidence is enough to suggest the query whether Alonso did not bring with him to the island a Castilian assistant who may have executed the panel in the episcopal palace at Palma.

CHAPTER XVII

SARDINIA

1. Introduction

The painting of this island during the early sixteenth century, as largely still faithful to the modes of the Quattrocento, as not yet really transmuted by the tendencies of the Renaissance, and as maintaining a considerable dependence upon the school of Catalonia, takes its place properly within the stage in the evolution of Spanish art which in general is the subject of the present volume and which embodies the transition between the styles of the Middle Ages and fully evolved Cinquecento. Indeed the transitional nature of the exponents of this phase of the Sardinian development is revealed by the debt that they owed, in greater or less degree, to the distinguished artist who closes the story of mediaeval painting on the island, the Castelsardo Master. Carlo Aru [1] and Doro Levi [2] champion the development of an autonomous, separate Sardinian school of painting in the Cinquecento, independent of the Catalan and Valencian centres; and in one sense they are right, since the commissions appear to have been carried out by local artists and no longer were assigned to celebrities from Spain, as they had previously been given to Juan Mates, Juan Figuera, Rafael Tomás, and Juan Barceló.[3] Inasmuch, however, as the majority of them merely adapted somewhat the precedents of the eastern littoral of Spain to the temper of the Renaissance, and as even the most advanced member of the group, Pedro Cavaro, had his foundations in the Catalan-Sardinian manner of the Castelsardo Master, so that his products, as well as those of the others, were differentiated from the output of the Italian mainland, we shall not err in classifying the painting of the island, at the period that now concerns us, in the orbit of Spanish art. Indeed, in at least one instance, the retable at Oliena, we possess very concrete evidence that an anonymous artist active in Sardinia continued in the sixteenth century the practice of adherence to the models of eastern Spain, either studying in the shop of Juan and Pedro Gascó or mayhap actually a Catalan member of the atelier who sought a new market for his wares on the island; and it is not impossible tha Juan Gascó's works were known also to a Sardinian painter of the period whom we can name, Juan Muru. Still more significantly, we have recently learned from an actual document that even the most Italianate artist in the coterie, Pedro Cavaro, spent an early period of his life in Catalonia. It must be remembered likewise that politically Spain still owned the island.[4]

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[1] In his article on the Castelsardo Master in *Annali della Facoltà di Filosofia e Lettere della R. Università di Cagliari*, I–II (1926–1927), 54.

[2] *Bollettino d'arte*, XXX (1936–1937), 279.

[3] For these painters, see the indices of my volumes VI and following; and also for Juan Barceló, below, p. 467.

Moreover, I am now persuaded that we must add to the number of painters patronized in Catalonia as well as in Sardinia during the Middle Ages the Castelsardo Master himself, by whom the insular artists of the early sixteenth century were greatly influenced. In my treatment of the artist, which is inappropriately hidden away in my volume VIII,[5] I accepted Aru's[6] authoritative reconstruction of his personality and the works with which this scholar credits him, but I proposed as a possibility the identification of the Castelsardo Master with a last phase of the painter, active in Majorca and Valencia towards the end of the fifteenth century, Martín Torner. Subsequently, however, despite the perplexing stylistic analogies of the Castelsardo Master and Torner, I have come to the decision that the ties of the former with the Catalan artist to whom I had given the name of the Muntaner Master[7] are closer and indeed, so far as my perception goes, conclusive for an equation of the two artists; and, since the Muntaner Master and Torner cannot conceivably be one, the hypothesis of the identity of Torner with the painter active in Sardinia must be discarded. Having determined that the Castelsardo Master and the Muntaner Master are one and the same, I wrote to Signor Aru, who kindly replied, confirming my opinion.

Among the manifold items of proof the one that first perhaps strikes the eye is the entire correspondence, in both artists, of a type used for women, young men, and angels. In particular, the holy woman at the left supporting the Virgin in the Crucifixion of the Castelsardo Master's retable at Tuili should be compared with the several examples of the type not only in the version of the subject in the Muntaner Collection that provided me with a name for its author

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[4] See my vol. II, pp. 6–7.

[5] Pp. 488 ff.

[6] *Op. cit.*

[7] See my article in the *Art Quarterly* (Detroit), XIV (1951), 115.

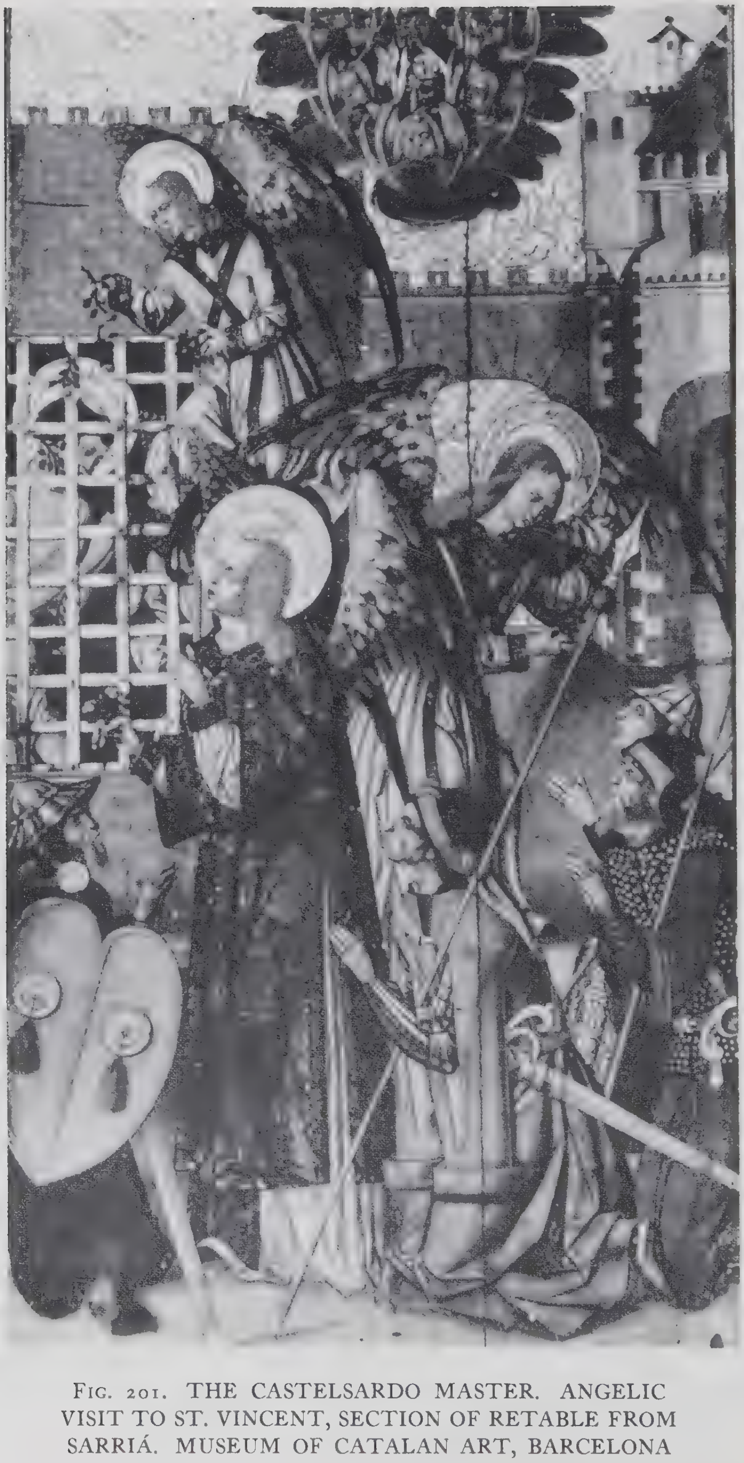

Fig. 201. THE CASTELSARDO MASTER. ANGELIC VISIT TO ST. VINCENT, SECTION OF RETABLE FROM SARRIÁ. MUSEUM OF CATALAN ART, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

but also in the compartment of the angelic visit to the imprisoned St. Vincent that he contributed to the retable from Sarriá, now in the Barcelona Museum, for which Huguet did five other panels (Fig. 201). The composition of the Tuili Crucifixion is different, but it and other works of the Castelsardo Master, for instance the representation of a Franciscan saint's sermon from the retable[8] of the church of S. Francesco in Stampace, Cagliari, and now in the Museum of the city, contain specimens of a kind of masculine head, dark-bearded and upturned, that is a favorite with him and significantly appears twice in the spectators on Calvary in the Muntaner picture. The Saviour is scarcely varied from one Crucifixion to the other, particularly in a detail that is practically in itself determinative for the attribution, the exaggerated stress upon the inner ends of the ribs so that they stand out like bosses, an anatomical idiosyncrasy in which the Castelsardo Master consistently indulges in depicting the nude Redeemer. I find no other Catalan painter who thus stylizes the torso, not even Solibes who only approximates the peculiarity. Further similarities in types could be listed, if it were necessary, such as between the preaching Franciscan and the St. Vincent dimly seen behind the incarcerating bars. The one thing in the Muntaner Master that I wish that we could discover very definitely embodied in the Castelsardo Master's production is the predilection for sharp-nosed, almost caricatured countenances in some of the actors; but the tendency is at least adumbrated by the Castelsardo Master in the spectator at the extreme left in the scene of Simon Magus's fall in the Tuili retable, who is virtually the same individual as the man on the white horse at the right in the Muntaner Crucifixion, and somewhat analogous is the bishop at the left in the panel of the confirmation of the Franciscan Order among the fragments of the Stampace retable in the Cagliari Museum. In any case, the slight lack of correspondence in this respect is offset by the striking resemblances in types that I have enumerated and by others that could be registered, were there not danger of boring the reader, for instance in the Tuili compartment of St. Peter walking on the waves the emergence of a hill in the background resembling in its curious geological formation the rocky excrescences in the landscape of the Muntaner Crucifixion. The haloes themselves in this Crucifixion bespeak Sardinian affiliations. The figuration in a series of embossed, concentric rings is common in Catalonia and Aragon, but ordinarily with a bare, circular, central, unraised space, part of which is visible, whereas the Castelsardo Master and his insular compeers reveal in their haloes no such space but, as in the Muntaner panel, continue the multiplied rings inwardly to the very heads of the sacred personages.

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[8] See my vol. VIII, p. 490.

If the provenience of the Muntaner panel were known to be Catalan rather than Sardinian, the Castelsardo Master must have been a native Catalan who evolved this sort of halo before he betook himself to the island and there popularized it; or else, a Sardinian by birth, he did the Muntaner panel and collaborated in the Sarriá retable (where the nimbuses are different) during a temporary sojourn in Catalonia. The latter alternative is much less likely, since a painter who had only a provincial, Sardinian renown would scarcely have been given the signal honor of working upon so outstanding an enterprise as the altarpiece for Sarriá. At any rate, his presence in Catalonia is conclusively established by his participation in the Sarriá undertaking. Moreover, the credible hypothesis of an early Catalan period followed by his prolific maturity in Sardinia would be argued by the consideration that so sparse a number of his achievements have appeared in Catalonia. Besides the Muntaner Crucifixion and the compartment in the Sarriá retable, I have recognized only one other work in Spain by him, the Madonna in the Muntadas Collection, Barcelona,[9] and, as a matter of fact, the identity in the figuration of the carved Gothic frames strongly suggests that the Crucifixion was the capping piece in the retable of which the Madonna was the principal section. A Catalan experience for the Castelsardo Master is corroborated also by the stylistic analogies to the productions of Pablo Vergós.[10]

Aru[11] has brilliantly recognized two works of the Castelsardo Master in a region whither we might have expected his art to have spread, the island of Corsica, and having succeded through his advice in obtaining photographs from the eminent firm of A. Tomasi at Ajaccio, I am able to publish illustrations of these almost unknown and until Aru's discovery certainly never properly attributed achievements. The church of the monastery of St. François at the town of Ste. Lucie de Tallano (near Sartène, north of Bonifacio) harbors both works, one a complete retable (Fig. 202) and the other

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[9] Vol. VIII, p. 493 and fig. 228.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 490.

[11] *L'arte italiana in Corsica*, p. 17 of a reprint that he kindly sent to me of his article in the periodical, *Mediterranea*, of the year 1940 (this number of the periodical being inaccessible to me).

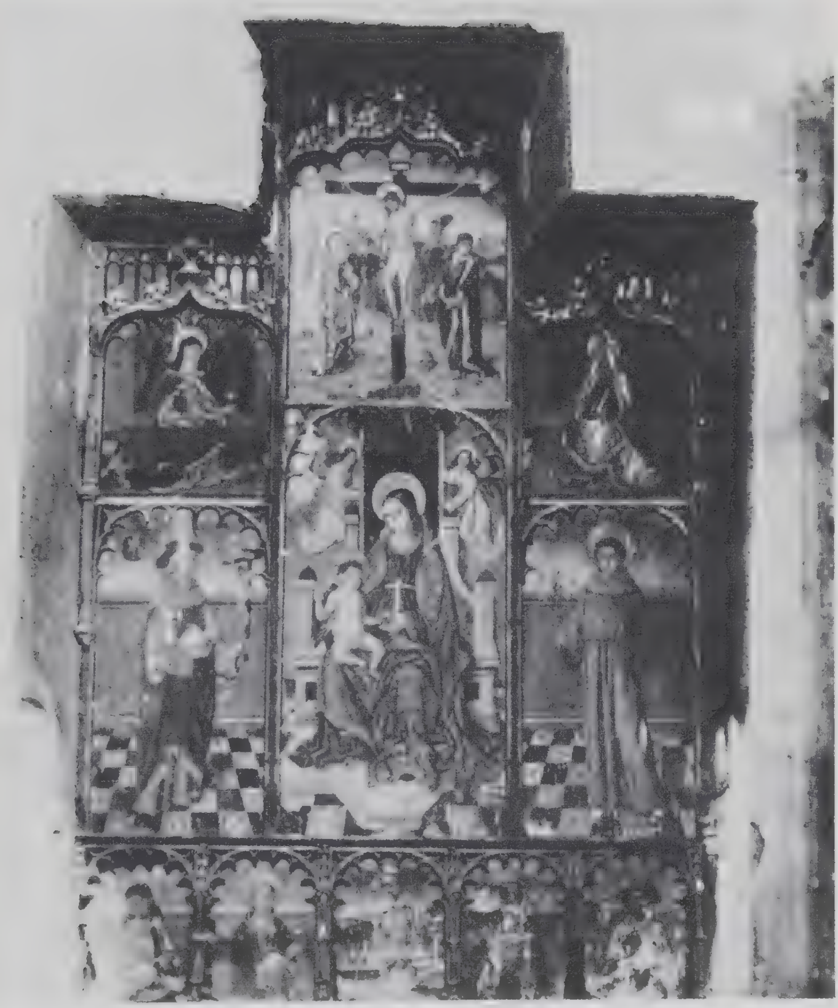

FIG. 202. THE CASTELSARDO MASTER. RETABLE. FRANCISCAN MONASTERY, SAINTE LUCIE DE TALLANO, CORSICA
(*Photo. Tomasi*)

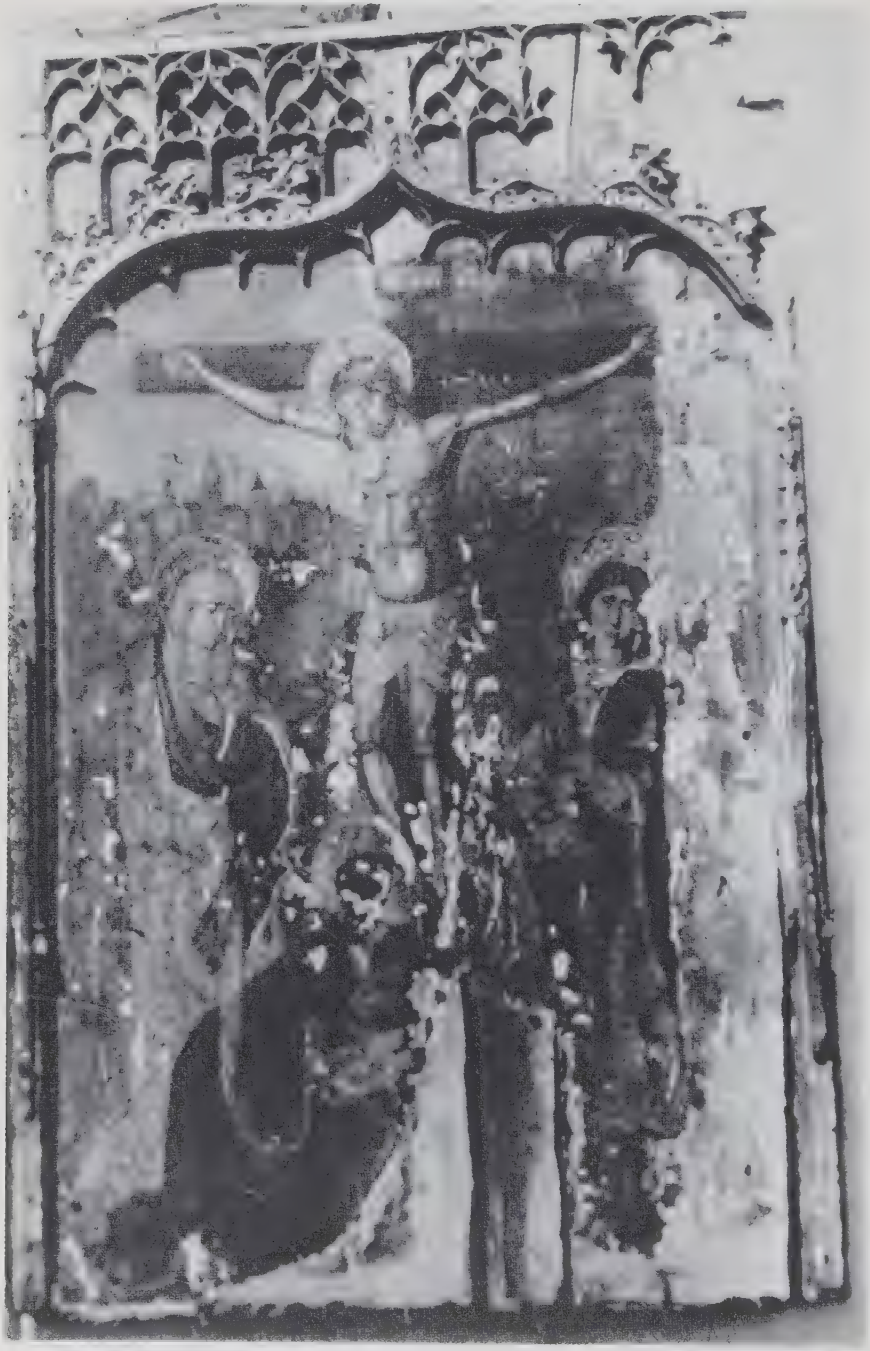

FIG. 203. THE CASTELSARDO MASTER. CRUCIFIXION. FRANCISCAN MONASTERY, SAINTE LUCIE DE TALLANO, CORSICA
(*Photo. Tomasi*)

merely the pinnacle of another altarpiece representing the Crucifixion (Fig. 203). The principal compartment of the retable, depicting the Madonna enthroned between two angels, is a simplified version of the analogous themes at Tuili and Birmingham; and above rises the usual Crucifixion, in which the Christ of the Muntaner rendering is practically repeated. The Franciscan nature of the church is embodied in the saints in the two lower lateral compartments, Bonaventura at the left and Anthony of Padua at the right, closely resembling the martyrs of the Seraphic Order in the Stampace predella now in the Museum of Cagliari. As proof of the Castelsardo Master's relations to the Vergós atelier we may perhaps take the consideration that he seems to have based his representations of Bonaventura and Anthony upon the figures of these saints in the McIlhenny Collection, Philadelphia, that I have claimed for Pablo Vergós.[12] The smaller, upper compartments on the sides are reserved for seated effigies of another Franciscan saint, Clara, and of a virgin martyr whose emblem I cannot distinguish in the photograph but who would naturally be Lucy, the town's patroness. In the half-lengths of the predella, the dead Christ at the centre is flanked by Sts. Peter and Paul, who almost duplicate the Tuili figures of these Apostles, and at the extreme right and left by St. James Major and a masculine canonized youth whom the photograph does not allow me to identify.

In the separate fragment, the Crucifixion, not only the Christ, for example in the emphasized terminations of the ribs, but also the Virgin are comparable to these figures in the Muntaner version of the subject.

It has now been the more securely established that the Castelsardo Master's contemporary in Sardinia, Juan Barceló, was born and resided for a part of his life on the east coast of Spain. Documents have been discovered showing that, a native of Tortosa in the province of Tarragona and probably at one time dwelling in Barcelona, he was in 1510 the first of a series of painters to receive an order to work upon the lost retable over the high altar of the church of Sta. María del Pino in the latter city.[13] His manner, however, appears to me more

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[12] Vol. VII, p. 436. Gudiol and Ainaud (*Huguet*, Barcelona, 1948, p. 98) ascribe them to the personality usually called Rafael Vergós, but I still abide by my assignment to Pablo. The actual emblems of the saints are somewhat different in the Corsican retable: instead of the mystical tree, Bonaventura carries the simple crucifix with the pelican on its top, and above him at the left is a medallion of his frequent attribute, the Chalice and Host; and Anthony has his Italian symbol, the lilies, not, as ordinarily on the Spanish east coast, the vessel containing a grape vine.

[13] See my vol. IX, pp. 845–846, and above, p. 173. It is in his contract of

Valencian than Catalan, and it must not be forgotten that Tortosa and Tarragona were far enough south to feel somewhat the influence of the Valencian school. Delogu [14] has tentatively attributed to Juan Barceló a *gonfalone* (processional banner) in the cathedral of Sassari in Sardinia, a city where he is known to have centered his activity from 1488 to 1516.[15] There is much to recommend the Sardinian scholar's allocation of the banner, one side of which represents the face of Christ on the handkerchief, which is here held by St. Veronica, and the other a half-length of the Madonna with the Child; but, as he kindly acknowledges to me in a letter, the evidence is not conclusive, and the style is somewhat more Italianate than in Juan's signed retable of the Visitation in the Cagliari Museum.

The direct dependence of Sardinia upon the art of eastern Spain is enforced by the demonstrable Aragonese sojourn of a painter of the island whose personality Delogu [16] has isolated and for whom he creates the sobriquet of the Master of Olzai, deriving it from the town of this name (in the centre of the island) where the church contains a retable by him, traditionally thought to have been made in supplication against, or in thanksgiving for rescue from, a visitation of the plague, which Delogu surmises to have been perhaps the one that occurred in 1477. The same hand has justly been perceived by the Sardinian scholar in the possibly somewhat posterior fragments of another retable which from the church of S. Maria di Sibiola di Serdiana at Cagliari have passed into the Museum of the city and depict the Annunciation, Epiphany, Last Judgment, and the paired Sts. Matthew and Anthony Abbot. He also proposes the alluring hypothesis that this artist may be identical with an Antonio Cavaro who is recorded as a painter dwelling in the district of Cagliari called Stampace on May 14, 1455,[17] and who may very well have been the

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June 7, 1488, for a lost retable at Alghero in Sardinia that he is stated to be a native of Tortosa: see Carlo Aru in *Annali della Facoltà di Filosofia e Lettere della R. Università di Cagliari*, III (1930–1931), 169–178. The contract for the retable of Sta. María del Pino makes Juan Barceló a native of the region of Tarragona, a term broad enough to include Tortosa: see J. M. Madurell in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, IV, 1–2 (1946), 128.

[14] In the periodical, *Le vie d'Italia*, XLVII (1941), 1239, and in his *Lineamenti di storia artistica* (of Sardinia), in the volume *Sardegna*, in the series *Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano*, Milan, 1952, p. 60. The banner is illustrated in his article on restorations of Sardinian paintings, *Le arti*, V (1942–1943), 51–52.

[15] My vol. VIII, p. 491, n. 1.

[16] *Studi sardi*, VI (1945), 5–21.

[17] Cf. Carlo Aru in *Archivio storico sardo*, XV (1924), 5.

father or an older kinsman of Lorenzo Cavaro,[18] since the latter's style stems from the Olzai Master and since Stampace was also Lorenzo's residence. Moreover, the works of the Olzai Master are assignable by their manner to the third and fourth quarter of the fifteenth century, just prior to Lorenzo's *floruit*. Like Lorenzo, he is a weak exponent of his profession, but he atones for his technical shortcomings by a quality that his very ruralism inspired, the gentle *naïveté* of his forms and imagination.

That the Olzai Master was at least partially educated in a region even farther inland than the east coast, Aragon, or that, dwelling there, he was influenced by the Aragonese school, is proved by a picture which, I am confident, should be added to the works that Delogu brings under his name, the panel of the Madonna and angels in the Parmeggiani Collection at Reggio Emilia that in volume VIII [19] I left without a definite attribution. It requires only a few glances to perceive the unity of authorship. In particular the angels, in their simple tenderness, are identical with those in his productions still in Sardinia and with his representations of young women; and the fold across the middle of the Madonna's mantle takes a bold, horizontal line and creates sharp Aragonese angles [20] precisely as on the nursing Virgin at the centre of the retable at Olzai. Indeed we may guess that the Parmeggiani panel might have been the principal compartment of the altarpiece in S. Maria di Sibiola at Cagliari that has endowed the Museum in the city with the lateral fragments which we have already registered. Now exactly the same cartoon is used for the Parmeggiani panel as for a painting in the Muntadas Collection, Barcelona, by an out-and-out Aragonese artist, the Santa Liestra Master,[21] and both works in turn derive from renderings of the theme by their quite as thoroughly Aragonese predecessor, the Lanaja Master, with the consequence that, whether the Olzai Master imitated the Santa Liestra Master or *vice versa*, or whether each was indebted to a lost work by some greater Aragonese contemporary, the Sardinian's intimate contact with the school of Aragon is securely demonstrated.

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[18] See my vol. VIII, p. 495. The preserved pieces of Lorenzo Cavaro's Giorgino retable have now also reached the Cagliari Museum; and in his article on the Olzai Master Delogu ascribes to Lorenzo on internal evidence a Dormition in the Oratorio della Madonna d'Itria in the district of Cagliari named Selargius, a work with which I am not familiar, and a panel of St. Jerome in the church of the Purissima in this city, of which the illustration that he includes scarcely allows me to agree unreservedly with his belief in its authorship.

[19] P. 512 and fig. 238. The very tentative suggestion that I made in regard to a merely conceivable attribution of the Parmeggiani panel to the Arnoult Master may now be set aside.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

[21] Vol. VIII, pp. 512 and 212 and fig. 96. I still have no elucidations for the escutcheon of Castile and Leon on the banner of one of the angels in the Parmeggiani picture (if it be not a subsequent addition) other than the unsatisfactory explanations that I advanced in vol. VIII.

2. THE MORE CONSERVATIVE PAINTERS OF THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The most competent member of this coterie was the author of the pleasing retable that from the Oratory of S. Pietro in the town of Sanluri, north of Cagliari, has obtained haven in the Museum of the latter place; but I have, at least as yet, found no other achievement by his hand. Since *Sanluri* is the Sardinian for St. Eloy, the altarpiece is dedicated to him, and the principal compartment is occupied by his enthroned effigy; but some of the other sections are ruined, and the only additional parts in the main body of the structure that can be said to be preserved flanked St. Eloy at the right, a standing St. Pantaleon[22] and a seated St. Leonard. Events of St. Eloy's life, three of them the same as those in the later cycle by Pedro Nunyes at Barcelona,[23] are consigned to six compartments of the predella, grouped about a central panel of Christ of the Passion supported by angels. The subjects are his pregnant mother's dream of the bowing eagle, the emissaries of King Clotaire II watching him at work as a goldsmith upon the saddle commanded by the monarch, his weighing, in the royal presence, of the two saddles that he had miraculously made from the gold intended only for one, his distribution of his

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[22] The figure has consistently been misinterpreted as St. Andrew by reason of what looks like this Apostle's cross behind him; but St. Andrew would never be represented thus as a fairly young, beardless man, and the accompanying emblem, the infant Christ in a mandorla, is wholly alien to his iconography, whereas it is proper to the martyred physician, so popular in Sardinia, Pantaleon, who in his various torments was consoled by a vision of Our Lord. What has been taken for St. Andrew's cross is in reality the instrument of one of these tortures, either the rack, the *eculeus*, or the parts of the olive tree to which he was tied for decapitation. It is true that in the ordinary accounts the Saviour is said to have appeared to him in the guise of the Christian hermit, Hermolaus, who was his mentor, but there must have been another hagiographic version of this detail, since in the retable in his honor at Dolianova (cf. below, p. 492) the apparition also assumes the form of the Holy Child. For St. Pantaleon, see the Bollandists under the day of his feast, July 27; and for a Spanish account, Alonso de Villegas, *Flos sanctorum*, Madrid, 1593, vol. I, 336.

[23] See above, p. 179.

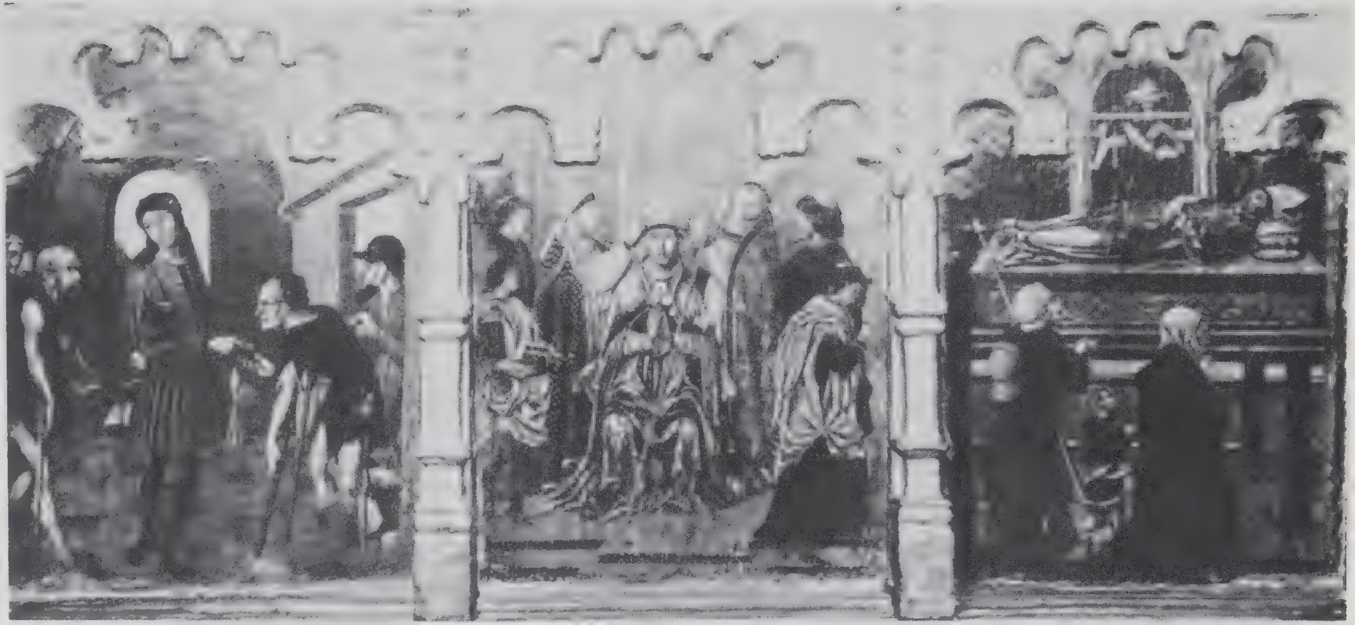

FIG. 204. SPANISH SCHOOL, SIXTEENTH CENTURY. SCENES FROM THE STORY OF ST. ELOY, PREDELLA OF RETABLE. MUSEO NAZIONALE, CAGLIARI
(*Photo. Gabinetto Fotografico of the Museum*)

earnings to the poor and afflicted (among them cripples, one perhaps the man whose disabled hand he cured), his consecration to the bishopric of Noyon, and the visit of supplicants to his tomb (Fig. 204). The further fragments that have survived are from the *guardapolvos* — from the top Isaiah, from the left upright Sts. Julian (as a huntsman with a falcon, the guise in which he is regularly represented [24] in Catalan and Sardinian art) and Nicholas, and from the corresponding piece at the right Sts. Anthony Abbot and Sebastian.

Our first duty is to champion a single authorship for the whole retable and to abjure the contention of some critics [25] that it was the result of the collaboration of two artists, the more archaistic of whom would have done especially the predella. The dualistic hypothesis originates in their belief that they discern a more Italianate and particularly Peruginesque manner in some of the separate effigies of saints. The Sts. Pantaleon and Leonard, two of the figures that they thus describe, appear to me, however, among the most obviously Spanish in nature and among those that most clearly reveal an intimate indebtedness to the Castelsardo Master. The St. Julian certainly implies a mediate or immediate knowledge of Umbrian art, perhaps rather of a Raphaelesque than a Peruginesque stamp, but in the predella St. Eloy in the presence of King Clotaire and particularly in the scene of his charity is precisely the same type of mincing youth. The St. Sebastian probably betokens a direct or indirect familiarity with one or more versions of the theme by Perugino, but nevertheless the head in its hard lines and even in the features is among the elements in the retable patently demonstrating an admiration for the Castelsardo Master's forms. In the Valencian and other schools of Spain proper at this period there are reminiscences of Perugino's St. Sebastians [26] and indeed of the attainments of several Italians of the Renaissance furnishing as likely sources for the master of Sanluri as the creations of Italy itself; and the resort here and there in the retable to ideas eventually derived from Italian art does not mean a collaboration any more than in the productions of individual artists on the Iberian mainland. What has misled some scholars into the theory of a second hand in the predella is found in the different demands of narrative in contrast to single figures of saints, but there is no more divergence than in countless retables in Spain which combine both narrative and separate effigies. The story of St. Eloy is still told in the predella with the charming naturalism and directness of Catalan painting of the fifteenth century, but the dissociated effigies are also conceived in the old Catalan and Valencian modes despite the breaths of the Renaissance that have blown upon them. The formal and long established composition for episcopal consecrations used for the representation of the ceremony in the case of Eloy and the persistence, in the scene of suppliants at his shrine, of a favorite and curious subject in mediaeval Spanish and especially Catalan cycles of the lives of saints constitute very tangible proof that the pictorial output of Sardinia remained a branch of the school of the Iberian mainland. Not only are the backgrounds still of gold, with a checkered pattern in the episodes from Eloy's story and with a light foliate design in the other instances, but through the doors and windows of the rooms in which the events connected with the saint are depicted gold is substituted for the sky in accordance with the old Catalan convention.

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[24] See my vol. VIII, p. 599.

[25] A. Taramelli and R. Delogu, *Il R. Museo Nazionale e la Pinacoteca di Cagliari*, Rome, 1936, p. 42. Miss King (*Sardinian Painting*, Byrn Mawr College, 1923, p. 125) explains what has seemed the later style of the Sts. Sebastian and Julian by the assumption that they were repainted in the more mature Renaissance, but Aru (article on the Castelsardo Master, 52) discountenances the idea and apparently, like me, holds to the unitary opinion.

[26] See vols. XI, p. 221, and X, p. 130.

Further examples can be added to the indications of an acquaintance with the production of the Castelsardo Master that I have already listed. In the Pietà, which is the most backward-looking compartment in the retable, the Christ vividly recalls the corresponding figure in this Master's rendering of the theme from the church of S. Francesco in Stampace at Cagliari; and the retention not only of his strong lines of more primitive draughtsmanship but also of the closely grouped, protruding folds of drapery, particularly in white fabrics, is by no means confined to this panel in the altarpiece. The tendency to rather slim, elegant forms and to an incipient mannerism, as well as the architecture of the Renaissance in St. Eloy's throne and the sportive *putti* that surmount it, are components in much of the painting of Spain at the period. We cannot argue a closer affiliation of the Sardinian master with Italy than was enjoyed by artists on the Spanish mainland from the fact that he simulates classical reliefs on the parapets behind Pantaleon and a ruined saint, in the first instance Orpheus charming a lion with his music and in the second Amphitrite drawn in a chariot over the water. An analogous but more pronounced and

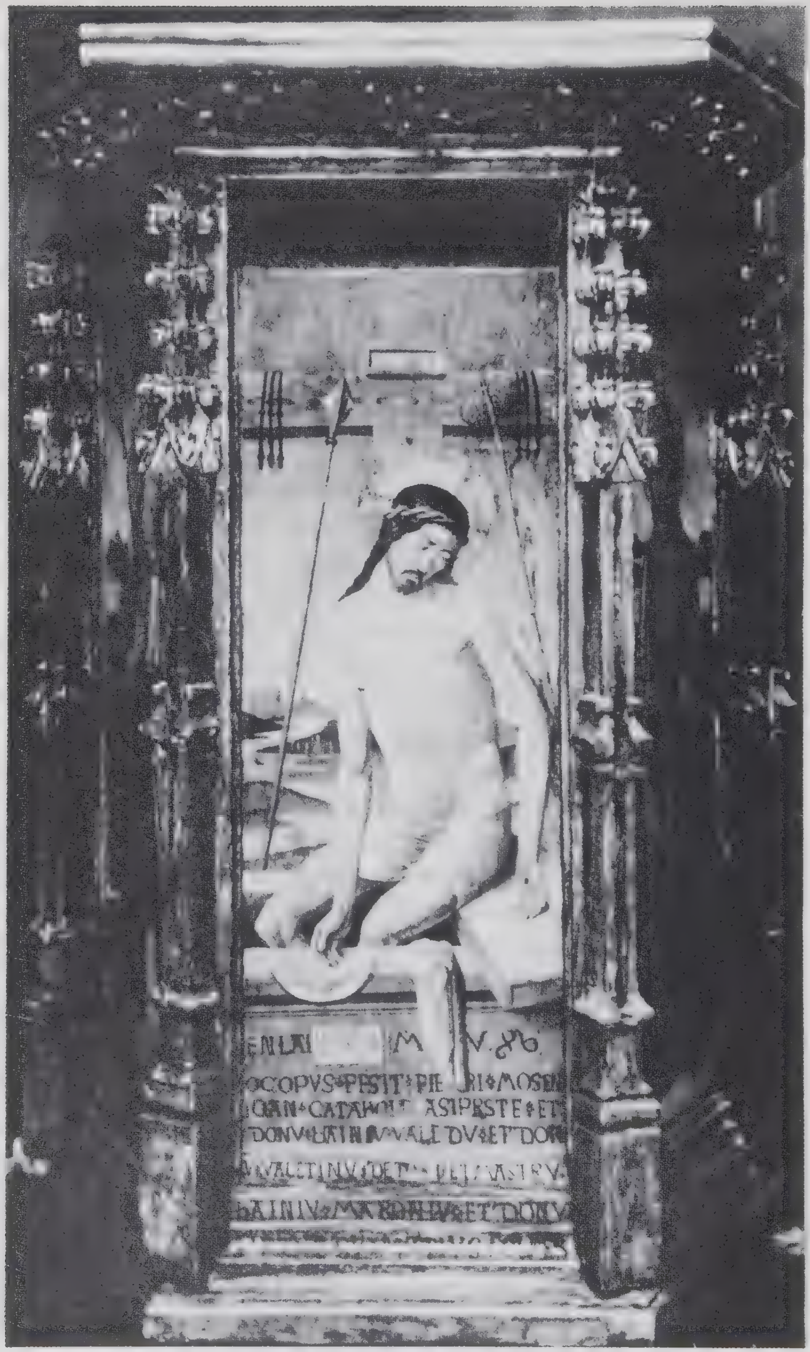
ENLAI M V.86
OCOPVS·FESIT·PIE RI·MOSE
OAN·CATAWO ASIPESTE·ET
DONV·LATIN VALE DV·ET·DO
VALETINV·ET
LAINIV·MA ET·DONV

Fig. 205. JUAN MURU OR A COLLABORATOR. TABERNACLE OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, ARDARA

correct archaeology marks the retable of Notre Dame de la Magrana at Perpignan, and, to choose just one other example in Spain, the Becerril Master of Palencia liberally introduces such simulated mythological reliefs into his panels of the story of St. Pelagius.[27] Moreover, it is doubtful whether the Sanluri painter took his classical subjects directly from antiques: they look as if he had translated the Greek tales into his own forms or had adapted some Italian or perchance Spanish artist's interpretation of them.

When he depicts the same themes as in the cycle of 1526 from St. Eloy's story by Pedro Nunyes, he reveals no familiarity with the latter's compositions; and indeed the style of the Sanluri retable would imply a date at least a decade or so earlier.

Of another of the Conservatives, we obtain the actual name, Juan (in Catalan, Joan) Muru, from his signature just beneath the dead Christ on the front of the tabernacle in the vast retable over the high altar of the beautiful church in the Pisan Romanesque style at Ardara, southeast of Sassari; but, since it is forthwith obvious that the retable comprises the craft of two painters, one the author of the tabernacle and the predella and the other responsible for the rest (even the doors with Sts. Peter and Paul at the sides), we are disappointed by the impossibility of determining with surety which of the twain Muru was. The simulated slip of paper containing the signature is painted so as to seem stuck upon the upper part of a long inscription treated to give the effect of being cut in stone and recording the (problematical) date and the donors (Fig. 205). It might therefore be thought, and indeed Miss King [28] so considers, that the slip was subsequently painted on at a time when Muru would have made his additions to the altarpiece; but such can scarcely be the case, since the stone inscription is not really interrupted and hidden by the placard, so that we are virtually bound to postulate that the odd arrangement of the placard was intended from the first and perpetrated by Muru through a mere whim. The words, "En l'any" (in the Catalan language), begin the stone inscription, only the first stroke of the "n" and nothing of the "y" being visible in order to create the mere illusion that the immediately following placard interrupts it; and after the placard comes the date, so strangely set down as to constitute a puzzle that will trouble us in the next paragraph. The sentence on the placard is in Latin, "Ioanēs (for Johannes) Muru me pinsit (= pinxit).[29] The stone inscription then proceeds in Latin, "Hoc opus fesit (= fecit) fieri Mosen Joan Cataholo Asipreste (= Catalan, Arxipreste)," succeeded by the names of a number of other donors, with their titles *Donu* or *Mastru* in Sardinian, according to the general linguistic hodge-podge involved in the signature and accompanying statements.[30] Although we are not, then, compelled by the placing of the signature to assume that Muru did only a part of the paintings, it is plain from their divergent styles that such was the case.

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[27] Vol. IX, p. 450, and below, p. 730. The retable of St. Pelagius is now in the cathedral of Malaga.

[28] *Op. cit.*, 134.

The date has usually been read as 1515, in conformity with the interpretation of the old Sardinian scholar, Giovanni Spano. The capitals M and V, to the right of the placard with the signature, are clear, to be interpreted, according to Spano, as standing for 1500 instead of the usual Roman way of designating this numeral by MD, and they are followed by two cursive characters in which he discerned XV. Mistrusters of his reading of the date have not been lacking, Aru,[31] for instance, tentatively proposing 1525 (as if the simulated cloth hanging down from the parapet behind which Chirst sits and dividing the M from the V concealed DXX and as if the succeeding cursive characters were merely decorative flourishes?). In postulating this subsequent year he may have been influenced by the consideration that Muru is mentioned in a document of July 21, 1531,[32] as still alive

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[29] *S* is regularly substituted in the inscription for *X*, *C*, and *RX*.

[30] Miss King (*op. cit.*, 133) reproduces the entire inscription.

[31] The article on the Castelsardo Master, 54.

[32] See Domenico Filia, *Pittori del Rinascimento in Sassari*, in the periodical *La nuova Sardegna*, XXXIV (1924), no. 243, an article that, since the periodical is inaccessible in the United States, Professor Delogu with extreme kindness has had copied for me. In the document of 1531 the painter's name appears in a fuller form than in the signature, Iohannes *Antonino* Muro (*sic*). Aru (article on the Castelsardo Master, 54) gives two later dates in Muru's life, 1535 and 1552; but Delogu writes me that the latter year is derived from Denia's and Aru's erroneous identification of a painter, "Mastru Pera Iuanne," with Muru, and of the former year he says, "I do not know where Aru discovered the date 1535, but probably it was communicated to him orally by Filia, who, however, so far as my knowledge goes, has not justified it in any of his publications." The reference to Mastru Pera Iuanne occurs in another article of Filia, in *Studi Sassaresi*, second series, VI (1926), p. 5, n. 3, which I have not been able to obtain. Miss King (*op. cit.*, 136) asks herself whether the painter of Ardara could be the same as a Joan Muru whom Giovanni Spano (*Storia dei pittori sardi*, Cagliari, 1870, p. 14, n. 3) makes a native of Ploaghe. Delogu informs me that the existence of a Joan Muru of Ploaghe goes back to an uncontrolled tradition, but Ploaghe is near enough to Sassari to have been the birthplace of an artist who afterward established his shop in the latter, larger town.

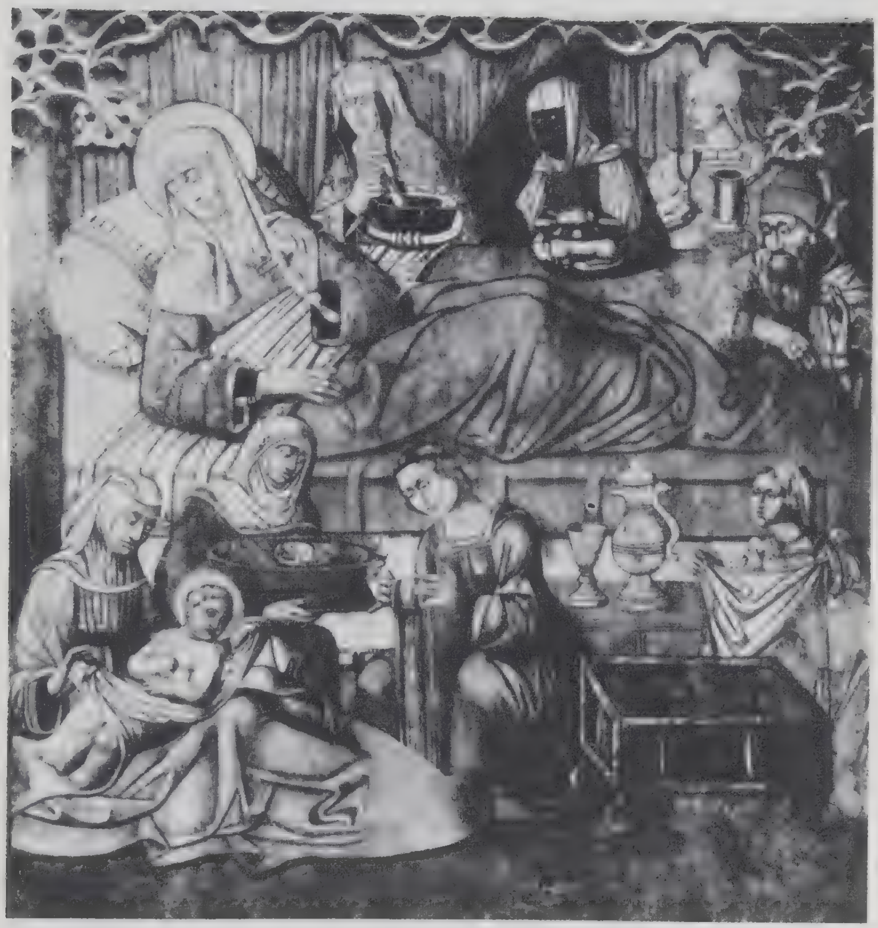

Fig. 206. JUAN MURU OR A COLLABORATOR. BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN, SECTION OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, ARDARA
(*Courtesy of the Cagliari Museum*)

and as a painter of Sassari, the city where he seems at least chiefly to have resided. In a comprehensive, learned, and judicious thesis on the retable of Ardara, written for the doctorate in the University of Cagliari, a monograph as yet unpublished but large sections of which have been copied for me through the generosity of Renato Salinas, the director of the Soprintendenza ai Monumenti e Gallerie della Sardegna, Signorina Maria Crabu dismisses the endeavor of Professor A. Boscolo to understand the date as 1505 on the supposition that D (500) is concealed by the cloth, since she points out that no letters in the whole inscription are conceived as thus hidden, for instance in the word *fieri* just below. Professor Boscolo also holds that the retable must have been begun before 1492 because the escutcheon of Aragon appears four times on the structure and because after this year, by reason of the union with Castile, he says that its separate use was forbidden; but Signorina Crabu negatives this argument by mustering examples of its appearance in Sardinian monuments and documents even as late as the seventeenth century. She herself is disposed to abide by the year 1515; but she believes it to signify the retable's completion and thinks the work to have been commenced after 1500, the probable date [33] of the Tuili altarpiece by the Castelsardo Master in which she would like to see the assisting hand of the author of the Ardara tabernacle and predella. She amasses documentary mentions of the chief commissioner of the Ardara retable, the archpriest, Cataholo, from 1497 to 1505.

The centre of the retable is occupied by a fine Gothic statue of the Madonna, and the paintings round about set forth her Joys, here, as not seldom, increased from seven to eight, her Nativity (oddly taking the place of the usual Crucifixion at the summit of the structure, Fig. 206), the Annunciation, Birth of Christ, Epiphany, Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost, and Dormition. Signorina Crabu has discerned that the composition of the last scene is lifted (immediately or mediately) from Schongauer's engraving of the theme, though none of the other subjects is related to the German's prints, but, on the book from which the Apostles in the lower right corner are reading, the Ardara painter has superimposed upon his source in Schongauer legible words, "In exitu Israel de Aegypto," the beginning of the Psalm CXIV (or, by another numbering, CXIII) which the clergy intoned as a corpse was being carried from the house

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[33] My vol. VIII, p. 489.

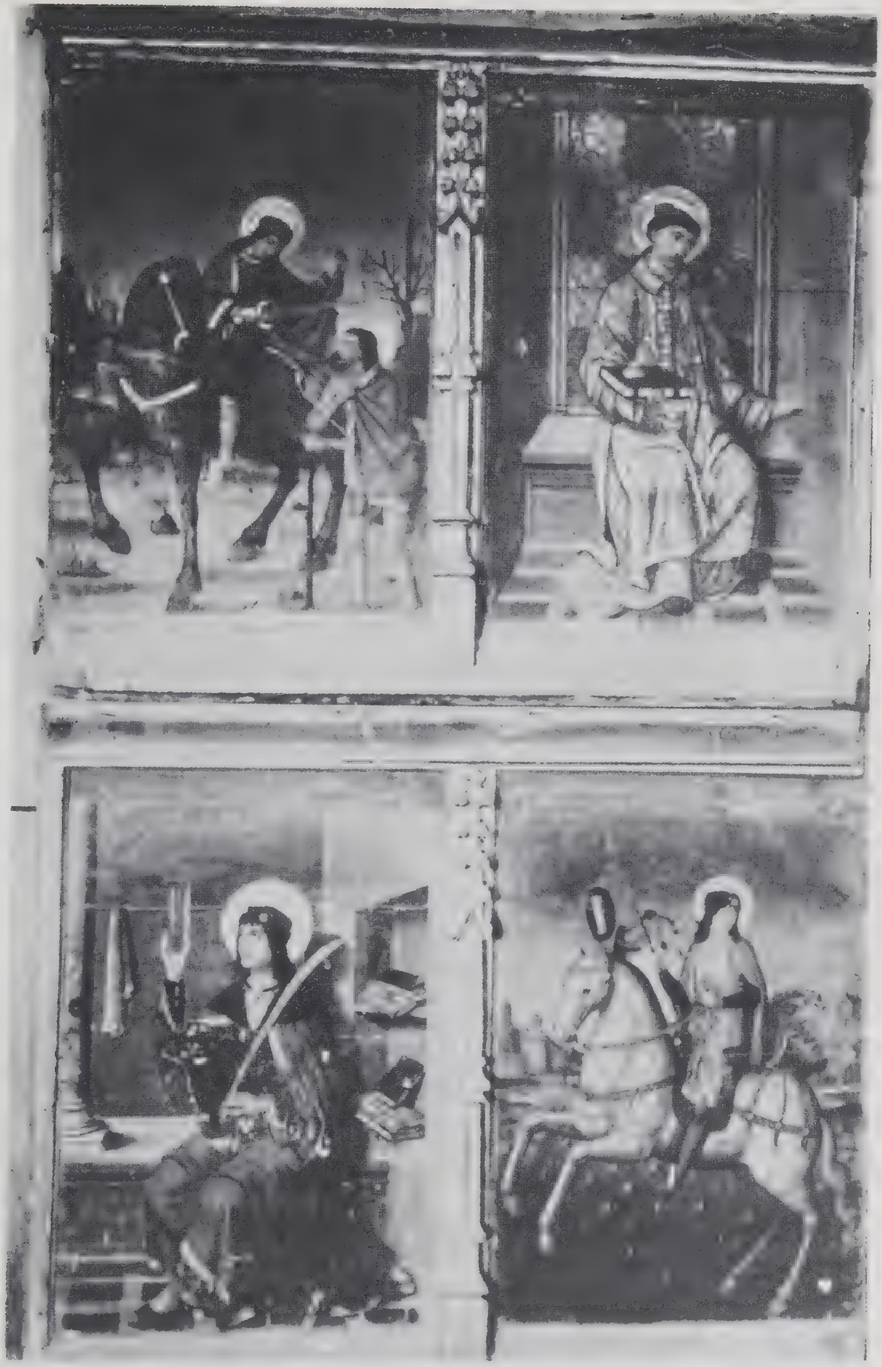

FIG. 207. JUAN MURU OR A COLLABORATOR. PREDELLA OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, ARDARA
(*Photo. Pes*)

to the church and which Dante (*Purg.* II, 46) puts into the mouths of the new arrivals in purgatory. Opposite in the lower left corner there is added also a personage contemporary with the execution of the retable, a kneeling cleric, in whom Spano and Signorina Crabu are surely right in recognizing the archpriest Cataholo, especially since he is the only ecclesiastic mentioned in the list of donors in the inscription. The sides of the tabernacle the front of which displays the dead Christ are decorated by figures of Sts. Nicholas and Pantaleon, with one of his emblems, a box of medicaments;[34] and between the Sts. Peter and Paul of the altar's doors there are four compartments of a predella (Fig. 207) depicting St. Martin's charity to the beggar, next, the seated St. Stephen, then balancing him and likewise seated, St. Damian,[35] and finally as a counterpart to the mounted St. Martin the Sardinian martyr of the fourth century, St. Gavinus of Torres (an ancient town and the port of Sassari), not only riding on a white horse, the guise in which he posthumously appeared to direct the discovery of his relics and is represented in the iconography of the island,[36] but also carrying a banner adorned with a tower to signify that Torres was the centre of his cult. As often in Spain proper, the *guardapolvos* are reserved chiefly for an array of Prophets — on the principal uprights, full-lengths of Daniel, Moses, David, Zechariah, Abraham, and Solomon, at the top and on the cross-pieces half-lengths of Malachi, Baruch, Amos, Joel, Isaiah, and Jeremiah,[37] but on the small uprights flanking the Virgin's Nativity, Sts. John Baptist and Anthony of Padua.

[34] See above, p. 470.

[35] Anomalously represented without his brother St. Cosmas. It might be thought that the figure on the tabernacle whom I have called Pantaleon was intended as Cosmas; but he was customarily depicted in a manner much more like Damian, and the nature of the box held by the saint on the tabernacle appears regularly in Pantaleon's iconography. Signorina Crabu takes the figure whom I have called Pantaleon to be Damian and the one in whom I see Damian to be Cosmas.

[36] For St. Gavinus, see the Bollandists under October 25. It is a question how far he has been confused with St. Gabinus who with St. Chrispulus (both also residents of Torres) suffered martyrdom much earlier under Hadrian and is commemorated on May 30.

[37] Signorina Crabu has read the sentences which, in addition to the names, are inscribed on the Prophets' scrolls, all having to do with the coming of Christ, except in the cases of Moses, who is designated by pieces, literal or adapted, from the Decalogue, of which other parts are written on the tablets that he carries, and Solomon, whose banderole contains the well known line from the Song of Songs (IV, 7) that has been generally applied to the Virgin. The other legends are sections of verses: Daniel, VII, 13; Psalms II, 7, for David; Zechariah, III, 9; Genesis, XXIV, 7, for Abraham; Malachi, III, 1; Baruch, III, 37; Amos, IX, 6; Joel, II, 28; Isaiah, VII, 14; and Jeremiah, XVI, 19.

The style of the man who did the tabernacle and predella not only is better than that of the painter who carried out the rest of the altarpiece, but also it seems to be somewhat earlier in date. Since we have found that the signature on the placard was hardly an afterthought, we cannot argue that Muru was the later and less gifted artist, who, when his antecessor had desisted through illness or death or for some other reason, affixed his name when he had finished the commission for all the many parts besides the tabernacle and predella. The usual hypothesis, shared by Signorina Crabu, that the artist who painted the tabernacle and predella was Muru is supported by the considerations that the signature occurs on the tabernacle and that the cloth falling from the sepulchre of the dead Christ who is represented thereon appears from the first to have been a part of the design of the section containing the date, the donors' names, and the placard with the signature and thus to connect all the inscriptions with the figure of the Saviour. On the other hand, as Signorina Crabu confesses, the epigraphy of these inscriptions corresponds exactly with that of the banderoles and other words in the main body and *guardapolvos* of the retable. In sum, there are no infallible means of deciding which of the two was called Juan Muru.

The author of the tabernacle and predella gives the impression of having had his roots in the style popularized in Catalonia by Huguet, recalling rather definitely the manner of Gabriel Guardia and exhibiting little to bespeak the Cinquecento except a relaxation of the pinched quality of the forms in the painting of the late Middle Ages. The debt, however, to the modes that the magnetic achievements of the Castelsardo Master had popularized on the island is very tangible, for example in the Christ, St. Nicholas, and St. Pantaleon of the tabernacle. A more competent technician than the majority of his contemporaries in Sardinia, he maintains charmingly the old Catalan tradition in the gentleness with which he invests his forms.

In the main body of the retable, *guardapolvos*, and doors, the conception of the human form and the settings of architecture of the Renaissance indicate, in my opinion, a time for their execution slightly subsequent to the days when the tabernacle and predella were being done; but their creator was a less skillful, careful, and pleasant performer, blocking out rugged figures and somewhat glyptic draperies suggestive of sculpture. The compositions are traditional, even to the point of a retention, in the Pentecost, of a detail that goes back in the Catalan iconography of the theme at least as far as the Serras, the Apostle at the right raising his hand emotionally to his head. In the Birth of the Virgin, nevertheless, Muru commits the caprice of making an attendant into a negress, and he enlivens the left background of the Resurrection with a graphic representation of the Harrowing of Hell. Although the St. Peter on one of the doors resembles figures by Juan Gascó, there is nothing really in the whole style of the Sardinian to impose the belief that he was familiar with the productions of this Navarrese immigrant into the Catalan artistic *milieu*. Aru [38] probably sees correctly in descrying a dependence upon the retable which from a subordinate altar in the abbey of Saccargia (not far from Ardara) has entered the Museo Sanna at Sassari and in which I should now be more willing to admit an influence of the Castelsardo Master than when I wrote volume VIII; [39] and in

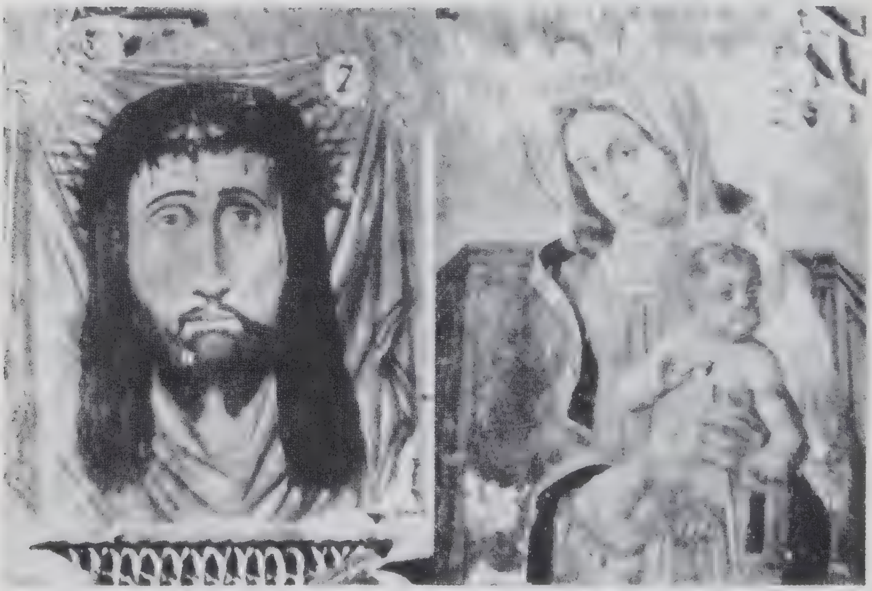

Fig. 208. JUAN MURU OR A COLLABORATOR. DOUBLE VERONICA. PARISH CHURCH, ARDARA
(*From an article by Aru*)

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[38] *Op. cit.*, 54.

[39] P. 496, where I wrongly placed the Saccargia retable in the Museum at Cagliari instead of Sassari.

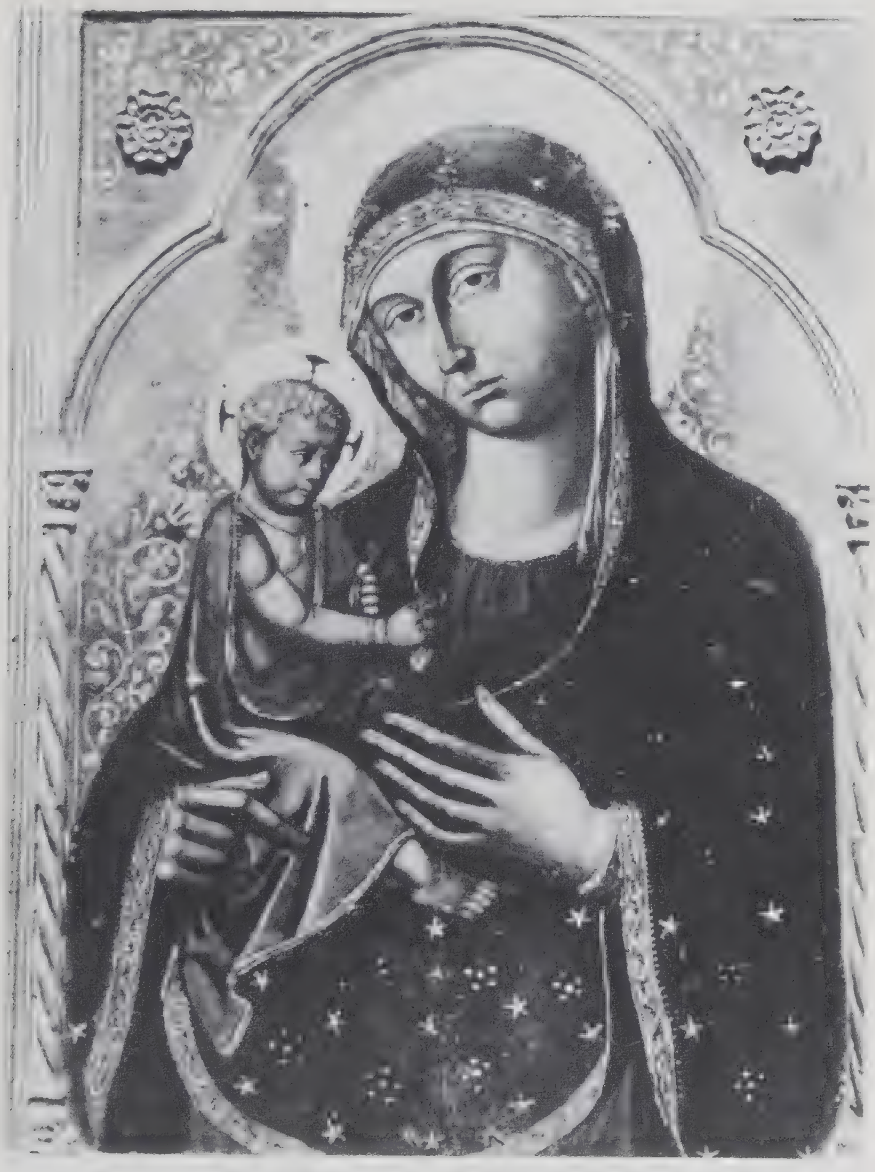

Fig. 209. JUAN MURU OR A COLLABORATOR. MADONNA DEL BOSCO. CATHEDRAL, SASSARI
(*Photo. Gabinetto Fotografico, Museo Nazionale, Cagliari*)

a separate work by Muru, a Crucifixion, very concrete proof of a dependence upon this Master is tangible. Like the achievements of the Castelsardo Master, both divisions of the Ardara retable still sparkle with the brilliant brocades of the Spanish Quattrocento.

It is generally and rightly held, on internal evidence, that the author of the majority of the compartments in the retable at Ardara executed another preserved work, in the sacristy of the church, one of the double veronicas so popular in the Catalan, Valencian, and Majorcan schools but perhaps at Ardara carried in religious processions like the similar one at Sassari attributed to Juan Barceló[40] (Fig. 208). On one side, as usual, is the head of Christ, but the reverse betrays a departure from the regular iconography in that, as in the version assigned to Barceló, for the Virgin's head there is substituted a representation of her in half length holding the Child. To accept the attribution, one need only compare the countenance of the suffering Redeemer with that of the first standing Magus in the Epiphany or discover the same bulky Infant as in this and other compartments of the altarpiece. No one could quarrel with Delogu[41] when he ascribes to the same artist a Virgin, likewise in half length and with the Child, in the cathedral of Sassari, a cult-picture known under the name of the Madonna del Bosco (Fig. 209). She has precisely the sharp-cut features, as of sculpture, that mark the women and angels in the upper sections of the Ardara retable, and the lines defining the muscularity of the Child, especially on the visible arm, may be seen again in this retable on the Infant Christ in the Nativity. The whole treatment of the theme is an archaistic reversion to the Italo-Byzantine Madonnas of the thirteenth century and was probably intended as a reproduction of the much venerated example in the church of S. Maria del Popolo at Rome, which was particularly honored in Spain.[42] Indeed another title sometimes given to the Sassari picture is the Madonna del Popolo.

Furthermore, with keen perception Signorina Crabu has correctly augmented our relatively small deposit from the author of the majority of the Ardara panels by a Crucifixion which is known only in a photograph belonging to the Soprintendenza ai Monumenti e Gallerie della Sardegna at Cagliari but which has probably entered

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[40] See above, p. 468.

[41] *Sardegna*, in the series *Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano*, 1952, p. 59.

[42] See my vols. II, p. 182, and V, p. 228.

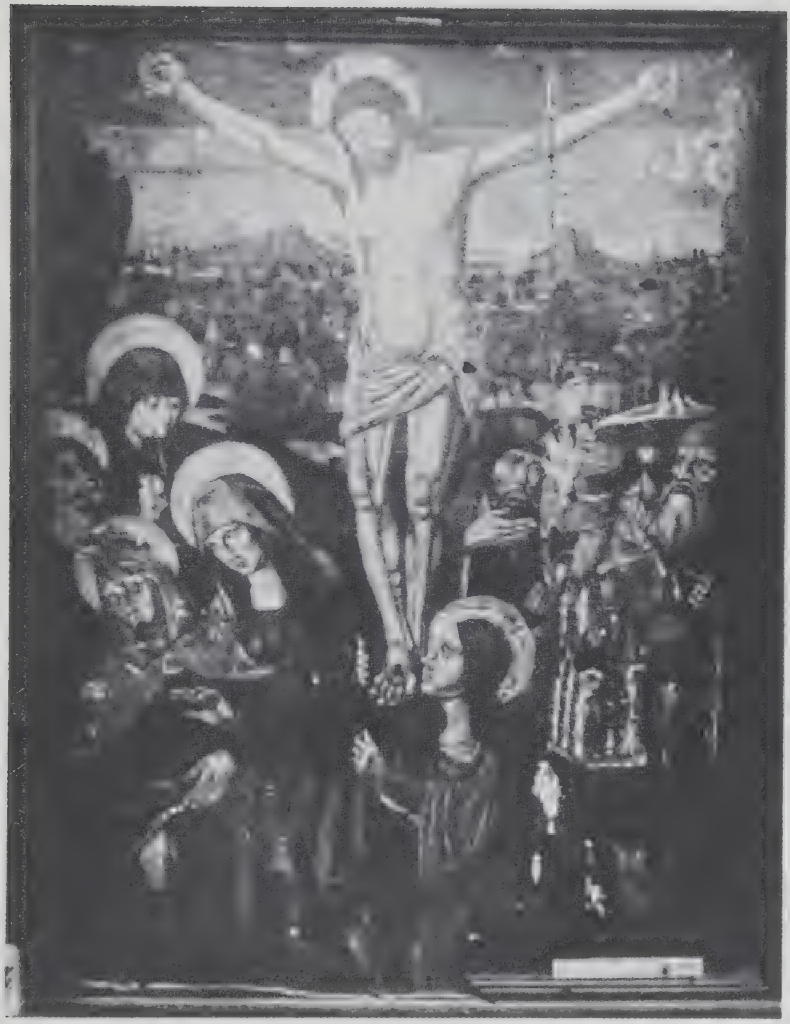

Fig. 210. JUAN MURU OR A COLLABORATOR.
CRUCIFIXION. PRIVATE COLLECTION, SARDINIA
(*Courtesy of the Cagliari Museum*)

some private collection (Fig. 210). The signal importance of the picture is that more clearly than any of his other works it demonstrates his indebtedness to the Castelsardo Master, as patently derived from this painter's representations of the subject. Signorina Crabu points out the relationship to the treatment in the Master's retable at Tuili, but, if she had been familiar with his other versions in the Muntaner Collection, Barcelona, and in the separate panel at Ste. Lucie de Tallano in Corsica, she would have seen that there was very exact precedent even for the Magdalene at the foot of the cross. Indeed, I once entertained the idea that we might owe the Crucifixion which now concerns us to the Castelsardo Master himself, but Signorina Crabu has eventually brought me over to her opinion, discerning, in addition to other correspondences, such Morellian details as the Ardara painter's peculiar, knobby emphasis upon the knuckles where the hand joins the fingers. It is to be observed also that the Ardara painter takes over from the Castelsardo Master the unpleasant stress upon the delineation of the inner ends of the ribs like prominent bosses.

Delogu has recently [43] attributed to Muru himself, whom he identifies with the author of the Ardara tabernacle and predella, the panel of a martyred deacon in the Servite church as Sassari that he had earlier [44] claimed for the Castelsardo Master; but I myself have now become convinced that his first idea was correct and that the panel is one of the Castelsardo Master's autographic achievements.[45] I cannot follow Brunelli [46] in perceiving the general manner of Muru, whether he means the creator of the tabernacle and predella at Ardara or the collaborator, in a frescoed Madonna and Child in the court of the archiepiscopal palace at Sassari (Fig. 211), particularly when I look at the very diverse treatment of the theme in the double veronica by the collaborator in the Ardara sacristy; and, despite my search, I have been unable to find any Sardinian master of the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century to whom we could assign the picture, which in Brunelli's opinion may embody a repainting about the year 1500 of an earlier work. The fresco, however, has the interest of showing the persistent kinship with the art

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[43] *Sardegna,* in the series *Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano,* 1952, p. 59.

[44] *Le arti,* V (1942–1943) p. 48. The panel, after cleaning, is here illustrated, p. 50.

[45] See my vol. VIII, p. 490.

[46] *L'arte,* X (1907), 371.

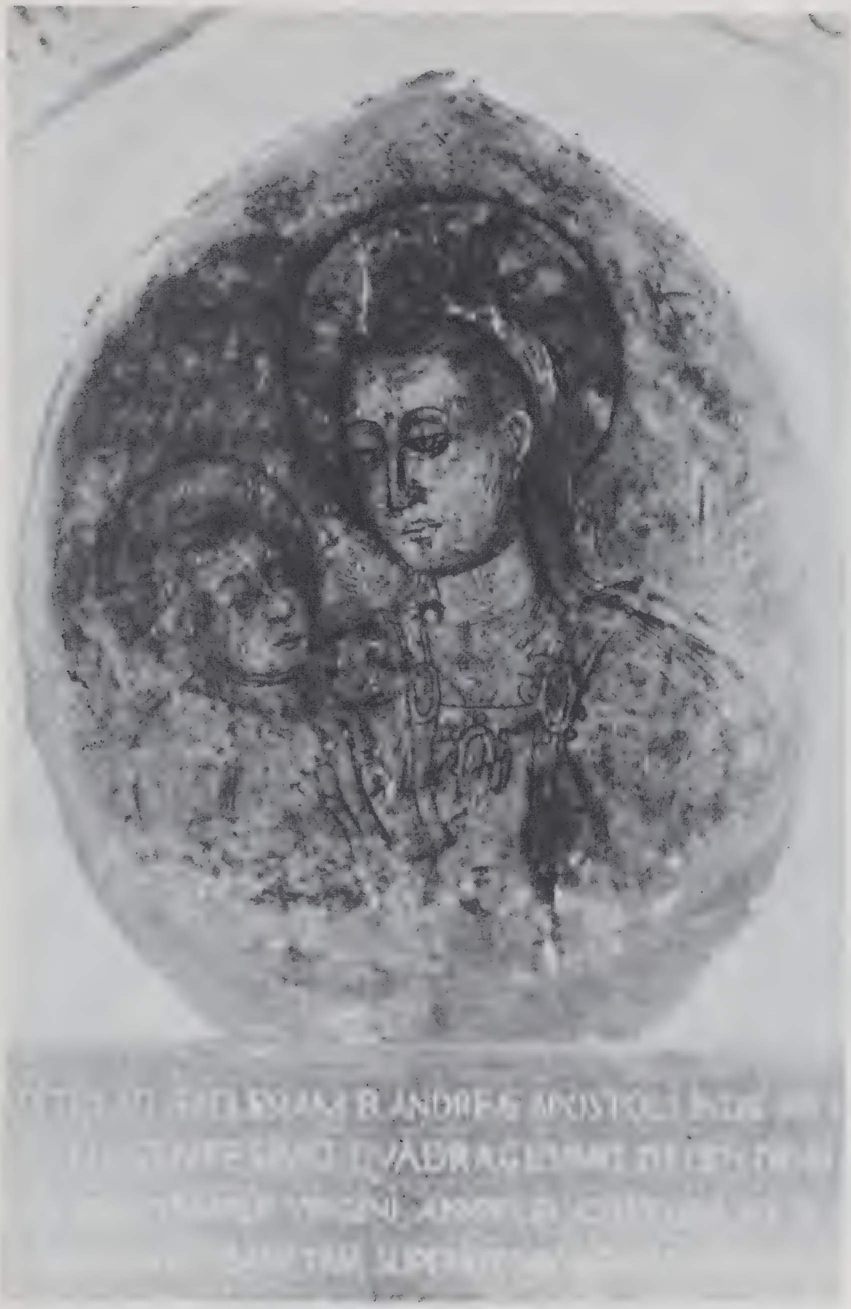

Fig. 211. SPANISH SCHOOL, FIFTEENTH OR SIXTEENTH CENTURY.
FRESCOED MADONNA. ARCHIEPISCOPAL PALACE, SASSARI
(*Photo. Dachena*)

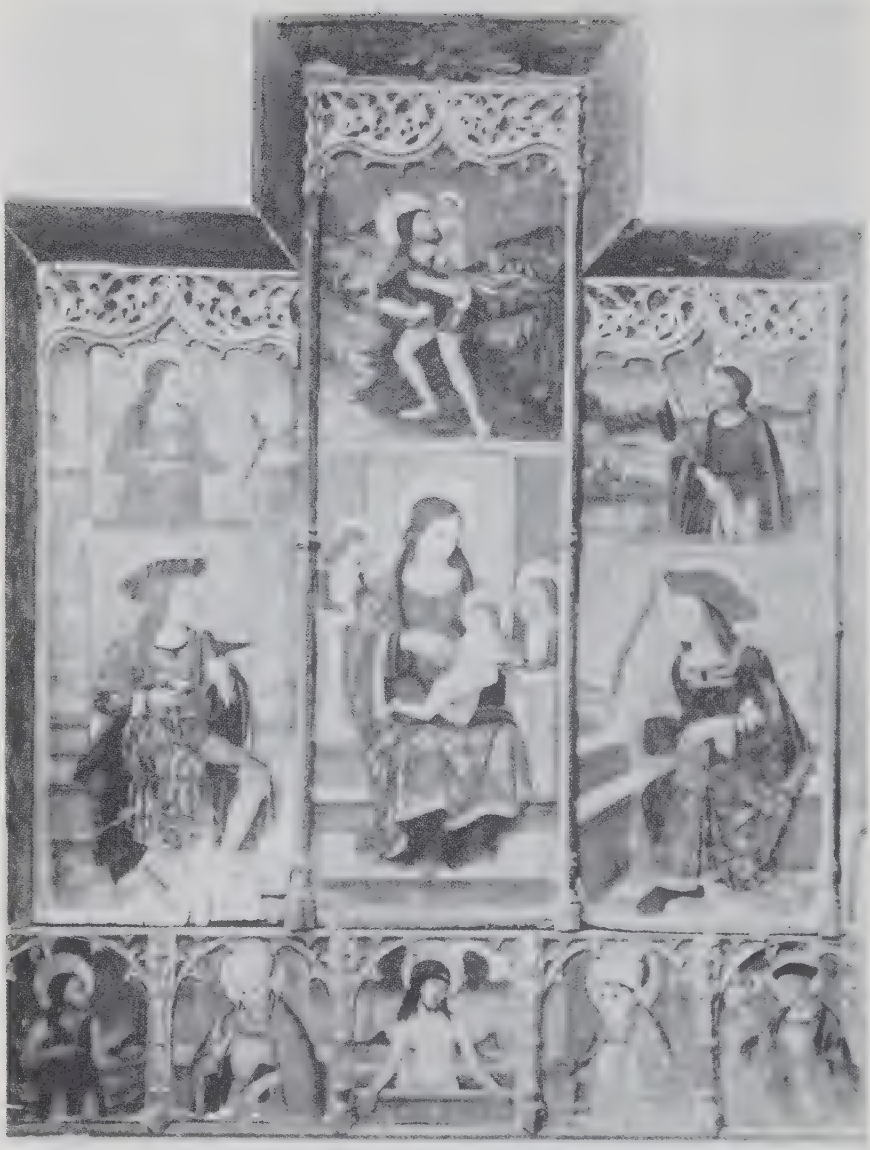

FIG. 212. RETABLE EXECUTED UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THE GASCÓ SHOP. PARISH CHURCH, OLIENA
(*Photo. Gabinetto Fotografico, Museo Nazionale, Cagliari*)

of the eastern Spanish littoral in its similarity to such a production as a version of the theme in the Provincial Museum, Valencia, by the Perea Master,[47] who, however, is unthinkable as the author.

The retable in one of the chapels in the parish church at Oliena (near Nuoro, in the northeastern part of the island) possesses, despite its not too great appeal to our aesthetic appreciation, the signal importance of demonstrating again the unceasing debt to the styles of eastern Spain in that its anonymous author plainly was potently influenced by the productions of the shop of Juan and Pedro Gascó or even may have been an actual Catalan working in or for Sardinia (Fig. 212). The principal panel displays the Madonna enthroned between two angels, of whom one offers cherries to the Child and the other blows upon a trumpet. The lateral compartments at this level are reserved for seated masculine saints in the guise of young seigneurs, at the left St. Julian and at the right an unrecognizable martyr with a palm.[48] With a provincial violation of regular iconography, St. Christopher is substituted for the Crucifixion in the central pinnacle, and here the flanking panels are devoted to Sts. Apollonia and Roch in three-fourths length. In the predella, at the sides of the dead Christ there are aligned half-lengths of the Baptist, an unidentified hallowed bishop (without attributes), St. Nicholas, and St. Gavinus.[49]

The whole retable, in its formation and the arrangement of the figures, recalls vividly such a monument by Juan Gascó as the altarpiece from San Julián de Vilamirosa. The seated St. Sebastian in a lateral compartment of this altarpiece could easily have served as a model for the canonized young aristocrats at Oliena. The Madonna and angels in the middle of the Oliena retable constitute much the same sort of composition as Juan Gascó's panel of the *Anna selbdritt* that from the convent of the Misericordia at Vich has entered the Museum of the town. The actual posture of the Child has counterparts in Pedro Gascó's representations of the Holy Family. Types analogous to the angels and to Apollonia are often forthcoming in the output of the Gascó atelier, for example in the series of female saints formerly in the Rómulo Bosch Collection at Barcelona. Secondary details are often very telling in the matter of artistic influences; and thus it is to be observed that in the Oliena retable there are hung behind several of the sacred personages auric textiles patterned with the florally ornamented checkers that are almost Gascó trade-marks. A certain delicate unsubstantiality in the forms suggests that the Oliena craftsman may have been familiar also with the Valencian school of the early Renaissance, especially with the achievements of the Cabanyes Master.

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[47] See my vol. VI, fig. 112.

[48] St. Julian is identified through his emblem, the falcon, with whatever lack of ornithological ability delineated. Miss King (*op. cit.*, 186) sees in his pendant St. Sebastian, but the only emblem that I can descry is a palm.

[49] See above, p. 480. He here carries one of his customary emblems, a banner adorned with a tower, the symbol of his town of Torres.

Although the retable at Dolianova (i.e., new Dolia), north of Cagliari, may be the earliest of these conservative works, I am placing it at the end because it is still ruder technically than the paintings at Ardara and Oliena. Both Miss King and Aru date it in or before 1503 on the grounds that in this year the old, separate diocese of Dolia was suppressed and merged with the see of Cagliari and that a prelate, whom they suppose to be the last diocesan of the independent bishopric, is depicted as donor; but I can see no reason that the archbishop of Cagliari, *after* he had absorbed Dolia, should not have endowed its church with an altarpiece, and, despite the fact that there is practically nothing in the panels to indicate the encroachment of the Renaissance except the less Gothic types of human beings, an unprogressive artisan such as this might have maintained the archaistic manner later in the Cinquecento than its first years. An argument for a tardy dating is found in the considerations that in the uncouthness of many of the human types and in the sculptural draperies there is a resemblance to the manner of the painter responsible in 1515 or afterward for the majority of the compartments in the Ardara retable, that this painter could hardly have been inspired by the clumsy craftsman of Dolianova, and that therefore the influence would have worked the other way.

In the retable, at last report hung in the church at one side, the lower of the central panels exhibits a standing effigy of St. Pantaleon, to whom the edifice is dedicated.[50] He carries his attribute of the case of physician's remedies, and still in the diminished size to which subordinate persons accompanying cult-figures were reduced in earlier art, there are represented on the pavement at the extreme left a youth enveloped in the coils of a viper and bitten by the reptile in the neck, i.e., the victim of the snake's poison whom the saint, early in his

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[50] For St. Pantaleon and his story, see above, pp. 470 and 480.

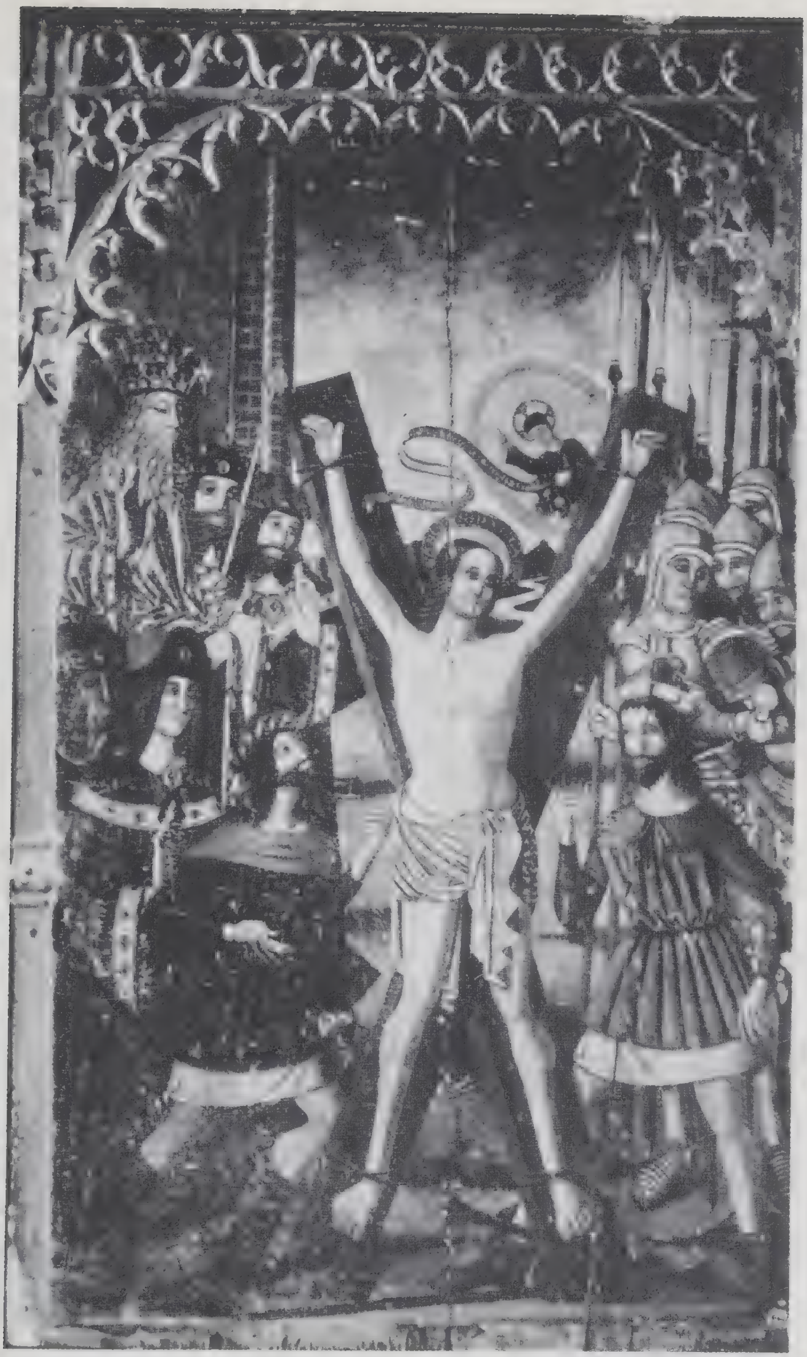

Fig. 213. SPANISH SCHOOL, SIXTEENTH CENTURY. ST. PANTALEON ON THE *ECULEUS*, SECTION OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, DOLIANOVA

(*Photo. Gabinetto Fotografico, Museo Nazionale, Cagliari*)

progress towards Christianity, restored to life, and at the right a distorted cripple beside the little cart in which he was wheeled about, namely the paralytic whom Pantaleon cured in the presence of the Emperor Maximian and whose introduction into the picture may have been suggested by those scenes in Catalan retables in which the physically afflicted are brought to saints' tombs in hope of restoration to normality.[51] Near the serpent-bound youth there kneels an older man, probably the recipient of another of Pantaleon's miracles of healing. The upper compartment at the centre is consigned to the Madonna and the Child, not held by her, however, as usual, but seated on a cushion at the bottom of her outspreading garments and turning toward three angels who, again in diminished scale, finger a banderole containing the opening words of the *Te Deum.* With a homely and pleasantly familiar attitude towards sacred things, all too rare in the formality of our religion of the north but by no means unparalleled in the art of the Spanish mainland,[52] the Child is depicted as grasping a frying pan full of cooked food for the enjoyment of which He has been given a spoon. The aged bishop as donor, whom we have had occasion to mention, kneels, in reduced size, at the middle of the panel's lowest register.

The four lateral compartments are reserved for the grim episodes of Pantaleon's prolonged martyrdom. He is stretched on the *eculeus* (Fig. 213); like St. Vincent, he is ineffectually cast into the sea with a millstone about his neck; he tames the wild beasts that at the imperial command had been set upon him; and, bound to an olive tree, he is decapitated. In the first three events, as we have noted,[53] Christ appears to him not in the shape of Pantaleon's spiritual director, Hermolaus, in conformity to the tradition, but under the semblance of a child, who is curiously delineated like a form in a Byzantine icon. The Theophany is transformed in the final scene, the decollation, into the Eternal Father receiving the saint's soul in the guise so long consecrated in Catalan iconography,[54] an elongated, glistering emanation as if of ectoplasm. The old convention of banderoles with Latin inscriptions as substitutions for the spoken word is used in the scenes of the torments — addresses of Our Lord to his suffering servant in the episodes of the *eculeus* and beasts and an expression of trust in God on the part of Pantaleon weighted with the millstone; but they are not the sentiments quoted in the *Vita* that is included in the Bollandists' account of the saint [55] and must come from some other version of his life unknown to me. If a predella ever existed, it has disappeared.

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[51] See above, p. 473.

[52] See my vol. IX, p. 691.

[53] P. 470.

[54] See above, p. 214.

The head of the Madonna falls so neatly within the Castelsardo Master's norm as to cause Aru [56] to postulate that he himself did this passage and then turned over all the rest of the altarpiece to a less capable assistant; but I seem to detect in the head a slight alteration of the Master's precedents, particularly in the direction of the idealization of the Renaissance, and even the countrified performer at Dolianova, under the impact of his inspirer's models, could have thus closely approximated the Castelsardo Master's feminine type. The lingering but intimate affiliations with Catalan painting of the second half of the fifteenth century have been noticed by other writers, especially the confinement of a narrative episode to the centre of a symmetrical composition between massed groups of spectators, in this case St. Pantaleon's persecutors. The links with the past extend even to the retention for the saint of an embossed halo, inscribed with his name.

3. Pedro Cavaro

In the phase of art to which, generally speaking, the present volume limits itself, merely the transition to the modes of the fully evolved Renaissance, we come finally to Pedro Cavaro, who, like Juan Muru, can be specifically named and who, though exhibiting slightly more palpable contact with Italianism than his Sardinian contemporaries or immediate predecessors, remained still so much under the domination of the long established Catalan and Valencian tradition on the island as rightly to be included in these pages. It has very commonly been held that he initiated a swing away from a continuation of the Spanish allegiance to a dependence upon Italy. His successors in the Sardinian school (for instance, the personality now conjecturally identified with his son, Miguel Cavaro [57]) were, like their rivals on the Spanish mainland, so imbued with the characteristics of the High

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[55] See above, p. 470.

[56] Article on the Castelsardo Master.

[57] See below, p. 514.

Renaissance that they must be treated in a subsequent volume, and we can postpone until then the debate whether they derived these characteristics directly from Italy or from their interpretation in Spain; but it should be pointed out at once that even the later Sardinians were in some respects more conservative than the painters of Spain proper at the period and abided in greater degree by certain old mediaeval Spanish conventions. Those who have championed the idea of a break of the Sardinian masters with Spanish affiliations and stressed the direct influence of Italy have made much of the fact that Pedro Cavaro in all probability spent a time at Naples and became actually a part of the artistic life of the city, executing a (lost) altarpiece in the church of S. Maria delle Grazie; but my volumes have shown that many painters of the Spanish mainland in this transitional period are definitely ascertained or deduced to have studied or at least sojourned in Italy and that, as has not been realized by most students of Sardinian art, who have been too little conversant with the production of Spain at the time, some contemporary Spaniards developed styles quite as Italianate as Pedro Cavaro's, although they are definitely to be reckoned members of the Spanish school. By the same reasoning, he must be classified as belonging to this school in its Sardinian subdivision. His Castilian predecessor in the transition, Pedro Berruguete, had as a young man attained a leading rôle in the aesthetic *milieu* of Urbino, carrying out at the ducal court of the town, before repatriation, far greater works than Cavaro's altarpiece at Naples could have been.

Brunelli [58] dissented from the majority of writers on Sardinia in holding that, despite Cavaro's Neapolitan experience, the Italian elements entered Sardinian painting in the first part of the sixteenth century, not directly from Italy, but from their Spanish adaptations, and Aru [59] has broken swords with him on this point, enumerating cultural contacts of the island with the Italian Renaissance that would corroborate such an orientation also for the art. As a matter of fact, there is nothing essential in the productions of Pedro, whom we shall find to have actually been at Barcelona, that could not have been derived from the Italianism of the contemporary Catalans and Valencians. The imitations of Raphael's compositions and, in a few instances, even of types are perhaps more numerous and somewhat

[58] *L'arte*, X (1907), 371, n. 7.

[59] *Archivio storico sardo*, XV (1924), 20.

closer than the corresponding borrowings in the painting of Spain proper; but they could be elucidated by the general European circulation of prints based upon the great Umbrian's works, and, as we shall see, they do not compel a belief in a second sojourn of Pedro in Italy after his earlier Neapolitan experience. Moreover, his productions reveal no *specific* affinities with the still inadequately analyzed and understood pictorial output of Naples in the Cinquecento. It really makes no difference where Pedro acquired familiarity with Italian characteristics, which were after all merely contributory to his fundamentally Sardinian and Spanish fashions. Indeed Aru [60] justly describes Cavaro's achievement as essentially an Italianization of the kind of art that the Castelsardo Master had established as a norm on the island, and we shall find elements in the former's pictures that seem to reflect the latter's influence.

Our earliest chronological reference to Pedro Cavaro affords the definite objective proof of his connection with the Catalan school that we have desired. On January 2, 1508, he appears as actually a member of the guild of painters at Barcelona and as joining with the large number of the most eminent exponents of the profession in the city who formed this guild in contributing financially to the making and erection of a (lost) retable in the chapel dedicated to their patron, St. Luke, in the church of Sta. María de la Merced.[61] The next record of him comes from May 25, 1518, the sentence in which he signs himself, in puzzling Latin that will perplex us when we weigh the problem of his postulated sojourn in Naples, as the author of the extant retable in the church of Villamar in Sardinia. A comparatively recent discovery has documented another preserved work by him, a retable done for the church of S. Francesco at Oristano, the parts of which are now distributed between this edifice and the Municipio of the town. In a register of the year 1716, still in manuscript, enumerating the acts of the friars attached to the church from the end of the fifteenth century until the register's date, it is stated that on July 14, 1533, Pedro Cavaro's brother-in-law gave a receipt to the authorities of the institution for payment for a retable that

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[60] Article on the Castelsardo Master, 51.

[61] See above, p. 170, and J. M. Madurell in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, I, 3 (1943), 37 ff., and specifically for Cavaro, p. 46. The surname is given by Madurell as "Cavero" in the document; but more drastic variations in spelling are common at the period, and the union with the Christian name "Pedro" renders the identification certain.

Pedro had painted in the building;[62] and the notice must refer to the extant pieces and not to another lost altarpiece in the church, since they agree in style with the retable of Villamar. For our purpose we need not recapitulate the authentications of his non-extant works on the island, which are included in Aru's[63] publication of the documents and judicious discussion of the artist. A son or at least some younger relative of the feeble Sardinian painter, Lorenzo Cavaro,[64] he was still living on May 4, 1537, and Aru has discovered a record giving us a closer approximation to the date of his actual decease than had been hitherto ascertained, Miguel Cavaro's contract of May 7, 1538, to do a (lost) retable at the town of Iglesias in Sardinia, in which it is stated that his father Pedro had received the order in the preceding year but died when he had only just commenced the undertaking.

The evidence for our painter's presence in Naples is found in Pietro Summonte's celebrated letter on Neapolitan art, in which the reference to the artist gains trustworthiness because Summonte wrote at a date, 1524,[65] during Pedro Cavaro's own lifetime. The writer states that in the church of S. Maria delle Grazie at Naples there is an altarpiece of the Visitation executed by a Master Pietro of Sardinia who afterward became an "eremita," namely a member of the reformed Franciscan Order of the Hermits or Minimes that had been founded by St. Francis de Paula.[66] The Christian name alone, Pietro, is, of course, not enough to identify the painter in S. Maria delle Grazie with Pedro Cavaro; but Aru practically establishes the equation by pointing out that in signing the extant retable at Villamar Pedro declares himself a "minimus," i.e., the Latin for a member of St. Francis de Paula's Order, and it is virtually incredible that two painters called Peter and both Minimes should have enjoyed the quite unusual privilege for Sardinian artists of residence in Naples at the same time. Since Pedro would in all probability have become a

[62] For the entry in the register, see Raffaello Delogu's important article on Pedro's son, Miguel, in *Studi sardi*, III (1937), 28, n. 2. The book in which the entry was first published (R. Branca, *Il Crocefisso di Nicodemo*, Milan, 1935, p. 56) is inaccessible to me.

[63] *Archivio storico sardo*, XVI (1926), 176 and 184; and his article in the Sardinian periodical, *il Nuraghe*, II (1924), no. 14, pp. 5–7.

[64] See above, p. 469.

[65] See my vol. IV, p. 57.

[66] The most convenient place to find the Summonte letter is in Fausto Nicolini's book, *L'arte napoletana del Rinascimento*, Naples, 1925, p. 157: the statement about Pietro is on p. 164.

Minime at Naples, a centre of the Order, Aru logically deduces that because he avows himself a "minimus" in the signature on the Villamar retable of 1518, his Neapolitan experience must have occurred prior to this year. The writer on the culture and art of Naples, Fausto Nicolini,[67] is somewhat doubtful about the identification, chiefly taking exception to Aru's interpretation of the word "minimus" in the signature. The inscription reads, "Anno salutis MDXVIII die XXV mensis maius pingit retabolum Petri Cavaro pictorum minimus Stampacis" (*Stampacis*, the genitive of the Latin for Stampace, a suburb of Cagliari and a favorite residence for Sardinian artists in the sixteenth century). Nicolini, maintaining that, if Pietro had wished to denominate himself a follower of St. Francis de Paula, he would have said "pictor minimus Stampacis," clings to the explanation of "minimus" in vogue before Aru's studies as "humblest" or "youngest" of the painters of Stampace; but, if Aru has read the inscription correctly,[68] it betrays several bits of queer Latin, and we can easily believe that Cavaro or his patron, pedantically desiring to imitate the involved order of classical Latin, would have written the words as they stand instead of the simpler "mimimus, pictorum Stampacis," (a Minime, belonging to the painters of Stampace), an expression like the phraseology that Nicolini would demand. The other pieces of abnormal Latin would be: in the dating the nominative "maius" after the genitive "mensis," instead of the genitive, "maii"; the present "pingit" in the place of the perfect, usual in signatures, "pinxit"; "retabolum" for "retabulum" (but this is a negligible slip); and, most curious of all, the genitive "Petri" for the nominative "Petrus."[69] Inasmuch as he was married and had issue, he could have been only a tertiary of the Order of the Minimes. In my opinion Aru has allowed us little or no opportunity to doubt that Pedro

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[67] *Op. cit.*, 283.

[68] I print Aru's reading, evidently based on a fresh and careful reëxamination of the inscription, rather than the one hitherto accepted, which is published by Miss King, *op. cit.*, 154, and which even gives the date differently as May 20, 1517. I myself, however, have had so much experience with the difficulty of deciphering inscriptions on retables, particularly the ends of words, and with later tampering with the originals that I wonder whether even Aru has penetrated to what was first written on the altarpiece of Villamar and whether it was marred with the Latin blunders now discerned.

[69] Here particularly I wonder whether something has not been erased after or above what has been generally taken to be an "i" and whether "Petrus" was not originally inscribed. Aru (article in *il Nuraghe*, 6) guesses that *Petri* may be a diminutive for *Petrinus*.

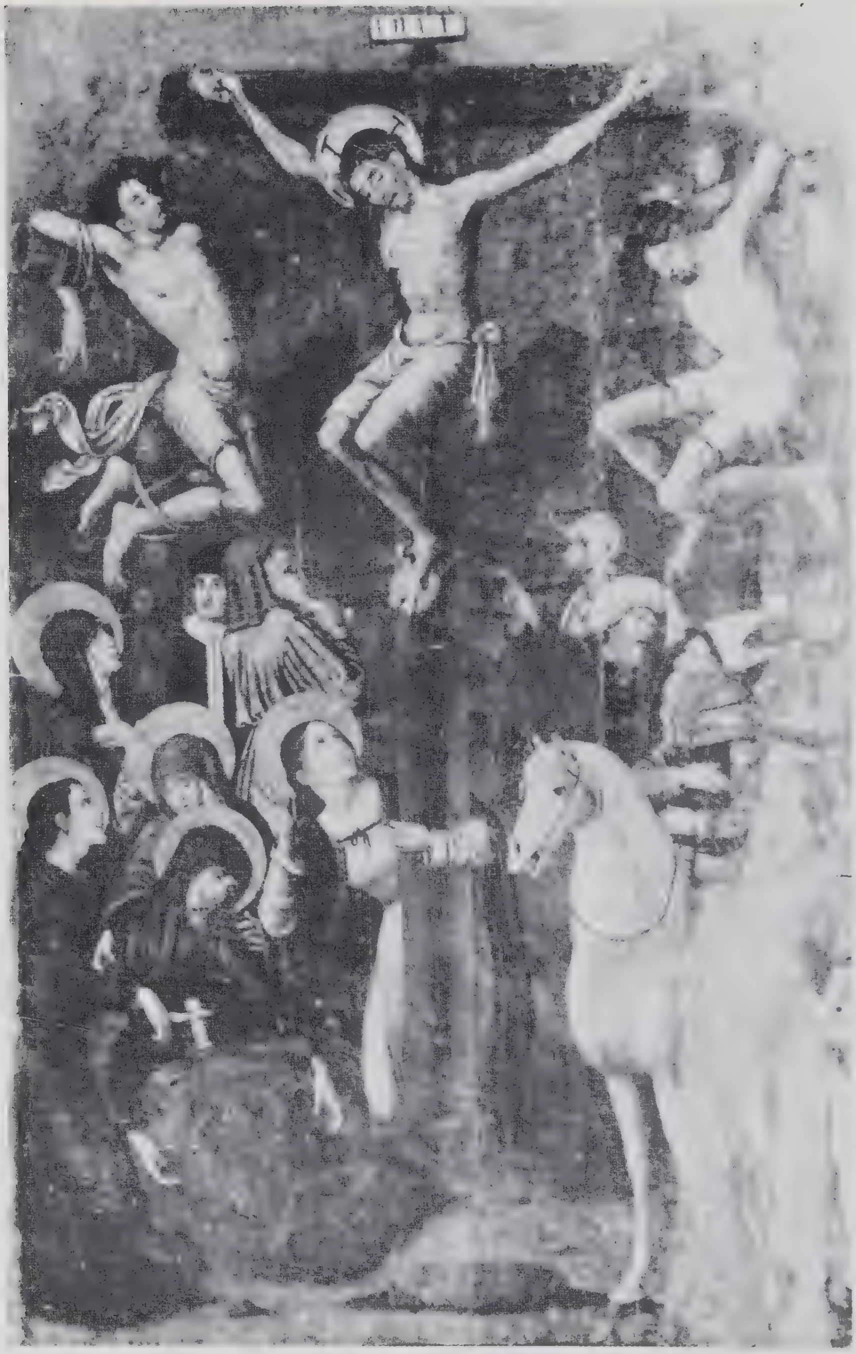

Fig. 214. PEDRO CAVARO. CRUCIFIXION, SECTION OF RETABLE.
PARISH CHURCH, VILLAMAR
(*Photo. Gabinetto Fotografico, Museo Nazionale, Cagliari*)

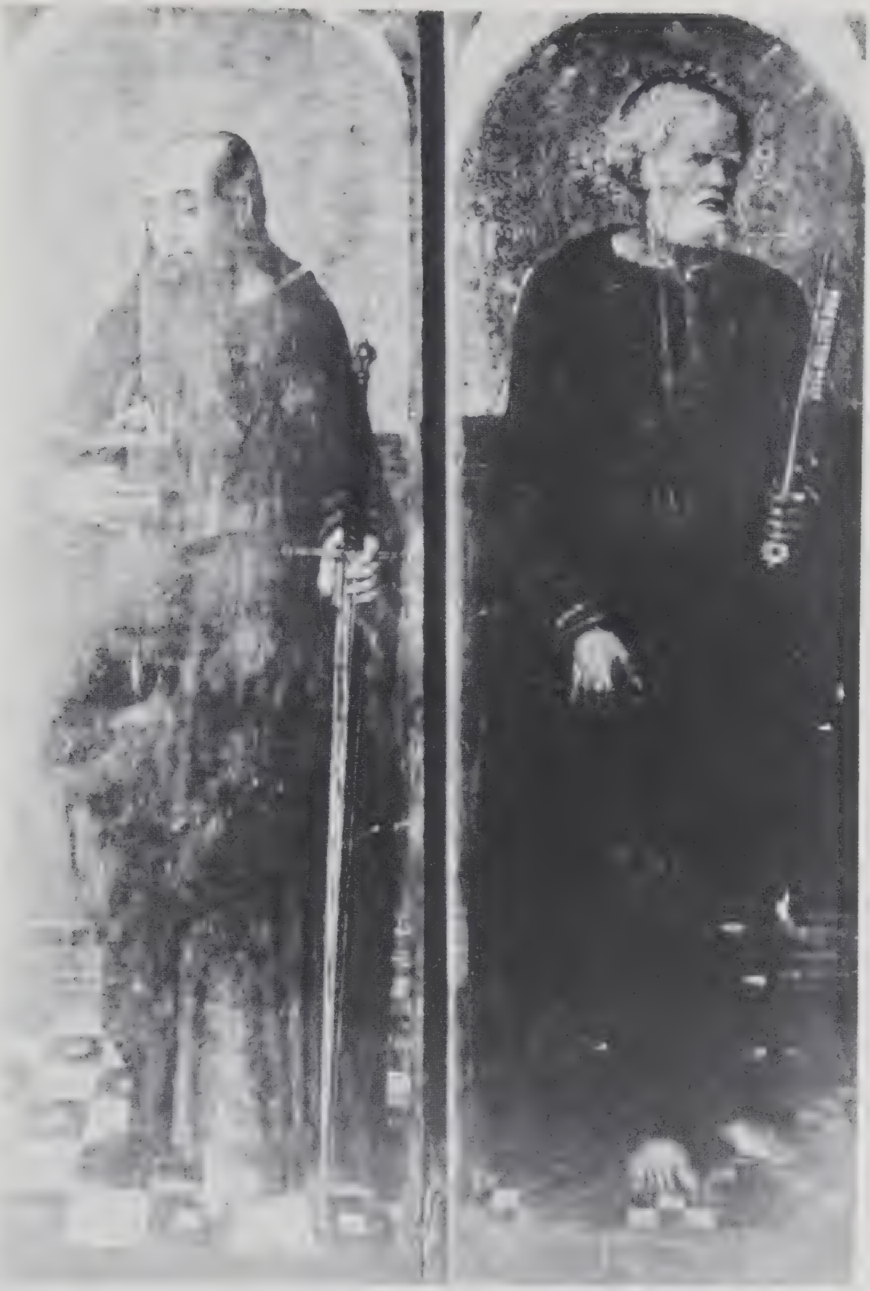

Fig. 215. PEDRO CAVARO. STS. PAUL AND PETER, DOORS OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, VILLAMAR
(*Photo. Gabinetto Fotografico, Museo Nazionale, Cagliari*)

Cavaro resided at Naples for a period before 1518, but the point is really of no great significance, for, as I have urged, he could have learned what he knew of the Italian Renaissance through the importations into Valencia and Catalonia.

Our first monument for the understanding of his style is the signed retable in the church of Villamar, just north of Sanluri. About the statue of the Madonna in the central niche are arranged the following paintings: directly adjoining the niche, six small panels, each containing a serenading angel; above, in its usual place, the Crucifixion (Fig. 214); in the lateral divisions, at the lower level, two compartments devoted to St. John Baptist, his standing effigy and his baptism of Christ; at the upper level, St. Michael worsting the dragon and St. Francis receiving the stigmata; in the middle of the tabernacle the Resurrection and on its sides the Epiphany and Ascension; in the flanking predella the scenes of the Annunciation, Nativity, Pentecost, and Dormition; on the vertical pieces of the *guardapolvos*, the figures in full length of the *Anna selbdritt*, St. Onuphrius, and St. Nicholas at the left and Sts. Catherine of Alexandria, Christopher, and Anthony Abbot at the right; and on the cross-pieces of the *guardapolvos* in half length, over St. Michael, St. Ursula relieved against a bevy of martyred companions and over St. Francis, the paired Sts. Cosmas and Damian (the section above the Crucifixion having been lost). The doors at the sides of the altar, with the traditional themes of Sts. Peter and Paul, are also preserved (Fig. 215).

Pedro Cavaro reveals no debt to his incapable immediate Sardinian forerunner and relative, Lorenzo Cavaro, and, if we set aside the possible derivation of his Italianism from its Spanish adaptations, his forms and compositions fail to exhibit much tangible influence of his predecessors and contemporaries in Catalonia, except in so far as the Castelsardo Master absorbed Catalan characteristics. Indeed he had his real roots in the style popularized in the island by the Castelsardo Master and so can properly be still classified in the aspect of Spanish art only transitional to the High Renaissance. Certain figures, more archaic than the others, witness to this connection, for instance the St. Francis and even in the Crucifixion, which is permeated with something of the emotional agitation of the Cinquecento, the Virgin and other holy women except the Magdalene. In the drapery of St. Francis and of others, we discern the narrow Flemish folds of which the Castelsardo Master and his disciples were so fond. The resurrected Christ of the tabernacle is only a somewhat more mannered version, in type and physique, of the suffering Redeemer employed by the Castelsardo Master and his circle at corresponding spots in retables. Fused with this inheritance, however, is a nascent addiction to the more facilely delineated, the more idealized, and excited forms of the High Renaissance, as well as to an incipient mannerism in its aspects of elongation and elegance of posture and gesture. The change is graphically illustrated by a comparison of the Villamar St. Michael with the figure that Pedro seems to have had in mind, the same archangel in the Castelsardo Master's retable at Tuili. Nevertheless, the Italianism of Cavaro and his advance beyond the Ibero-Sardinian standards of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century has been exaggerated. He is certainly less permeated with Italian leanings and with the temper of the Cinquecento than such contemporaries of his in Catalonia as Jaime Forner and Pedro Nunyes or, in Valencia, Vicente Juan Masip (the father of Juan de Juanes). Despite the contortions of the thieves, the Villamar Crucifixion is less agitated in the violent mood of much art of the sixteenth century than the renderings which Forner and Nunyes have left us and which betray projections of Christ's knees almost as harsh as those that in Pedro's form of the Saviour and in the Crucified by several of his successors were apparently suggested by the revered wooden image of Our Lord upon the cross in the church of S. Francesco at Oristano, north of Cagliari, purported to have been carved by Nicodemus but in reality probably a Spanish achievement of the fourteenth century.[70] The parapet behind the Baptist is represented as if decorated with reliefs, but it is significant that in a similar instance the painter of Sanluri employs classical themes, whereas Pedro, who has ordinarily been considered more of an enthusiast for the Renaissance, chooses sacred subjects, the banquet of Herod and the resulting decapitation of St. John. The diapered auric backgrounds are at least as conspicuous as in any of Cavaro's rivals at the time, and in the predella, as in Catalan painting of the fifteenth century and as in the Sanluri retable, the spots where we ought to see the sky through the apertures of the buildings are filled instead with gold, patterned in a simple design of dots. A number of instances, moreover, show him still follow-

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[70] Miss King (*op. cit.*, 159–160) guesses that there may have been in the sixteenth century such an image at Stampace, Pedro's residence, but the existing figure at Oristano makes the supposition unnecessary.

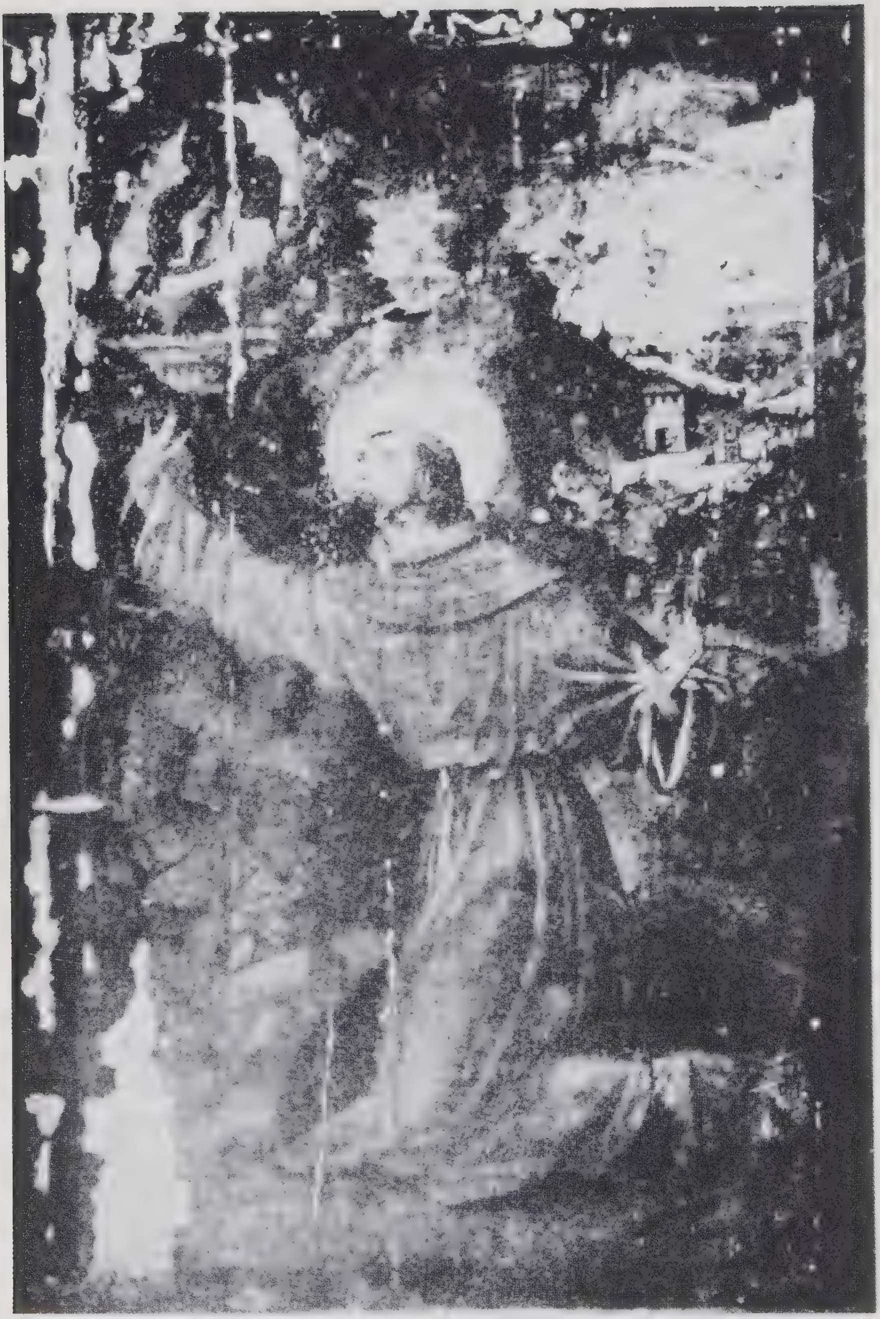

Fig. 216. PEDRO CAVARO. ST. FRANCIS RECEIVING THE
STIGMATA, SECTION OF RETABLE.
S. FRANCESCO, ORISTANO

ing the Castelsardo Master's frequent practice of using haloes embossed with inscriptions.

The disposition of the themes in his late work, the retable of the councillors of Cagliari,[71] suggests that he may well have travelled as far as Valencia during his residence on the eastern Spanish littoral, and his style is perhaps more similar to that of Paolo da San Leocadio than to the manner of any of his Catalan contemporaries, although it is quite possible that the resemblances are merely fortuitous.

In his other extant, documented work, the retable of 1533 for the church of S. Francesco at Oristano, he has moved farther away from the modes of the Middle Ages and of the Castelsardo Master towards the High Renaissance, but the development need not be explained by a second *italienische Reise*,[72] since he might have been inspired by the Italian elements that were now percolating generally into Sardinia as indeed into all parts of Europe, including Catalonia, where he could have acquired them by an additional residence quite as naturally as in Italy. The central piece, the stigmatization of St. Francis (Fig. 216), remains in the church, but the other parts are deposited in the Municipio. From the lateral sections come panels of paired saints, as in Pedro Cavaro's lost altarpiece of 1528 for the church of S. Giacomo at Cagliari,[73] depicting at Oristano the Franciscans Anthony of Padua and Bonaventura balanced by Louis of Toulouse [74] together with Bernardine, and, not definitely connected with the Order of Friars Minor, Stephen with a canonized bishop,[75] having as pendants the virgin martyrs Catherine [76] and Apollonia. Five further pieces, either from the predella or the *guardapolvos*, complete the set in the Municipio, representations of the Franciscan martyrs whose cult was emphasized in Sardinia, Sts. Accursius, Otho, Beraldus de Carbio, Adiutus, and Peter.[77] Above the stigmatization there was probably to be seen originally a Crucifixion, which has disappeared from our knowledge. It is difficult to follow those critics who have detected any more traces of assistance in the altarpiece than generally in the enterprises of the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

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[71] See below, p. 512.

[72] See below, p. 508.

[73] See Aru in *Archivio storico sardo*, XVI (1926), 184.

[74] With his emblem of the rejected crown: cf. my vol. IV, p. 404.

[75] With no distinguishing emblem, since the objects that he touches on St. Stephen's book are the stones which constitute the latter's regular attribute.

[76] With only a sword as an emblem: cf. my vol. VIII, p. 146.

[77] See my vol. VII, pp. 437–438 and 447.

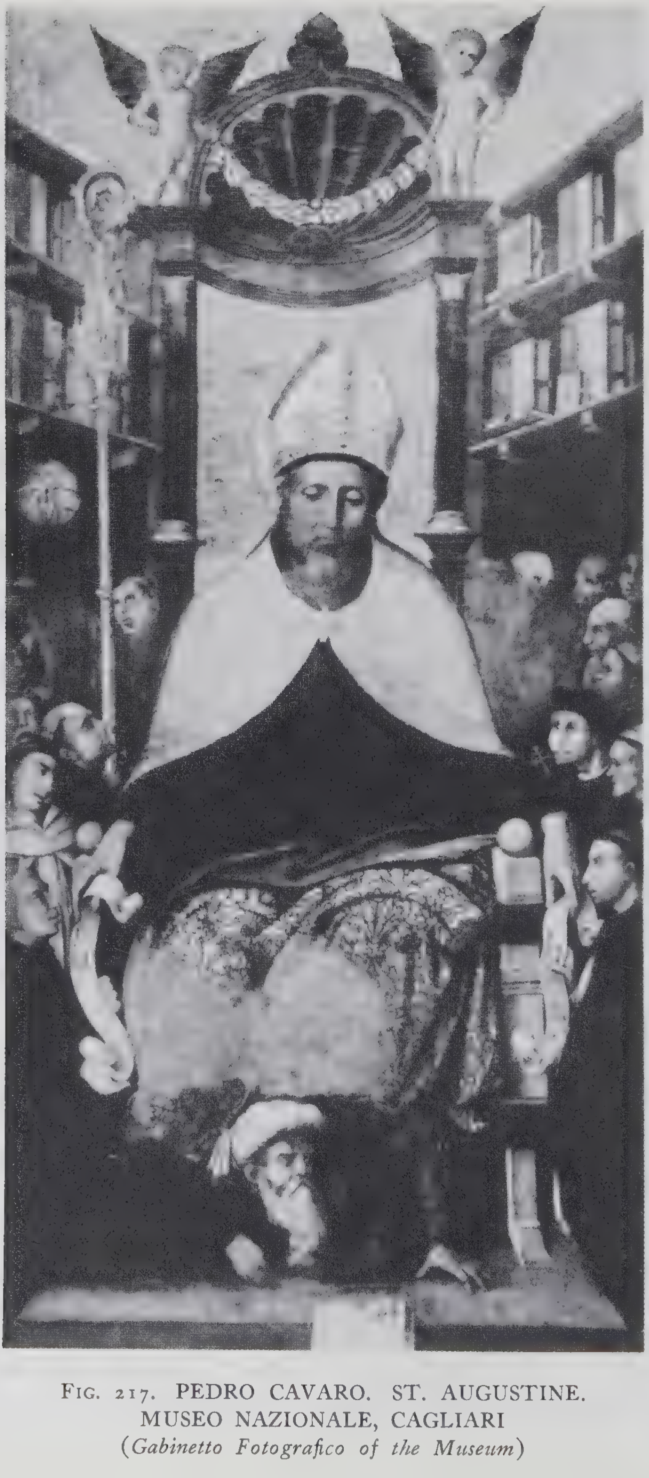

FIG. 217. PEDRO CAVARO. ST. AUGUSTINE.
MUSEO NAZIONALE, CAGLIARI
(*Gabinetto Fotografico of the Museum*)

The evolution into a greater classicism is concretely brought into relief by a confrontation of the two renderings of the stigmatization in the retables of Villamar and Oristano. The composition remains much the same, but the figure of St. Francis has lost much of its primitive rigidity, as well as spareness of physique, and the Flemish puckerings of the folds of drapery have loosened into greater amplitude. Cavaro has successfully coped, in the saint's features, with the difficulty of ecstatic expressiveness, but the face illustrates one of his most individual characteristics, already to be seen in the Villamar retable, the open mouth, often with the teeth showing. The effigies of sacred personages in the subordinate sections embody the same modifications of forms and draperies in the direction of the fashions of the Cinquecento as the St. Francis; and in particular, although the St. Catherine practically repeats the Magdalene of the Villamar Crucifixion, the more classic pulchritude of the majority of the countenances should be noted, despite the fact that they still embody the position of Cavaro as a transitional master in their retention of much of the delicate sentiment of the Quattrocento, which the sixteenth century tended to exaggerate or to desiccate. More than the Villamar retable, the stigmatization reveals his participation in one of the loveliest qualities of Spanish painting in the first years of the Cinquecento, the appreciation of beauty of landscape as an adjunct to the still predominant interest in figures in the foreground.

On inescapable stylistic evidence Pedro Cavaro is rightly recognized to have been the author of one of the best known works in the Cagliari Museum, a panel which, coming from the church of Sant'Agostino in the city and having once constituted the central compartment of an otherwise lost retable, depicts St. Augustine seated between the shelves of his library, giving his rule to a surrounding group of monks of his Order and crushing beneath him the Manichaean heresiarch, Manes, whose sect this Father of the Church so vigorously combatted (Fig. 217). Both of the banderoles held by St. Augustine contain the essence of his injunctions to his followers, "Ante omnia, fratres carissimi, diligatur Deus, deinde proximus"; and under Manes are written the final words of an otherwise erased inscription designating him as "arbiter Manicheorum," master [78] of the Manichaeans. Prominent among the monks at the left is a white-habited member of the Order of Our Lady of Mercy,[79] which was derived from the Augustinian rule.

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[78] *Arbiter* is used in its late Latin sense of master or ruler.

No more copious or convincing proof of an attribution could be desired. The facial likeness of St. Augustine to the St. Paul of the Villamar doors or (if the beard were removed) to the unidentified bishop in the Oristano altarpiece is nearly in itself determinative; but there are many other analogies almost as close, for instance between Manes and the mounted participants in the Villamar Crucifixion or between a bearded, upgazing monk at the left of St. Augustine and a sleeping soldier in the left background of the Villamar Resurrection. The foremost monk at the left is only a more aged version of the St. John in the Crucifixion, and the head just to the right of St. Augustine's staff recalls the Oristano St. Francis. Indeed, the odd profile of St. Bernardine at Oristano is duplicated more than once in the group at the right in the panel from Sant'Agostino. The Mercedarian in the prelate's flock provides a characteristic example of Cavaro's predilection for open mouths. For the cope of the Father of the Church he even uses the same kind of brocade as twice in the Crucifixion.

Like the Villamar retable, the picture in the Cagliari Museum witnesses to the great stir that the Castelsardo Master had made in Sardinian artistic circles. The Mercedarian seems directly imitated from two unbearded heads at the extreme right in this Master's panel of a canonized Franciscan's sermon also belonging to the Museum at Cagliari.[80] These were precedents for the Italianate *putti* at the top of St. Augustine's seat in the Castelsardo Master's creations, and thrones of the Renaissance were used by him in two instances; but the specimen upon which St. Augustine sits, like that of St. Eloy in the Sanluri altarpiece, falls more definitely within the standards of the new architecture. Indeed the real essence of the divergence between the two artists is only that the asperity of the earlier, who still remained fundamentally a Gothic painter, has given way in the later to the greater suavity, particularly in St. Augustine's head, and to the more illusory reproduction of nature that were evolved generally in the Cinquecento.

The panel of St. Augustine belongs to a series of works, comprising the Oristano retable and paintings ascribed to Pedro Cavaro on stylistic grounds, which are supposed to show that, after his sojourn

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[79] See my vol. X, p. 144.

[80] See above, p. 463.

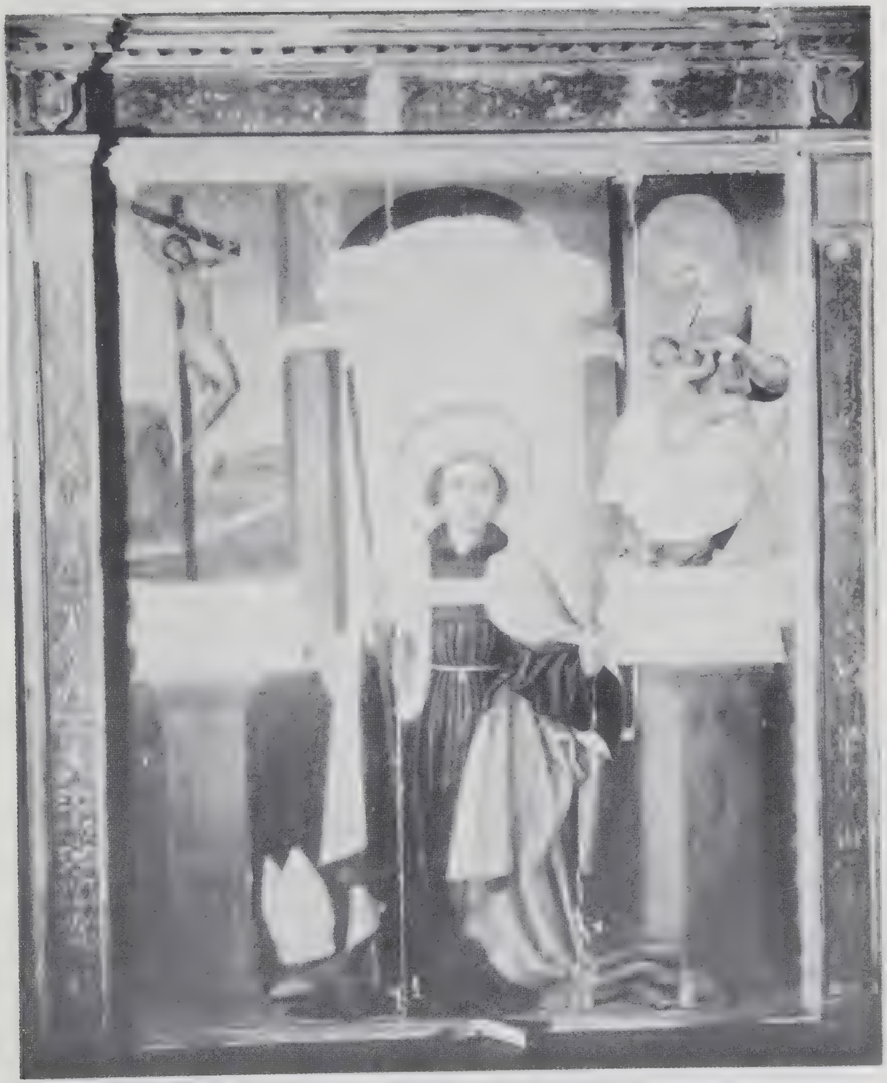

Fig. 218. PEDRO CAVARO. RETABLE OF ST. LOUIS OF TOULOUSE. MUSEO NAZIONALE, CAGLIARI
(Courtesy of the Museum)

in Naples before 1518, he had later in life made a second journey to the Italian peninsula, visiting not only Naples but also Rome. Aru[81] sets this journey between the second and third decades of the sixteenth century or in any case prior to his execution of the Oristano retable which is dated in 1533, but Delogu[82] places it after this year, because he finds the Italianate elements more pronounced in the series of merely attributed works than at Oristano, therefore assigning these works to the short interval that elapsed before the artist's death in 1538. Little or no change from the style of the Villamar altarpiece, however, seems to me to have taken place in the panel of St. Augustine; and indeed I shall subsequently[83] argue that it may not be necessary to postulate a second Italian experience in order to elucidate the characteristics even of the other works, just as we are not obliged to assume residence in Italy in the case of the contemporary production in Catalonia itself, in which also the Italianate contribution is very tangible.

Of these other attributed works, I am disposed to accept a curious, unfinished altarpiece that has entered the Museum at Cagliari from the church of S. Francesco in Stampace in the city. The whole main section consists of a single compartment exhibiting a standing saint who has hitherto been unanimously described as a Benedict; but the monastic habit is Franciscan, especially the cord about the waist, and the episcopal insignia designate the personage, from the galaxy of canonized worthies of the Order of Friars Minor, as Louis of Toulouse, whom, rather than the founder of the Benedictines, we should expect to be honored in a Franciscan establishment (Fig. 218). Indeed, quite possibly it was the painter's purpose, if he had completed the panel, to decorate the cope, over the habit, with the fleurs-de-lis that ordinarily constitute one mode of distinguishing St. Louis of Toulouse from other canonized prelates; and yet his effigy at Oristano lacks these insignia. The Franciscan St. Bonaventura, who was also a bishop, might be thought another candidate, but he would have been represented with one of his particular emblems, especially the cardinal's hat. The chief curiosity of the picture is the introduction of two further subjects, of smaller scale, in the upper corners, at the left the crucifix in a landscape and at the right the Madonna of the Milk, both set above objects that look as if they had been meant, in the completed work, to depict pedestals or, mayhap, merely backgrounds for inscriptions; but such intrusion of subordinate themes into a main panel is not unparelleled in Spain, as in a retable of the Adoration of the Shepherds by Paolo da San Leocadio in a private collection at Barcelona[84] or in a Lamentation over the Dead Christ belonging to the circle of Nicolás Falcó at Tudela.[85] Above St. Louis flies a banderole evidently intended to carry an inscription that was never carried out. There is also a predella, left in a much more sketchy state than the chief compartment and displaying in half-lengths Christ of the Passion, from whose wounded body an angel collects the sacred blood into a chalice, and at the sides, not separated from the central theme by partitions, Sts. Apollonia and Lucy.

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[81] See his article on Pedro Cavaro in the *Enciclopedia italiana Treccani*, IX, 558, and his treatment of the artist in the volume of studies by various authors, *Celebrazioni sarde*, Urbino, 1938, p. 466.

[82] *Op. cit.* on Miguel Cavaro, 28–29, n. 2.

[83] Pp. 509 and 514.

The general accordance with Pedro Cavaro's smooth style needs no comment, and it remains only to select conformities in actual detail. St. Louis's face has a counterpart in a devotee close to the back of St. Augustine's throne at the left in the painting of this seated Father of the Church in the Cagliari Museum, and particularly his ecstatic, upward gaze is reproduced in a bearded head in the same group and in the St. Francis at Oristano. Indeed, practically conclusive in itself for the attribution is the fact that the oddly outspread, spidery fingers of St. Francis's left hand are repeated in the corresponding hand of St. Louis. The knees of the Crucified in the upper left corner bend forth only a little less sharply than at Villamar, and the gentle, bowed head is almost identical. The emaciated Christ of the predella recalls even more vividly the Saviour on the cross and in the Resurrection in the Villamar retable, and the St. Apollonia is not very dissimilar from her representation at Oristano.

I cannot follow Delogu[86] in discerning, in order to substantiate a second trip to Italy, any palpable influence of the Neapolitan painter, Andrea da Salerno, some of whose achievements, as a matter of fact, he might have seen during his early Italian visit; and the only real bits of foundation upon which to build the theory of a second trip would be that the nursing Virgin in the upper right corner reveals a cognizance of Raphael's representations of the Mother and Child, appearing to be particularly an adaptation of the Madonna di Casa Colonna in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin, and that the Virgin and, in the predella, the St. Lucy have become actually somewhat Raphaelesque in type. There is no evidence, however, to prove that the Madonna di Casa Colonna was already in Rome by this time for the sake of establishing Cavaro's presence there, and prints of Raphael's paintings were already so current throughout Europe that we need not suppose that the Sardinian had seen the original. Or he could have been impressed by the original, an early achievement of the Italian master, at the time of his journey to Naples before 1518, when, as we shall see, he may have travelled more widely in the Italian peninsula. He could then have learned also what he knew of Raphael's types, if not from prints only; but in any case the Raphaelesque reminiscences are mere superimpositions upon his fundamentally Hispano-Sardinian style. Although indeed the unfinished state perhaps indicates that the retable of St. Louis was left incomplete by Pedro at his death, the unprejudiced eye finds it difficult to discover in the picture anything *essentially* more advanced than in the works at Villamar and Oristano. The element in the retable from S. Francesco in Stampace that seems to show him to have included in his peregrinations, in all probability during his Neapolitan period before 1518, more than Naples itself or more even than a contact with Raphael's works is the middle of the predella, which, it can scarcely be doubted, was suggested in composition by Giovanni Bellini's early painting called the Blood of the Redeemer (who, however, is depicted at full length) now in the National Gallery, London.

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[84] Vol. XI, fig. 7.
[85] *Ibid.*, fig. 46.
[86] *Op. cit.*, 58.

From the standpoint of the history of Sardinian civilization, the most interesting of these paintings that I believe to be rightly ascribed to Pedro Cavaro on stylistic grounds is the capacious retable of the councillors of Cagliari in the Palazzo Comunale of the city (Fig. 219). Apparently based to a certain extent upon the similar municipal altarpiece done for Barcelona a century before by Luis Dalmáu,[87] it depicts in the central compartment the Madonna and Child accompanied by a warrior saint whom I am unable to identify with surety.[88] In the two lateral panels kneel the five councillors, the three at the left

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[87] See my vol. VII, fig. 1.

[88] We should expect one of the patrons of Sardinia, St. Gavinus (cf. above, p. 480) or St. Potitus (see Mrs. Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, II, under *Martyrs of Tuscany, Lombardy*, etc.); but I cannot find that either is entitled to the emblem of the crown that the warrior in the picture carries.

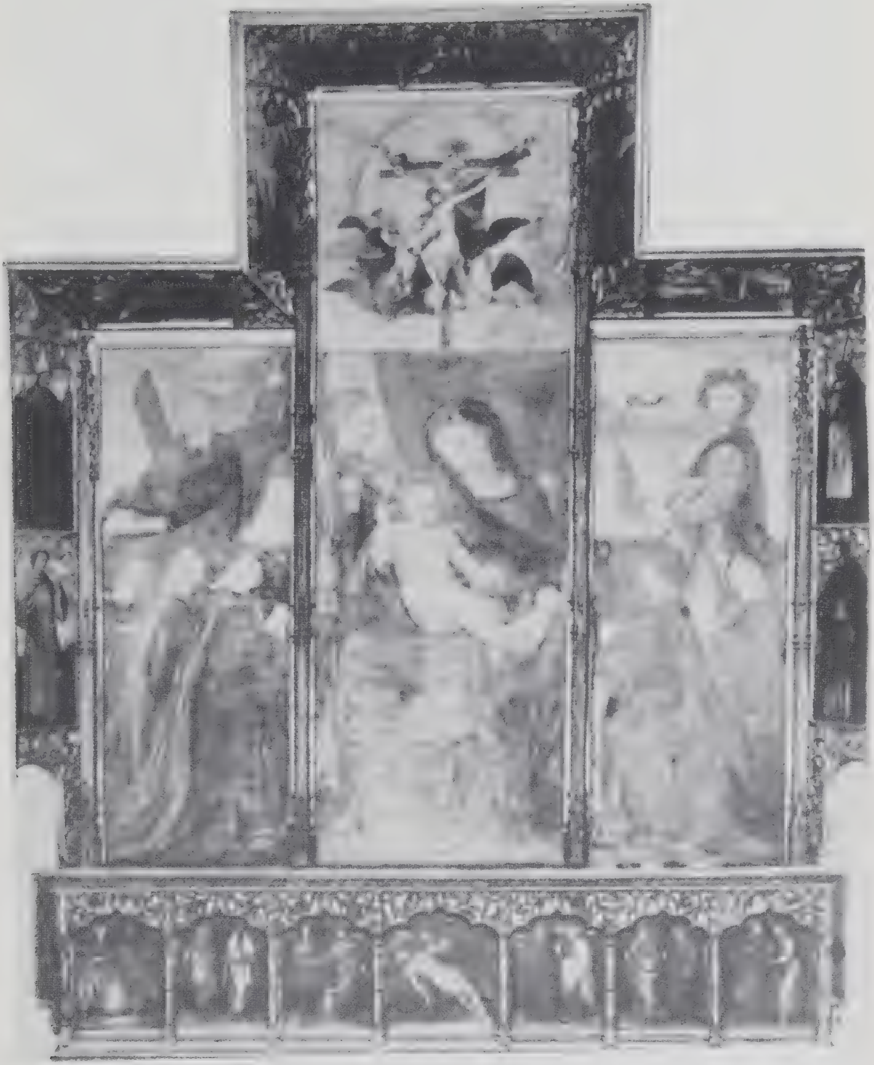

FIG. 219. PEDRO CAVARO. RETABLE OF THE COUNCILLORS.
PALAZZO COMUNALE, CAGLIARI
(*Courtesy of the Cagliari Museum*)

under the protection of St. Andrew, for whose introduction in this office I can discover no other reason than the precedent of the Barcelona prototype. The place of St. Eulalia at the left in this prototype as patroness is taken at Cagliari in the right compartment by St. Cecilia, with the other two councillors in front of her. In addition to her emblem of the organ, she points, with quite original and charming originality, to diminutive angels making music in the skies. The central pinnacle is occupied, as so frequently in Valencian altarpieces, by a representation of the Trinity, derived, as we shall see, from Raphael, and in the predella there are aligned, about the Pietà at the middle, pairs of Apostles in six panels, except that, as not unusually, the Baptist [89] is substituted for one of the Apostles, here coupled in the compartment just to the left of centre, according to a common iconographic juxtaposition, with the other St. John, the Evangelist. In conformity especially with Valencian retables, the *guardapolvos* are very much featured and become the setting for a whole galaxy of varied saints, with the probable intention of placing Cagliari under the auspices of as many categories of the heavenly host as possible. Of the three half-lengths at the top, the middle one fittingly is the Guardian Angel of the Kingdom,[90] and the two at the sides belong to the category of deacons, Sts. Lawrence and Vincent. The uprights flanking the Trinity are reserved for saints generally popular in Christendom, the standing Sebastian and Christopher, and next, on the cross-pieces, come in half length the ascetics Jerome and Paul the Hermit. Four figures at full length decorate the main uprights, commemorating at the left the Order of Friars Minor in two personages, the seraphic doctor Bonaventura and Francis of Assisi; but at the right the Order of Preaching Friars is honored with only one of its luminaries, Dominic, and above him stands a canonized bishop, Nicholas.

Delogu [91] modifies Aru's [92] attribution of the retable of the councillors to Pedro Cavaro by postulating the collaboration of assistants, especially in the Apostles of the predella, but here again, as at Oristano, I fail to discern any really tangible intrusion of his shop.

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[89] I cannot explain the reason for the introduction of the dog at his feet, unless it is a mere caprice of *genre*.

[90] With the emblems of the scourge and sword: see my vols. VI, p. 298, and VII, p. 130.

[91] *Op. cit.*, on Miguel Cavaro, 10, and in *Sardegna* in *Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano*, 1952, p. 61.

[92] Article on Pedro Cavaro in the *Enciclopedia italiana Treccani.*

The first Apostle (St. James Major?) to the right of the Pietà resembles somewhat such elongated figures of the presumptive Miguel Cavaro, Pedro's son, as the Christ in the "Quo vadis" episode of the Suelli retable,[93] but, as regularly in the commissions of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, nowhere have helpers altered the master's essential style or done little more than reproduce his formulas. The most persuasive figure for the attribution is the St. Cecilia, who virtually repeats in countenance the Oristano St. Bonaventura and whose right hand betrays the queerly extended fingers for which Pedro had an odd predilection.[94] The Christ on the cross as the Second Person of the Trinity in the pinnacle of the retable closely approximates the Redeemer in the Villamar Crucifixion and illustrates the painter's tendency to open the mouths, as do also the Saviour and the Virgin of the Pietà. For the Saviour's head in the latter compartment we have an almost exact counterpart in the good thief of the Crucifixion at Villamar, and Our Lady in this Crucifixion is scarcely differentiated from the sorrowing Mother in the predella of the councillors' altarpiece. On the *guardapolvos*, the Guardian Angel duplicates the St. Apollonia in the predella of the retable of St. Louis of Toulouse in the Cagliari Museum; the St. Lawrence is very similar to the St. Stephen in the Oristano altarpiece; and the St. Francis recalls the St. Anthony of Padua in this assemblage of panels. Even in the Apostles of the predella, where Delogu wishes to perceive execution by assistants, the Peter (at the extreme left) reverts, like so much else in the retable of the councillors, to his much earlier production at Villamar — namely, to the same saint on the Villamar doors. Exact parallels in type to the Virgin, Child, and canonized warrior in the principal compartment do not happen to be found in Pedro's works that have come down to us; but they exhibit nothing discordant with his craft or suggestive of a collaborator.

No as yet discovered record dates the retable of the councillors for us, but, despite the retention of the same Gothicism in the frames as in so many even later Sardinian altarpieces of the Renaissance, the style obviously sets it at the very end of his career, when, moreover, he has dispensed with the haloes that persist even in his other tardy achievements. The most significant point about the work is the unmistakable adaptation, in the Trinity, of Raphael's painting, in the Pitti at

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[93] See below, p. 515.

[94] See below, p. 520.

Florence, of Ezekiel's vision of the Tetramorph, thus explaining the encirclement of the Triune Deity with the signs of the Evangelists. Since this painting by the great Umbrian is one of his last bequests to us, we are supplied with a further argument for a second journey to Italy on the part of Pedro Cavaro, but the Tetromorph cannot be assigned to a *definite* year at the end of Raphael's life and just conceivably might have been executed during Pedro's residence at Naples prior to his return to the island before 1518. In any case, whenever the vision of Ezekiel was seen by him, it has influenced his basic Hispano-Sardinian style throughout the retable of the councillors no more vitally than did Raphaelesque reminiscences in his other creations. The like may be said of the possible but dimmer memory, in the principal compartment, of Raphael's Madonna (between Sts. Jerome and Francis) in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin. Time has dealt rudely with the profile effigies of the five councillors, but in their original condition they would have added another count, incisive and yet unexaggeratedly realistic portraiture, to Pedro Cavaro's not inconsiderable merits.

Towards the proposition to perceive his craft in a pair of panels in the Museum of Cagliari that have been assigned to his last days, the doors deriving from beside the altar above which once rose a lost retable in the church of S. Domenico in the city and depicting Sts. Peter and Paul, I am compelled to adopt the Laodicean attitude of being neither cold nor hot. The head of St. Paul persuasively recalls that of the enthroned St. Augustine, and the gold backgrounds are diapered in much the same minute way as in the Villamar predella; but the figures are so different from those in the doors of the Villamar retable as to make it hard to believe that one man could have compassed the development in a lifetime, and it may well be that they are early creations of Pedro's follower whom Delogu hypothetically identifies with his son Miguel.[95] To choose just one Morellian trait, the straight horizontal line formed by St. Peter's moustache across his upper lip is highly characteristic of the presumptive Miguel rather than of Pedro.

I am inclined to take the "cold," i.e., the negative, attitude towards Delogu's contention that Pedro Cavaro made the beginnings on a work which was afterward carried out by "Miguel Cavaro," the retable over the high altar of the parish church at Suelli, directly north of Cagliari. With much subtlety he desires to see the design of Pedro and perhaps a little actual execution in the principal panel of St. Peter enthroned and his hand also in the canonized bishop of Suelli named St. George in one of the lateral compartments, as well as in the Christ of the Passion at the centre of the tabernacle. In the cases of the St. George and the suffering Redeemer it appears to me that Pedro's participation should be pretty definitely rejected. The cleric at the right of St. Peter in the principal panel bears a slight resemblance to the St. Louis of Toulouse in the Cagliari Museum, but this and a few other similarities to Pedro's productions are vague and no more than we should anticipate in an artist merely somewhat under his influence.

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[95] See his article on *Michele Cavaro* in *Studi sardi*, III (1937).

With a considerable degree of confidence I propose Pedro Cavaro as deserving the credit for two works no longer in Sardinia and probably belonging to a moment in the sixteenth century prior to his achievements that we have listed. His characteristic manner is already pretty well established in both works, and in one the haloes are typically Sardinian; but it is not impossible that they were executed during his Catalan sojourn. The larger of them is a panel in the Casellas Collection at Barcelona whose subject itself turns out to be of great interest by reason of its rarity,[96] the Apostles solemnly taking leave of the Virgin before departure to the various countries of their missionary undertakings (Fig. 220). In one of the old formal compositions that had been so much beloved by the mediaeval Spaniard, she is enthroned[97] at the centre, and the Apostles are arranged symmetrically about her. Sts. James Major and Thomas kneel at her feet; in the foreground, Sts. Peter and Paul, balancing each other, are beginning already to walk away; six other Apostles in sets of three are aligned at the sides of the throne; and through the apertures in the edifice where the scene is staged there may be seen in the landscapes Sts. James Minor and Simon also striding on their journeys. Save in the cases of Sts. Andrew and Matthias,[98] each Apostle is designated by a little placard on which there are inscribed in Latin his name and the place to which he betook himself as a mis-

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[96] Mrs. Jameson, *Legends of the Madonna*, end of section on the Descent of the Holy Ghost, records two examples, one in German and the other in Italian art.

[97] Professor H. W. Janson, the authority on monkeys in art, tells me that what look like apes on the throne's arms are in reality meant as lions.

[98] With his ordinary emblem of the lance, which can scarcely identify St. Matthew, who would be omitted from the concourse as thought of rather in his rôle as an Evangelist.

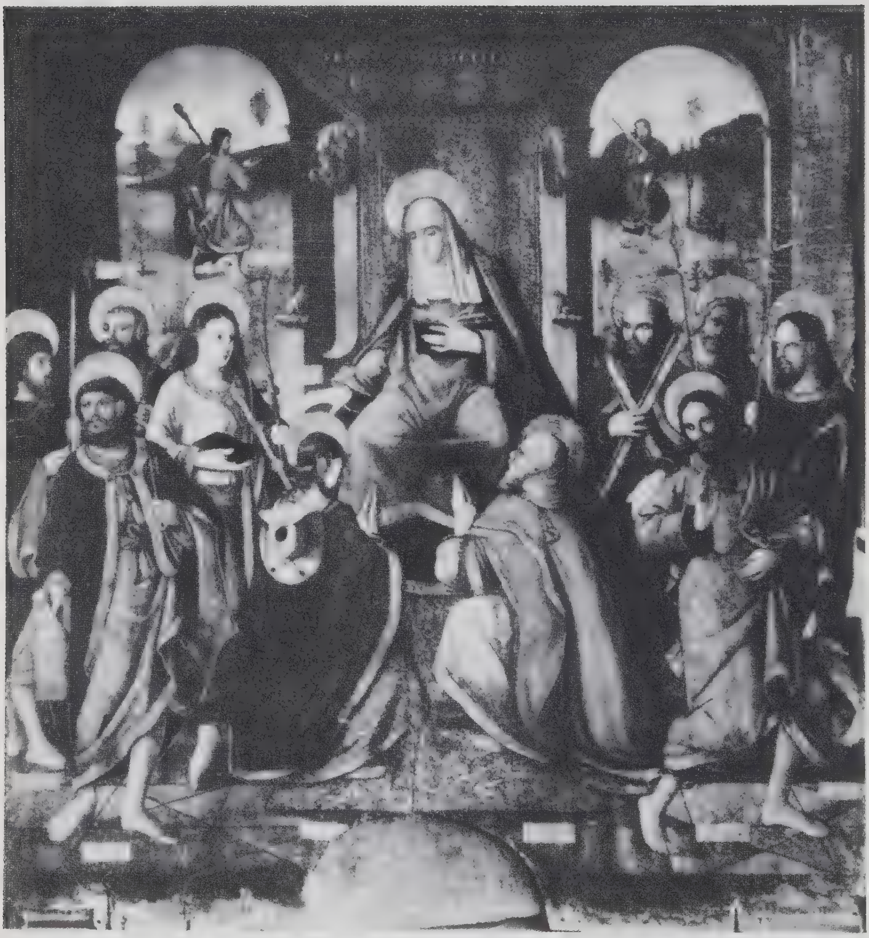

Fig. 220. PEDRO CAVARO (?). THE APOSTLES TAKING LEAVE OF THE VIRGIN. CASELLAS COLLECTION, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

sionary. The usual traditions are observed in naming the regions of their activities, with some exceptions or modifications. Whereas the preposition *ad* is ordinarily used before the places, the words *in Romae* are after *S. Petrus,* as if the genitive *Romae* were imagined as followed by the ablative or accusative of such a word as *sedes* (see). From the extended range of St. Paul's travels the conclusion at Rome — *ad Romam* — is chosen, probably because he was there united with St. Peter in martyrdom. St. Jude's destination is limited to the palace of King Abgar of Edessa [99] — *in regeam* (a misspelling for *regiam*) *paganam*; but the geographical words on the placard of his companion in the expedition, St. Simon, have been obliterated. For St. Bartholomew the broad scope of the phrase that occurs in the *Golden Legend* is adapted to the accusative after *ad* — *ad finem orbis.* St. Philip is sent to Gaul on the authority of St. Isidore [100] as quoted in the *Golden Legend*, and St. James Minor is properly consigned to his bishopric at Jerusalem.

If for the moment we neglect the evidence afforded by the haloes, the stylistic arguments for the attribution, especially as provided by the panel of St. Augustine, are potent in themselves. Anyone will recognize at once the very intimate, general affiliations, particularly in the suavity of the heads of the bearded Apostles, as of the St. Augustine, and in the manipulation of the chiaroscuro. Indeed the countenance of St. Augustine insistently rises in one's mind as he looks at the St. Matthias (between Sts. Andrew and Philip at the right), and the fourth bearded face from the bottom at the left among the devotees of the Father of the Church reveals similarities to the St. Bartholomew (just above St. Peter at the left). Specific analogies in type would be more apparent, were not the majority of the figures in the panel of the Cagliari Museum beardless monks, but, if we should think away the beards in the Casellas picture, we discover virtual identities. The monk at the lower right, with sharp, pointed nose, would then turn out to be almost repeated in the St. Philip, whose visage, however, recedes inward and in this respect finds a counterpart rather in the monk just above his companion of nasal prominence. A more precisely similar example of such an ingrowing countenance is provided by the St. Jude (at the extreme left). As

[99] See my vol. II, p. 324.

[100] By Gaul there may have been meant Phrygia which was sometimes so called and enjoyed the distinction of a traditional seat of St. Philip's preaching.

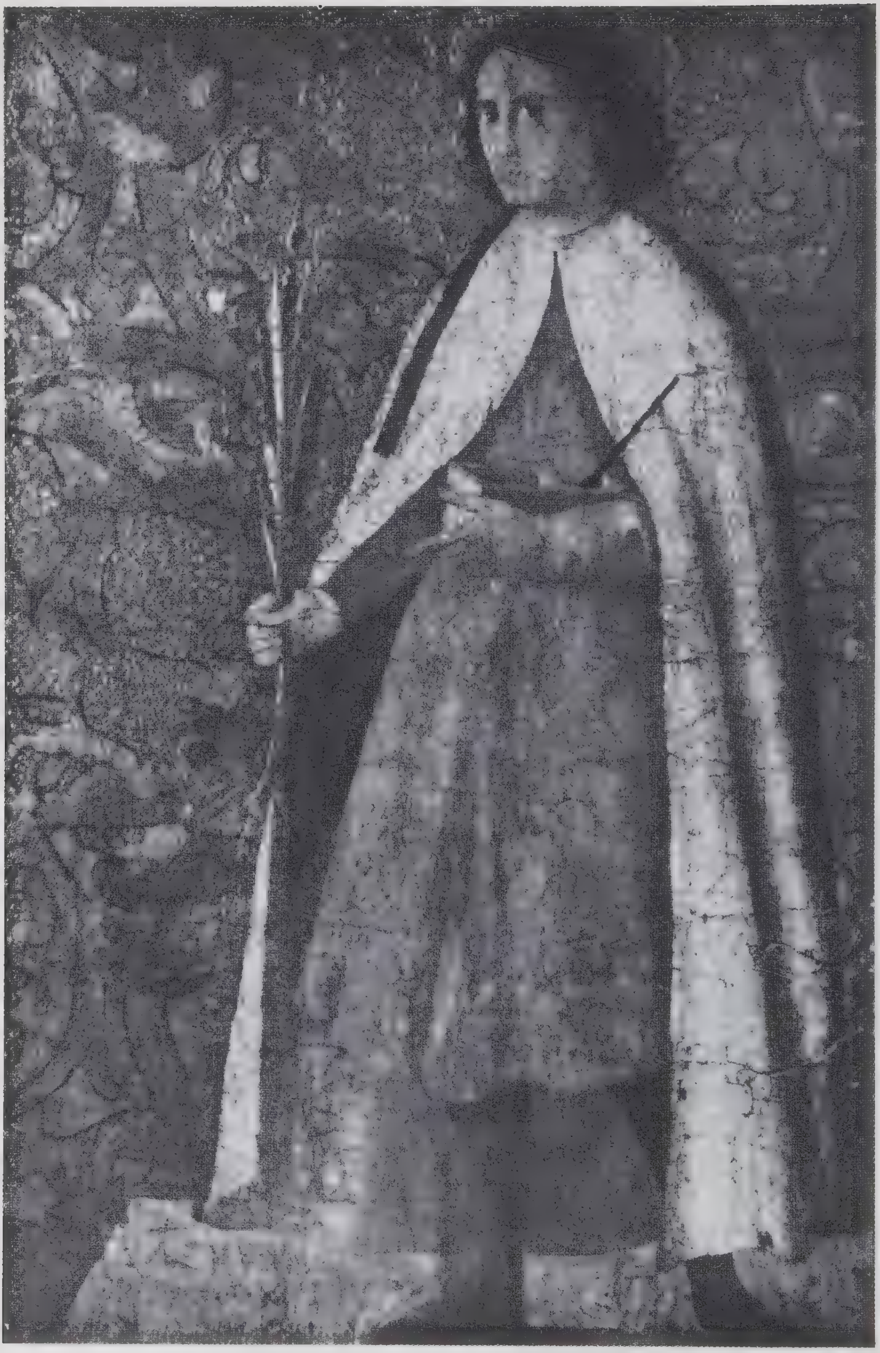

Fig. 221. PEDRO CAVARO (?). ST. PANTALEON.
SCHMIT COLLECTION, PARIS
(*Courtesy of the owner*)

a matter of fact, the visage and beard of St. Philip are practically duplicated even in one of Pedro's ultimate achievements, namely in the fourth Apostle at the right in the retable of the councillors of Cagliari. The paintings at Villamar contain still further details tending to confirm Cavaro's claims to the Casellas picture. In the Crucifixion, the holy woman supporting the Virgin resembles the enthroned Madonna, but even more persuasively the helmeted soldier at the extreme right looks out at us with the intense glance that is characteristic of the artist and that the St. Andrew strikingly exemplifies. The hair of the Apostles also falls upon their shoulders in a fashion often encountered in the Villamar altarpiece; and the landscapes are like the bit of country against which the crucifix is set in the retable of St. Louis of Toulouse.

The embossing of the haloes, as well as the throne's less developed and less elaborate architecture of the Renaissance, probably would indicate an earlier date in Cavaro's career, if he is indeed the painter in question, than his securely authenticated works. In any case, the haloes' peculiar figuration [101] supplies evidence for assignment to the Sardinian school.

The acceptance of my classification of the Virgin's farewell to the Apostles would carry with it into the category of Cavaro's achievements a work over which I have long puzzled, a small [102] panel of the standing St. Pantaleon last known to me as in the Collection of Monsieur Jean Schmit at Paris and probably once a subordinate piece in a retable (Fig. 221). The probability of a Sardinian provenience at once emerges, since the island is the only part of the domain of Spanish art where this young Greek martyr and physician enjoyed a pronounced cult. He bears here the two emblems that in combination make certain his recognition, the box of medicaments and a branch of the olive tree to which he was tied when decapitated.[103] The general agreement with Cavaro's modes is obvious, and it is necessary only that we remark a number of Morellian identities powerfully arguing for the attribution. St. Pantaleon in countenance and hair is very similar to the St. John taking leave of the Virgin; but this would not in itself be convincing, and we have to add the evidence of the glance of the eyes which in its piercing character is distinctive of the painter and, curiously enough, does not find so precise a parallel in his production, among several examples, until the very end of his life in the way in which the St. Cecilia of the councillors' retable fixes us with her stare. The posture of the legs is the kind of thing that an artist may repeat unconsciously, being in this case exactly duplicated in St. Peter's stride in the Casellas picture. As subsequently in a number of Pedro's later works, the halo is not embossed, but the brilliant brocade against which St. Pantaleon is relieved might almost have been cut from the same fabric as the splendid textile decorating Mary's throne as she sends the Apostles on their missions.

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[101] See above, p. 464.

[102] The height is 54½ centimetres and the width 36½.

[103] For St. Pantaleon, see above, pp. 470 and 480.

From these two works that I tentatively assign to Pedro Cavaro and to his youth, we leap far ahead to a painting that, if I am right in claiming it for him, must have been executed just before his death (Fig. 222). A small [104] panel representing the Lamentation over the Dead Christ and perhaps deriving from a predella, it is found in so unlikely a place into which a Sardinian production would have strayed, the Museum of Art attached to the Rhode Island School of Design at Providence, that I could not at first believe what my eyes seemed to show me, with the consequence that I have devoted long and scrupulous study to the problem, gradually arriving at the attribution even by a process of excluding all other potential candidates. Possibly no single factor in the panel is enough to establish Pedro as the author, but, when we add together all the many similarities to his authenticated achievements, the cumulative result renders it well-nigh unthinkable that we do not owe the Lamentation to his brush.

The figure most persuasive for the ascription is the Joseph of Arimathaea,[105] in front of Nicodemus, at the right of the panel. In features and characteristic suavity he virtually reproduces the enthroned St. Augustine in the Cagliari Museum, and, still more determinative, he spreads out his fingers and thumb in a manner that we have several times found to be peculiarly typical of our master, as in the St. Louis of Toulouse in the same Museum. Both the Joseph and the Nicodemus are little more than translations of the two aged men at the right in the Villamar Crucifixion into his more mature manner, and it is to be noted that Nicodemus is pointing with exactly

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[104] The dimensions are 11½ inches in height by 7¾ in width.

[105] For the sake of convenience, I so designate the more prominent of the two old men, but there is no trustworthy way of determining which of them was thus intended.

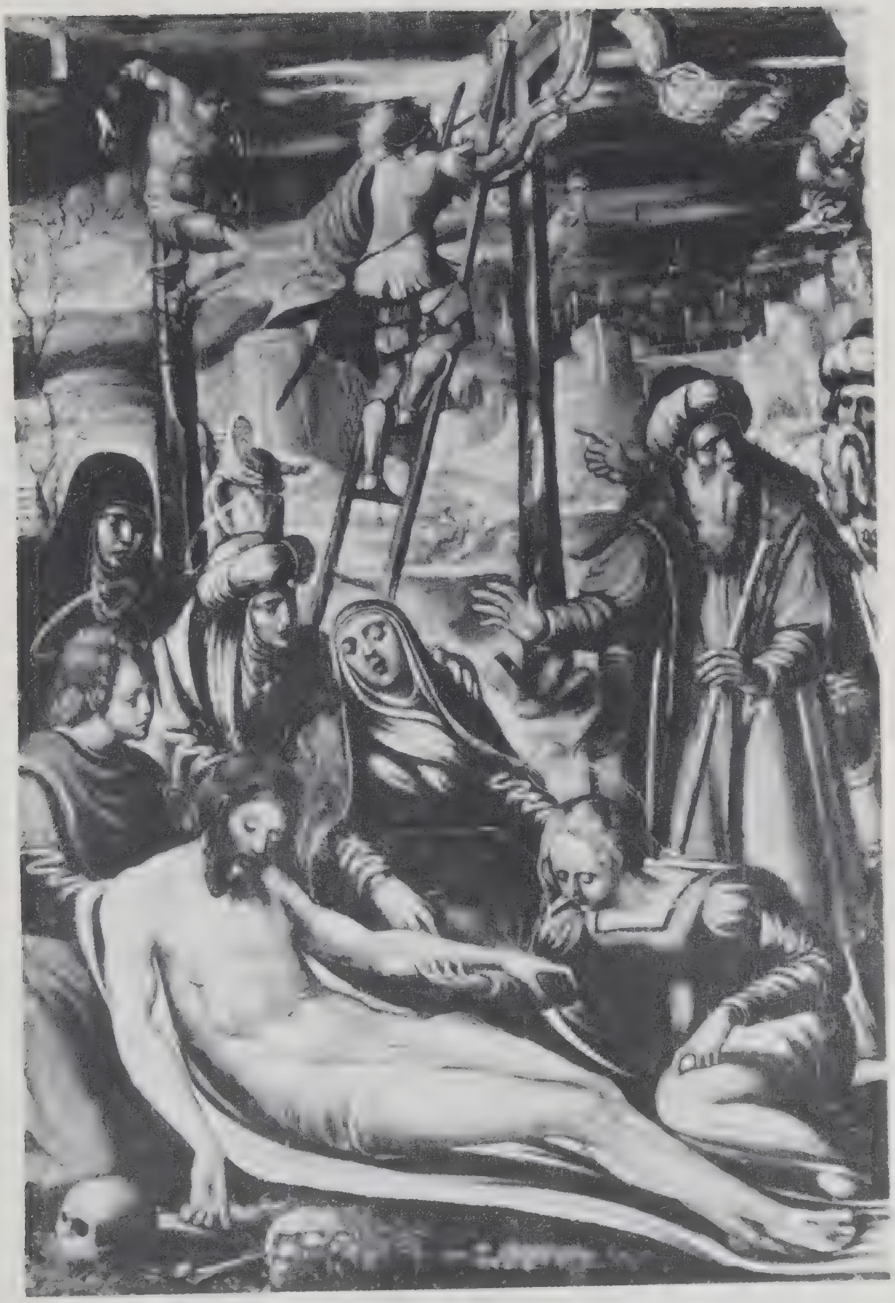

FIG. 222. PEDRO CAVARO (?). LAMENTATION OVER THE DEAD CHRIST.
MUSEUM, RHODE ISLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN, PROVIDENCE
(*Courtesy of the Museum*)

the gesture, extended forefinger, and general delineation of the hand that we descry in the unmounted Villamar graybeard. The Magdalene, kneeling at the right, nearly repeats, in face and bend of the body, the Raphaelesque Madonna in the Cagliari retable of St. Louis of Toulouse. The swooning Virgin has something of the posture of the stricken Mother in the Villamar Crucifixion, but more telling is the close resemblance of the woman supporting her in this Crucifixion to one of the Marys at the extreme left in the Providence panel. The borders of the holy women's garments both in the Crucifixion and the Lamentation are chastely trimmed with golden lines. The form of Christ is fuller than in Pedro's early representations of the suffering Redeemer or even than in the Crucifixion of the retable of St. Louis and in the Trinity of the councillors' altarpiece; but the Saviour of the Pietà in this altarpiece exhibits somewhat of a change towards greater amplitude, and I could imagine that Pedro, at the same time as he was working for the councillors or mayhap a little later, might for the nonce have experimented in the more robust physiques of the High Renaissance. The corpses of the two malefactors [106] also are accommodated to the broader canon of the Cinquecento, but the knees of the good robber jut forth at the angle that Pedro cultivated for figures on crosses. With iconographic originality a soldier is depicted as having climbed a ladder to remove the cloth that had been used in lowering the sacred body from Our Lord's empty cross (or to drape the cross with a ritualistic veil), and yet he still recalls the helmeted Roman in the background of the Villamar Crucifixion. The fabric flutters forth in the manneristic agitation with which he had already endowed the scant garment, at Villamar, of the repentant thief. We could go on and multiply lesser affiliations with the Sardinian's productions, such as the analogy of the unusually young St. John to the angel of St. Matthew in the Trinity of the councillors' retable or to the St. John himself, the second at the left from the Pietà, in the predella, but the cardinal points of contact that I have enumerated are amply sufficient to establish at the very least a strong presumption in favor of Pedro Cavaro. In his enterprise for the councillors he abandoned altogether the use of haloes, so that it need not surprise us that in the Lamentation he should have changed from the old-fashioned plaque-nimbuses to mere filmy circles, and, in the case of Christ and the Virgin, to rays of gold. The only element really at all discordant with the attribution is the misty *sfumatezza* that he has spread over the city of Jerusalem, as in the landscapes, let us say, of Juan Correa de Vivar and Francisco de Comontes at Toledo or of Alejo Fernández in Andalusia; but Pedro's preserved certain achievements treat us to very few bits of landscape for comparison, and it is unreasonable to deny him excursions into the kind of backgrounds preferred by many of his contemporaries.

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[106] The body of the unredeemed thief at the upper right, which had been covered by a repainting, was revealed by cleaning. The panel has evidently been cut at the right from its original size and probably also at the top.

CHAPTER XVIII

CATALAN PAINTINGS OF THE EARLY RENAISSANCE BUT OF UNCERTAIN ATTRIBUTION

Constantly scholars — and sometimes I, it is to be feared, among them — have erred in attempting to ascribe to defined artistic personalities works in which the proof was not soundly conclusive. We have not sufficiently realized that there is documentary record, especially on the eastern Spanish littoral, of a large number of painters and sculptors whose styles are not known to us by any authenticated productions and that some of them with extreme likelihood may be guessed to have been the creators of achievements which exhibit partial but not thoroughly convincing resemblances to the manners of artists whose individualities have already been firmly established in our annals. As a matter of fact it has happened now and then that, when I have restrained myself from making an insufficiently grounded attribution of a problematical picture, I have been rewarded by eventually discovering one or more works by the same hand and by thus differentiating a new personality or rounding out a painter reconstructed by a colleague. So, for instance, in the cases of: the Resurrection at present in the Kienbusch Collection, New York, which turns out to have been executed by the Aragonese artist whom I have called the Oslo Master[1]; of the Madonna and angels at Reggio Emilia, which, it is now apparent, comes from the brush of the Sardinian Olzai Master, recently isolated by Delogu[2]; and the panels of Sts. Cosmas and Damian at Serdinya by a painter whom I have made into a distinct personality, the Marinyans Master, by the assignment of another production to him.[3] It is to be hoped that correspondingly parents may in the future be found for at least some of the paintings which in the present chapter prudence advises me to leave anonymous.

Such is a retable of unascertained provenience in the Museum of Catalan Art, Barcelona, but proved by the inscriptions in the predella to be of Catalan origin (Fig. 223). Surely to be dated not much, if at all, after 1500 and still exhibiting forms in which the cramped

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[1] Vol. XI, p. 443.

[2] See above, p. 469.

[3] See below, p. 670.

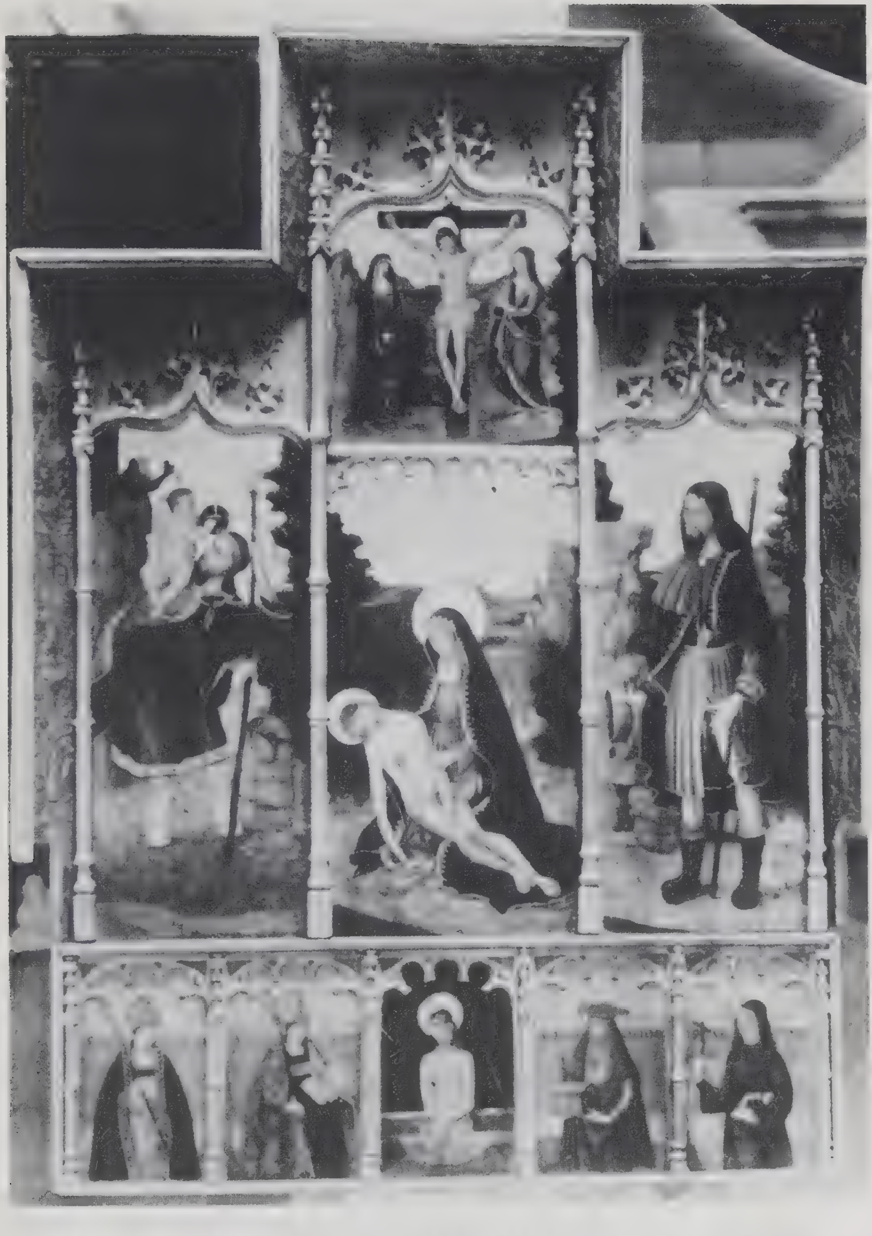

FIG. 223. CATALAN SCHOOL, SIXTEENTH CENTURY. RETABLE.
MUSEUM OF CATALAN ART, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

modes of the fifteenth century are alleviated only in slight degree by the increased naturalness of the Renaissance, it displays at the centre the Pietà, surmounted by the usual Crucifixion, and at the sides, standing in landscapes, Sts. Christopher and Roch. The predella marshals, in something over half length, the Christ of the Mass of St. Gregory flanked by Sts. Martial, Severus, Jerome, and Sigismund. Not only are the identifying inscriptions in Catalan (for Jerome, the variant Jeronim instead of the commoner Jeroni or Geroni and for Sigismund, one of the colloquial spellings, Sagimon), but Severus and Sigismund are peculiarly popular in Catalonia, the former as the martyred bishop of Barcelona and the latter enjoying for an undiscovered reason a cult especially in the region of Vich.[4] It is not as a king that St. Sigismund is here depicted but in his other iconographical guise as a penitent, with crucifix and book, for having put his son to death.[5] I have followed vague clues in the works of a number of artists, especially the Son Master, Juan Gatón, and the author of the predella at Vernet-les-Bains, but all to no avail. The retable gives me a feeling, which I cannot adequately explain to myself, of having come from northern Catalonia, possibly because I think that I sense distant echoes of the style of the Canapost Master.

Angulo [6] has perceptively brought into connection with the retable of the sixteenth century at Castellón de Ampurias [7] a chest in the Museum of Catalan Art, Barcelona, whose lid is decorated with a painting of the Epiphany (Fig. 224); and, although he did not realize Pedro Gascó to be the retable's author, he thus provided a lead for a conceivable attribution of the chest even by comparison with Pedro's other works. The Epiphany obviously accords in general with his brand of mannerism, and the specific analogies to the retable include such things as the resemblance of the St. Joseph to the foremost man in the group at the right watching the Virgin climbing the steps in her Presentation, as the likeness of the elongated Child to the representations of infants in the retable, and, again as in the Presentation, the division of the space by architectural piers. The types, however, in the Epiphany of the retable are rather different, though the main lines of the composition have not been varied.

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[4] See above, pp. 52 and 242.

[5] Juan Ferrando Roig, *Iconografía de los santos*, Barcelona, 1950, p. 248.

[6] *Pintura del Renacimiento*, Madrid, 1954, p. 69.

[7] See above, p. 249.

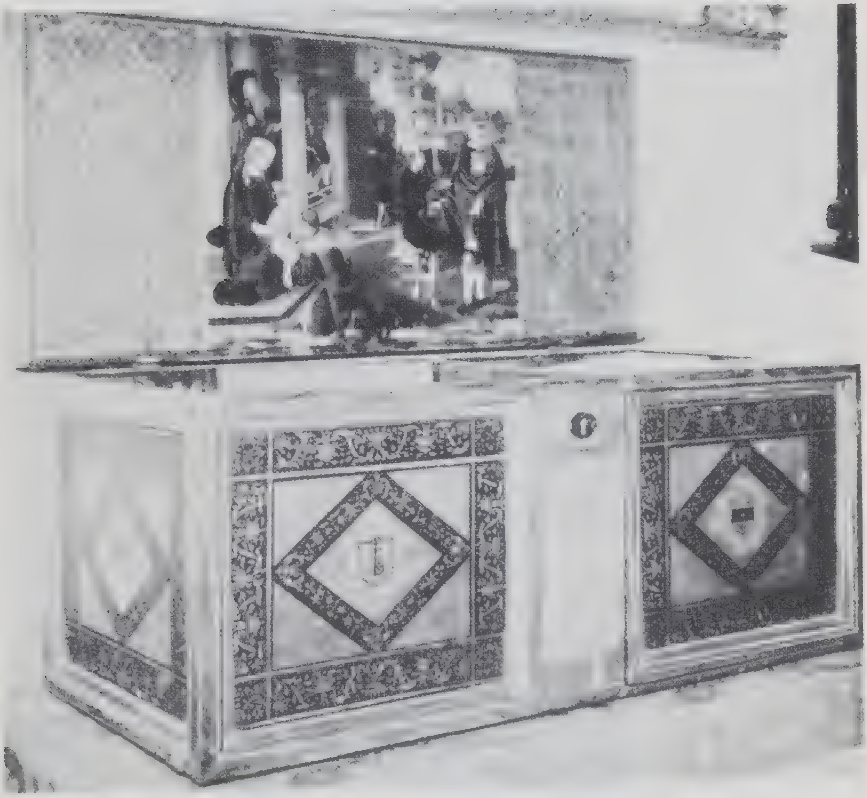

Fig. 224. CATALAN SCHOOL, SIXTEENTH CENTURY. CHEST.
MUSEUM OF CATALAN ART, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

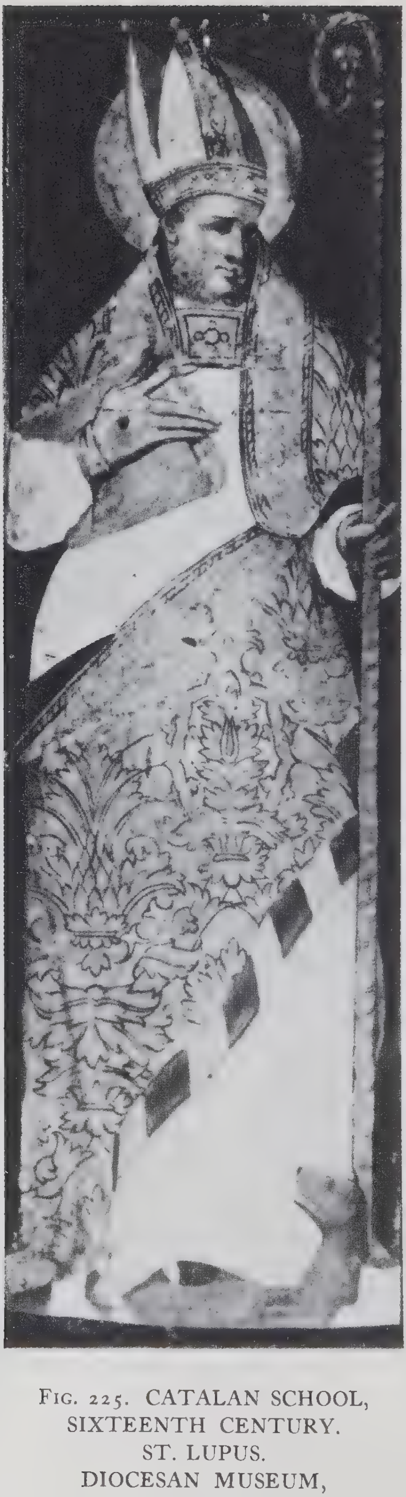

Fig. 225. CATALAN SCHOOL,
SIXTEENTH CENTURY.
ST. LUPUS.
DIOCESAN MUSEUM,
BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

Pedro's documented version in the Vich Museum adds no further confirmation, save in the corresponding kind of mannerism, but his rendering in a private collection, Perpignan, is a fairly close counterpart, even in the nature of the Virgin. As we thus extend our comparisons to productions other than the retable of Castellón de Ampurias, more similarities emerge. The same sort of manneristic Child is seen in his treatments of the Holy Family; very striking is the analogy of the kneeling Magus, even in the headdress, to the Abraham in the cycle at San Esteban de Bas; and the landscape, particularly in the dominating, rocky eminence, is decidedly characteristic of the artist. Nor must it be forgotten that the example in the Museum of Vich shows Pedro Gascó to have been in demand for the decoration of chests. The proof, however, stops short of being entirely decisive, and there are troublesome suggestions of other painters, for instance the St. Felix Master.

In the case of a competently executed panel of a canonized bishop, probably St. Lupus, that, coming from the village of El Figaró, north of Granollers, and presumably a relic of some altarpiece, has reached the Diocesan Museum at Barcelona (Fig. 225), I can think of several painters deserving consideration, for example Jaime Forner or even the St. Felix Master, but the evidence provided by single figures, like this, of episcopal saints, who are bound to resemble somewhat one another, seems too inadequate to supply honest connoisseurship with a conclusive ascription. The bishop is interpreted by the Catalans as St. Lupus (in the language of the region, Llop) having at his feet what is taken to be a wolf, an emblem suggested by his name; and thus there would be solved the identity of a hallowed bishop who in the art of the east coast of Spain has an attribute that I had thought, instead, to be a dog and who has long constituted an iconographical problem to me.[8] One of the chief old authorities on Catalan hagiology, A. V. Domenec,[9] declares that, of the several episcopal French saints called Lupus (St. Loup), the most prominent, the archbishop of Sens, enjoyed popularity in Catalonia, and, although he does not appear to have been distinguished elsewhere in Christendom by the emblem of a wolf, there is no reason to believe that such a designation should not have been one of the many pe-

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[8] Vols. VI, p. 390, and VII, pp. 493, 500, and 556.

[9] *Historia general de los santos y varones ilustres en santidad del principado de Cataluña*, Gerona, 1630, p. 171.

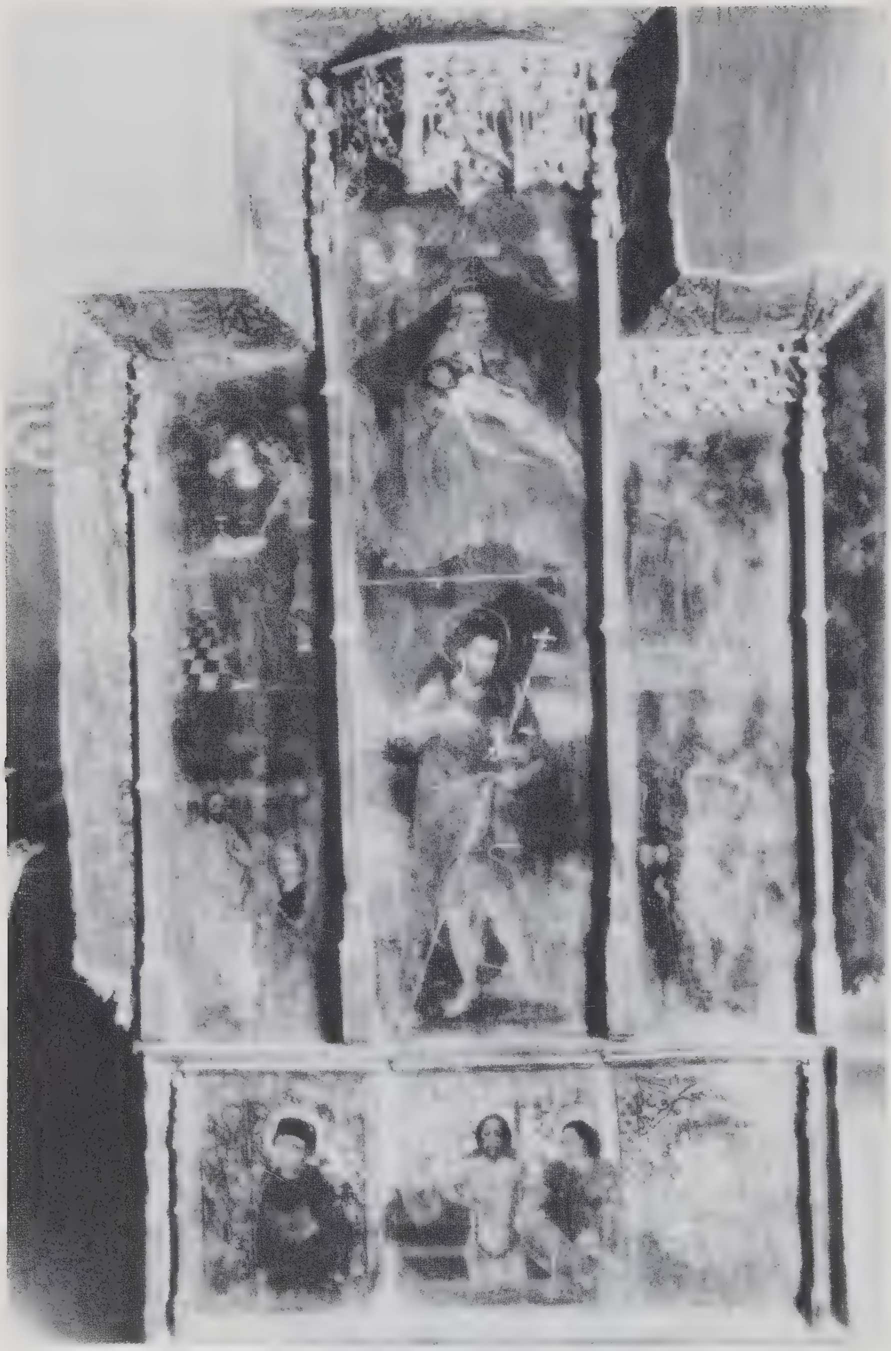

FIG. 226. CATALAN SCHOOL, SIXTEENTH CENTURY. RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, PRATDIP
(*Photo. Mas*)

culiarities of the iconography of the eastern Spanish littoral. Indeed a more modern Catalan scholar in the field, Juan Ferrando Roig,[10] states that all the saints named Lupus are sometimes recognizable by the attribute of a wolf represented on an escutcheon. Among the examples that I have before mustered of east-Spanish paintings of an episcopal worthy with an animal like a dog or wolf, the one in which the latter alternative seems the clearest is in a retable by the Peralta Master in the Diocesan Museum, Tarragona.[11]

A curious reversion to, or continuation of, the strain from the Van Eycks imported into the Catalan school by Luis Dalmáu is the principal interest of an unclassifiable work of the early Renaissance, a retable in the church of Pratdip, not far from the coast southwest of Tarragona (Fig. 226). The central compartment is occupied by an effigy of St. John Baptist, but the other sections are devoted to the most varied sacred material, illustrating the not infrequent proclivity of Spanish altarpieces for comprehensive, iconographic heterogeneity. A representation of the Trinity takes the place of the usual Crucifixion in the pinnacle above the Precursor; of the four lateral panels, the two lower depict the *Noli me tangere* and St. Sebastian's ordeal of the arrows, and the two upper display figures of St. Thecla, the patroness of Tarragona, and of a canonized man whom I do not recognize; and the predella marshals in the middle Christ of the Mass of St. Gregory between the Virgin and St. John Evangelist and at the sides a haloed Benedictine abbot and St. Jerome. The not very proficient painter reveals the inheritance from the Van Eycks particularly in the unidentified male saint in the upper right compartment, in the Eternal Father in the Trinity, and, above all, in the four angels holding the canopy over the Triune Mystery, who are directly imitated from the celestial spirits in Dalmáu's retable of the councillors. Moreover, it must not be overlooked that the strain from the Van Eycks might be due to the influence of the retable of the Magdalene by the St. Felix Master and a possible associate, which was actually made for a monastery in the territory of Tarragona. I doubt whether, because of the retable's Flemish qualities, we ought to attach any significance to the fact that a Fleming, a Master Gil, who belonged to the Mercedarian Order, collaborated in 1541 with a similarly otherwise unknown painter, Jerónimo Rua, in a lost retable

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[10] *Iconografía de los santos*, Barcelona, 1950, p. 78.

[11] My vol. VII, p. 556.

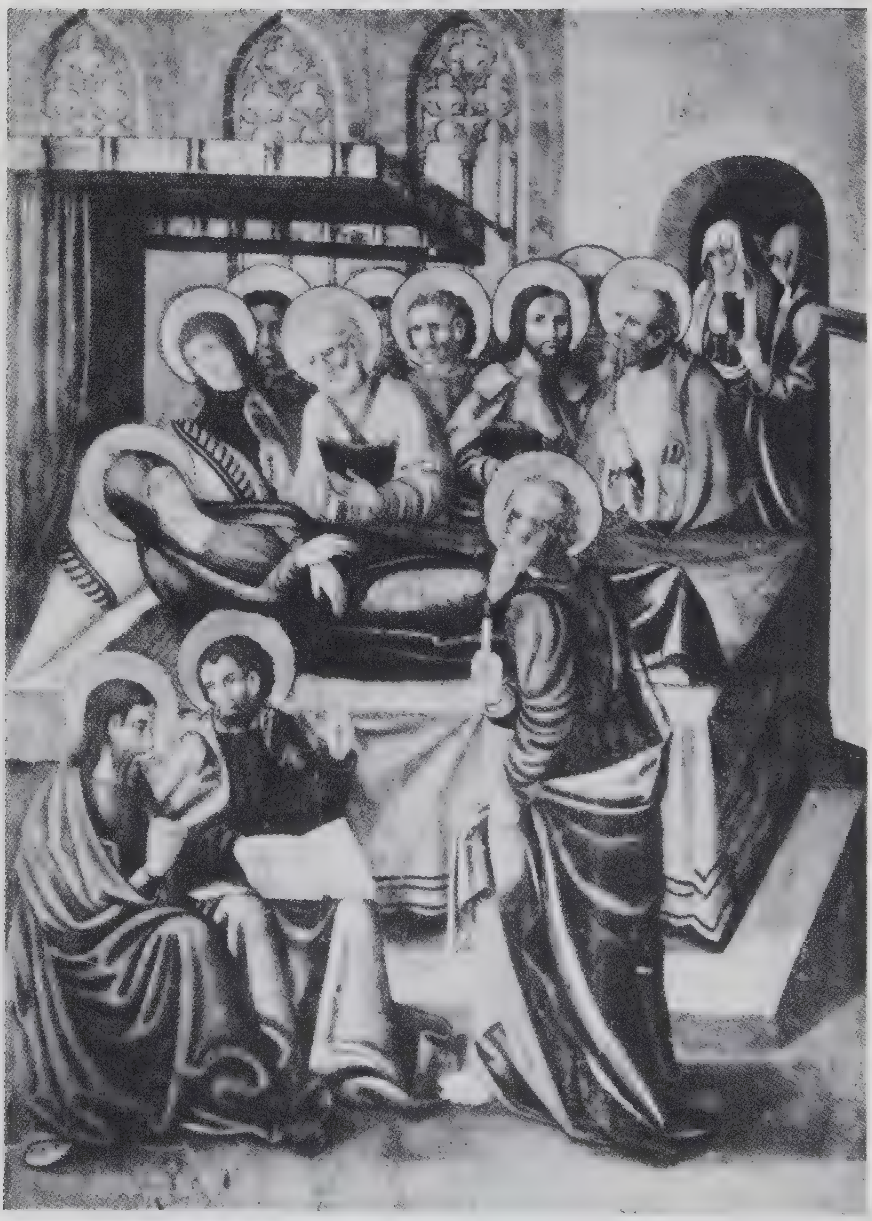

Fig. 227. CATALAN SCHOOL, SIXTEENTH CENTURY. DORMITION, SECTION OF RETABLE FROM TORNABOUS. VALENCIANO COLLECTION, BARCELONA (*Photo. Mas*)

for the church of La Guardia[12] in the region of Cervera, in the province of Lérida, and near the border of the province of Tarragona, but still far distant from Pratdip.

Resemblances to the Premiá Master, which in the end prove delusive, characterize a retable of the Virgin that once adorned the high altar of the church of Tornabous, west of Cervera, and at my last knowledge was to be seen in the Valenciano Collection, Barcelona. The preserved sections comprise two vertical panels of the Epiphany and Dormition (Fig. 227),[13] horizontal compartments of the Annunciation and Nativity of Christ, the capping Crucifixion, and four sacred figures in half length from the predella, a prelate, an Evangelist, a holy woman, and the only one carrying a specifically identifying emblem, St. Sebastian. The style remains largely mediaeval, with little to indicate the Cinquecento beyond the more heroic and idealized nature of the forms and the ample sweeps of the more classic drapery. Even the architecture of the apartment where Our Lady falls into her last sleep is Gothic. It is provincialism that to some extent accounts for the persistence of primitive qualities to a date which may be fairly well on in the first half of the sixteenth century, particularly a certain stiffness in the articulation of many of the figures and a retention of the severe and hardy types of Iberian manhood. Now and then we glimpse unsophisticated touches of direct naturalism to be expected from a craftsman not hampered by the rules and regulations of a metropolitan artistic centre. So in the Annunciation, Gabriel carries, instead of a banderole, an actual placard on which is inscribed the familiar Ave Maria; and the painter deems it likely that pious ladies would have been allowed at least to look in through a door at the scene of the Dormition in whose sacrosanct precincts only the select College of the Apostles is usually depicted as present. With the general, marked lack of sensitiveness to proper scale that stigmatizes the retable, the ox and ass become in the Epiphany, though their whole bodies are visible, the toylike beasts of a Noah's Ark ensconced in a miniature stable illogically set higher than the Virgin's head.

We have already observed that the analogies to the productions of the Premiá Master are misleading. Mary and Gabriel in the Tornabous Annunciation are not far removed in type from such of the Premiá Master's figures as the angels of the Pietà in the predella of the altarpiece of the Seven Joys of the Virgin or the St. Lucy on the fragment from Premiá, and indeed the actual composition of the Annunciation follows pretty closely the lines of the version of the theme in the altarpiece; but it does not require long scrutiny to be convinced that the Tornabous painter is not the Premiá artist or that he is his inferior. A patron at Tornabous might naturally have employed one of the two painters called Pedro Alegret active at this time in the near-lying and larger town of Cervera, but the possibility of the identification cannot be verified, since no paintings of the Alegret shop in so early a style have survived or at least been recognized and since the extant pictures attributable to any member of the shop belong to the second half of the sixteenth century.[14] Nor must it be forgotten that we have information of other painters of the period who obtained patronage in the region but are not known to us by any preserved, documented works, Juan Pablo Guardiola [15] and the partners, Jerónimo Rua and Master Gil.[16]

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[12] See Agustín Durán y Sanpere in the *Butlletí Arqueològic* (Tarragona), no. 45, July–September, 1933, pp. 265–270.

[13] As set up in the church, the Epiphany was on the left side of the retable and the Dormition on the right: see a short article on Tornabous in *L'Excursionista* (*Associació Catalanista d'Excursions Científicas*), II (1882–1886), 342–343.

Since, still farther to the west, the town of Roda Ribagorza (Roda de Isábena), north of Benabarre, lies in the region where Aragonese artists sometimes disputed with the Catalans for patronage, we are confronted with the dilemma regarding which school should claim a retable in its former cathedral, a work that has now been transferred to the Museum attached to the church (Fig. 228); but I have found no Aragonese artist, of known or unknown name, or even any phase of Aragonese painting of the Renaissance that would provide a natural haven for the retable, which possesses rather the greater elegance and delicacy of Catalonia. Further evidence for a Catalan origin will be later adduced. St. Michael, as victor over Satan and weigher of souls, occupies the chief compartment; Sts. Cosmas and Damian stand balancing each other at the sides; the Crucifixion takes its usual place in the pinnacle; two canonized bishops, identified by no distinctive emblems, ornament, together with decorations of

[14] See above, p. 368.

[15] Durán y Sanpere, in *Butlletí del Centre Excursionista de Catalunya*, XXXI (1921), 11, and in *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, XI (1923), 93; P. Pujol y Tubáu in *Homenatge a Antoni Rubió i Lluch*, Barcelona, 1936, II, 470; and J. M. Madurell in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, IV, 1–2 (1946), 29.

[16] See above, p. 531.

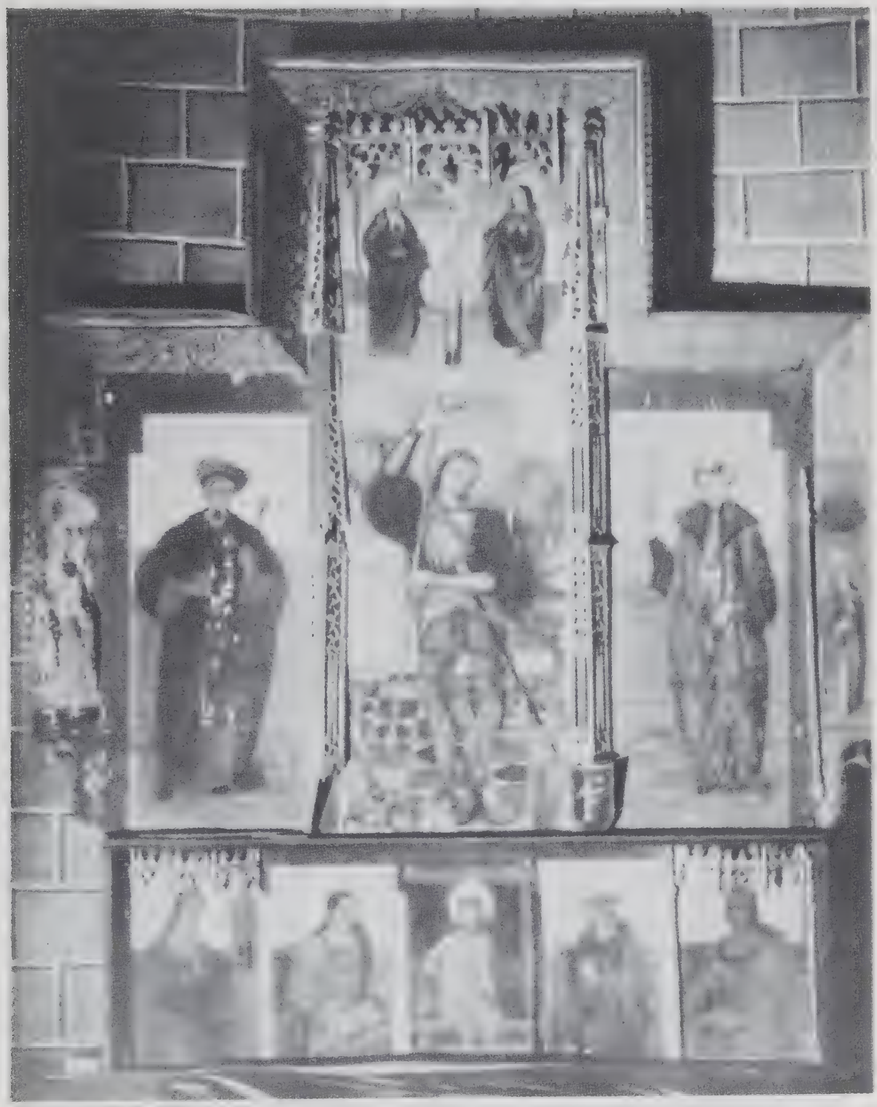

FIG. 228. CATALAN SCHOOL, SIXTEENTH CENTURY. RETABLE. FORMER CATHEDRAL, RODA RIBAGORZA
(*Photo. Mas*)

pure design, the *guardapolvos*; and the predella aligns, about Christ of the Passion, four seated feminine saints, at the left Barbara and the Magdalene and at the right a pair whose identity I fail to discern. Of average endowment or better, the author has carried forms still reminiscent of the Catalan school of the late fifteenth century into the temper of incipient mannerism. The *motif* of little squares in the gold backgrounds [17] contributes to the theory of a Catalan rather than Aragonese *milieu* for his training.

The belief in this theory would be strengthened if we could be sure of the date of a manifestly Catalan retable in the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament in the monastery of El Miracle, near Riner south of Solsona (Fig. 229), for there are decided resemblances between the two altarpieces. The example in El Miracle purports to be a creation of the early sixteenth century and at first glance looks thus, but the difficulty is that longer examination betrays it to belong at least partly to a subsequent period or to have been largely modernized. The panel at the summit is a copy of the Coronation by Velázquez in the Prado, and several further sections are little else than reproductions of works by others. The strangest thing of all is that the Via Dolorosa in the middle of the second tier from the bottom is taken almost unchanged from a very recondite source, the version formerly ascribed to Benedetto Ghirlandaio but now to Giovanni Battista Utili which in the Cinquecento was to be seen in the church of S. Spirito, Florence, but eventually reached the Louvre.[18] A Spanish painter, if he had been in Italy, would scarcely have remembered and repeated so exactly such an obscure painting, but it is just the sort of thing that we should expect from a clever modern restorer or imitator of a past style. The Crucifixion, above the Via Dolorosa, appears to be suggested by versions of Jaime Forner, as at Santas Creus and Tamarite de Litera, and the Lamentation over the dead Christ in the lowest row is not far removed in composition from the treatment by the Son Master in the fragments from Son in the Provincial Museum, Lérida. The Apostle at the upper left in the lateral division seems to be derived from the St. Thomas in the retable by Pedro Nunyes in the church of Santos Justo y Pastor, Barcelona, and the St. Roch in the right lateral division is virtually a copy of this defender against the plague in the

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[17] See above, p. 353.

[18] No. 1323 of this Museum, illustrated as fig. 114 in Van Marle, *Italian Schools of Painting*, vol. XIII.

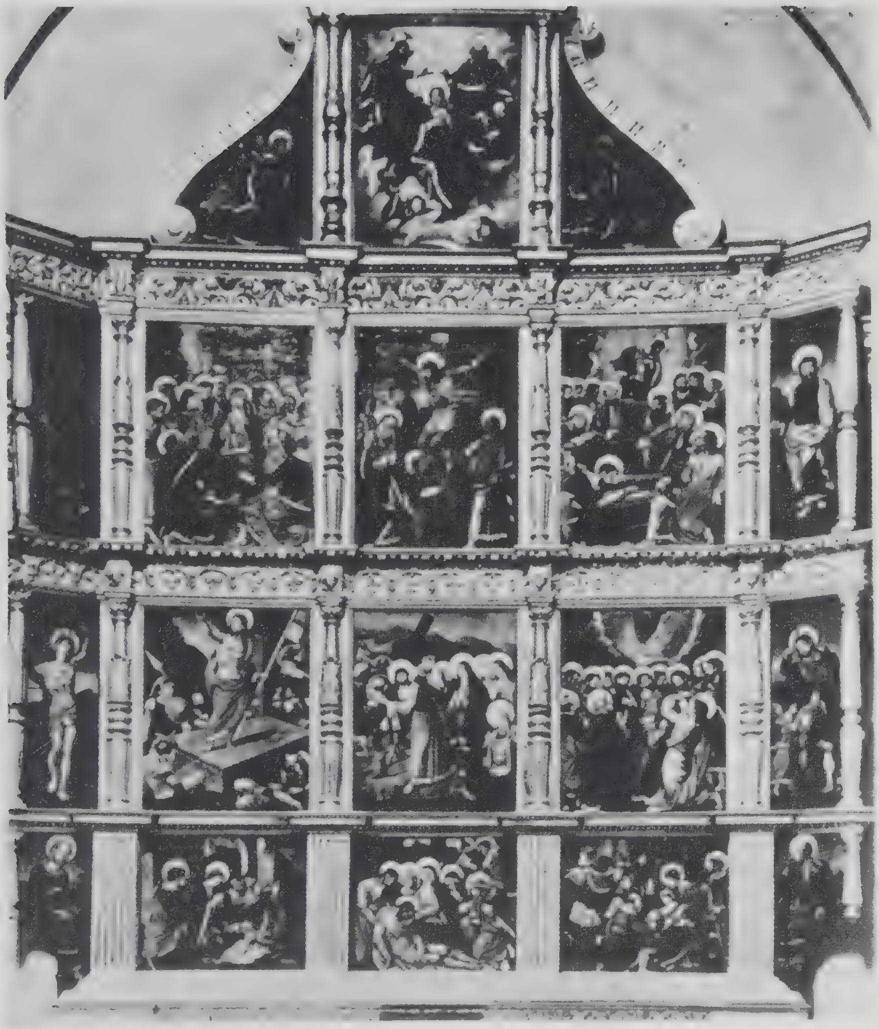

FIG. 229. RETABLE IN MONASTERY OF EL MIRACLE
(*Photo. Mas*)

panels by the Master of the Four Saints in the Vich Museum. Certain figures give me a distinctly modern impression, such as the actors of the Annunciation beside the Coronation or the Sts. Peter and Paul at the bottom of the lateral divisions; and it is hard to believe that in the Dormition a Spanish artist of the sixteenth century would have represented the Virgin's soul as a female nude. Had I the patience, I could carry the search farther and uncover other suspicious resemblances and details.

Nevertheless, it may be that there is a substratum, an original of the sixteenth century, which has been "restored" at a more recent date and to which additions have been made. Jaime Viladrich Gaspar, writing in 1897 an account of the church of the monastery of El Miracle,[19] speaks of a painted retable of the Santo Cristo which he assigns to the Renaissance and states to depict some mysteries of the Rosary, subjects that are certainly included among those of the altarpiece that now concerns us. He declares that it contained a niche for a statue of the Virgin, a space which he says to have been then filled by a modern Crucifix (the Santo Cristo), and he supposes the retable to derive from the late Gothic church that preceded the present structure, built about 1670. Inasmuch as the retable that we are discussing possesses no such niche and was therefore different in arrangement from the example described by Viladrich, we might legitimately deduce that after 1897 the altarpiece to which Viladrich alludes received modern additions and in general was reconditioned, giving us the production as it now exists in the church. Since he definitely asserts that there were no other paintings of any significance in the church, the present specimen cannot incorporate a second retable belonging to the edifice, and indeed before 1897 it was only in the very rarest instances that older paintings were refurbished. The odd thing, however, is that neither the monks of El Miracle nor of Montserrat, upon which El Miracle depends, have been able to discover, in response to inquiries of my own and of my friends at Barcelona, any record of the modernization of a retable in the church or of the construction of a totally new retable; and, furthermore, no one in usually well informed Catalonia seems to have any knowledge of a modern artist having made or remade the work.

The hypothesis that something of a creation of the sixteenth century is left would be helped by the resemblances to the retable at Roda Ribagorza, unless we take the stand that a modern consciously imitated the Roda master. In particular, the Virgin of the Epiphany at El Miracle recalls the hallowed women in the Roda predella, not only in countenance but also in the predilection for a long tress of hair falling over the shoulder and in precisely the same sort of contemporary feminine costume. The dead Christ in the Lamentation of the predella is similar to the Saviour of the Passion in the predella of the Roda retable, and the kneeling Magus in the Epiphany embodies the same sharp-cut masculine type at a more mature age. The St. Sebastian in the left lateral division raises his arm in just the curve of the Roda St. Michael, and the likewise mannered tilt of the head in the Wise Man who points upward is repeated in this archangel. We are thus driven back and forth in our attempt to authenticate as a partial achievement of the Renaissance the retable in the monastery of El Miracle, which, when all is said and done, still remains a puzzle.

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[19] P. 107 of the book with a long title cited under his name in the Bibliography of the present volume.

After long and repeated consideration of the problem, I cannot bring myself to ascribe to any known painter of the early sixteenth century the three compartments that at this time were added to Huguet's retable of St. Vincent,[20] and are now to be seen, with the rest of the assemblage, in the Museum of Catalan Art, Barcelona. Affinities to the styles of the St. Felix Master and especially of Juan Gascó are not difficult to perceive, but, even if we take into account the possibility that the later artist may have been conditioned by sketches or beginnings of Huguet and of the Castelsardo Master, who in the fifteenth century had contributed a compartment [21] to Huguet's portion, or that he may have been moved by a desire to reproduce their modes, the proof does not seem sufficiently concrete or extensive for a definite attribution. The approximation to Gascó's attainments, particularly as they manifested themselves in the retable of St. Peter at San Pedro de Vilamajor, is in places surprising. There are many general similarities in the types of the onlookers, but the relationship becomes very exact when we observe that the spectator with uplifted hand at the left in the panel of St. Vincent's torture upon the gridiron (Fig. 230) possesses the strange, heavy-jowled kind of face employed by Gascó for the most prominent figure at the right in the

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[20] Vol. VII, pp. 122–123.

[21] See above, p. 463.

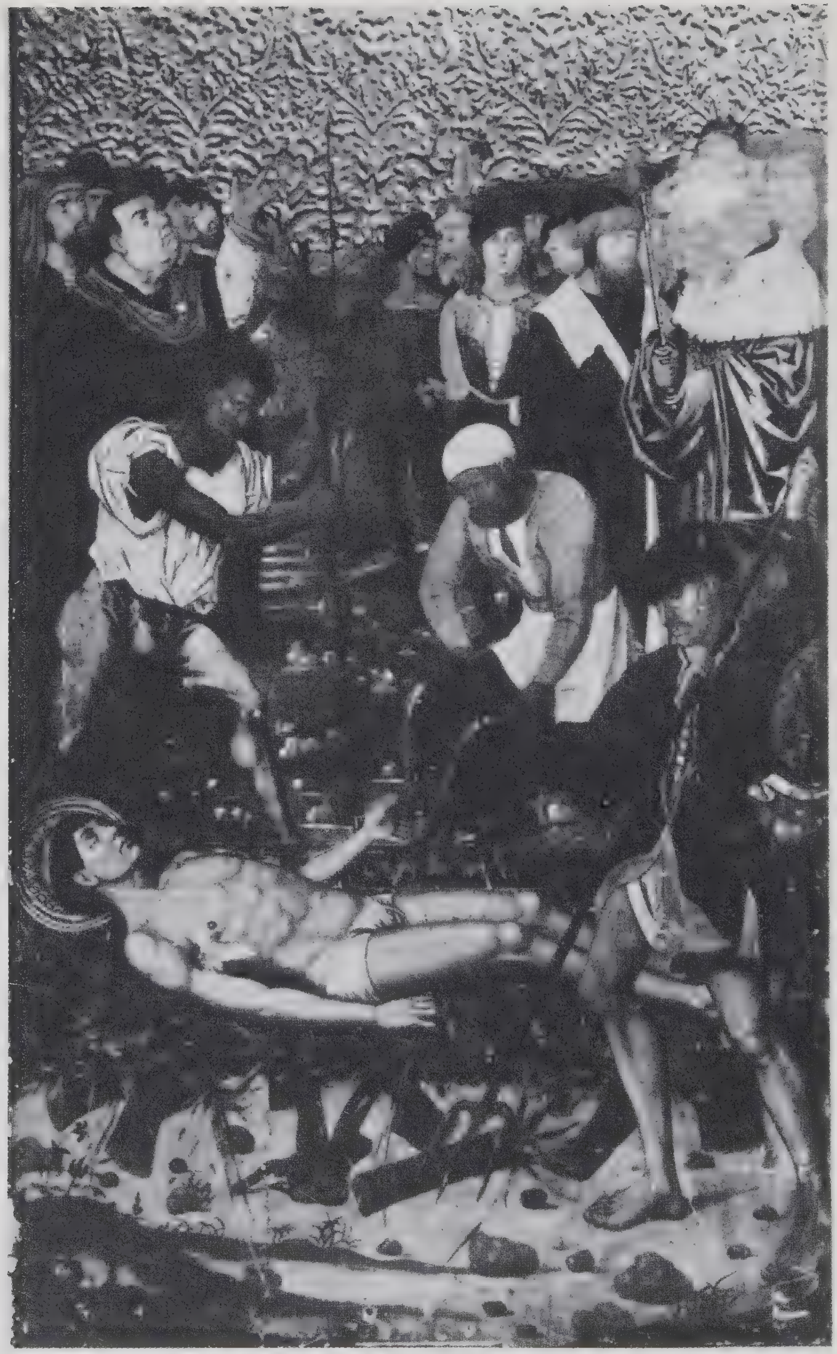

FIG. 230. CATALAN SCHOOL, SIXTEENTH CENTURY. ST. VINCENT ON THE GRIDIRON, SECTION OF RETABLE FROM SARRIÁ. MUSEUM OF CATALAN ART, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

scene of St. Peter's martyrdom and, with only less precise analogy, in other instances in the episodes from the Apostle's life and elsewhere in the master's output. At the right in the compartment of the gridiron a spectator peers directly at us with very much the same visage and gaze as a personage at the left in the panel of St. Peter's miracle of resurrection. The three sections of St. Vincent's retable contain more than one Raphaelesque youth like those whom Gascó liked to depict, and the somewhat older kind of man, with cap pitched at a jaunty angle, exemplified at Vilamajor just to the left of St. Peter undergoing martyrdom and above Christ in the Via Dolorosa, appears not much altered, in the scene of the gridiron, at the head of the group at the right above the martyr. Correspondingly analogous types, especially the fleshy sort of countenance to which I have referred, occur in the works of the St. Felix Master; but the resemblances are less conspicuous than in the case of Gascó, and, if, despite the affiliations, I hestitate to identify Gascó with the artist who in the sixteenth century completed the retable of St. Vincent, I should be still less willing, *a fortiori,* to propose his rival as the performer of the task.

How much the manner of this performer is disguised by drawings for the whole retable or actual beginnings of Huguet and the Castelsardo Master upon the panels or merely by the order of the authorities that he conserve, so far as possible, the style in which the undertaking had been commenced, there are no very trustworthy means of determining. Unless we merely guess that Huguet had left sketches for the compositions, there is little or nothing to suggest a dependence upon him except the type and costume of St. Vincent's persecutor, Dacian. Curiously enough, if we are at all to postulate reminiscences of the past in the sections done in the sixteenth century, the connections with the works of the painter of the one panel of the angelic visit to St. Vincent in prison, the Castelsardo Master, would seem to be the more tangible, particularly when we examine the Crucifixion in the Muntaner Collection that I have ascribed to him. The spectator at the extreme left in the scene of the gridiron recalls the prominent figure at the lower right on Calvary; the right scourger of St. Vincent and the military officer behind him belong to the same very Iberian class of mankind as the Longinus piercing Christ's side; and the courtier at the left of Dacian behind the martyr's death-bed provides an example of the churlishness with which the

Castelsardo Master is at times prone to invest his characters. In the decease of St. Vincent, an artist of the sixteenth century like other contemporaries [22] might have clung, without reliance upon sketches of his predecessors, to the old Spanish convention of representing the released soul of a sacred personage as an elongated, white apparition; but the two angels supporting the soul, still decidedly reflecting the debt of the Spanish school of the fifteenth century to Flemish precedent, can scarcely be reconciled with the style of any Spanish painter of the Cinquecento who was not depending upon ideas of a forerunner, whether in this instance the forerunner was Huguet or the Castelsardo Master. The gold backgrounds of raised stucco could hardly have been laid on in the preceding century, for the pattern of the embossings, although by no means unparalleled in the Quattrocento, is different from and much more formalized than the auric designs in the compartments by Huguet and the Castelsardo Master; but the retention of embossings, which are found also in the haloes, albeit again with a figuration diverse from that of the earlier panels, would be occasioned by the commissioners' desire to maintain an appearance in the altarpiece harmonious with the parts already carried out. In certain works, however, Juan Gascó still clung, even at the opening of the Renaissance, to the mediaeval Catalan fondness for the raised gold backgrounds, even casting them in decidedly schematized diapers very like those of the three additions to the retable of St. Vincent and thus furnishing another argument, if we have to choose between him and the St. Felix Master, for discerning in the former the terminator of the structure.

But we do not actually have to make this choice, since there is always the very real possibility that the man whom we are seeking was an as yet unisolated painter of the period, closely affiliated in style with Gascó. In any case, I am strongly inclined to ascribe to the author of the additions of the sixteenth century, whether Gascó or not, a panel of St. Paul remaining to us, at least now only in three-fourths length, in the Font de Rubinat Collection at Reus, near Barcelona (Fig. 231).[23] Several heads in the additions are impressively similar to that of the Apostle to the Gentiles, but, when we look at the latter and then at the prominent bearded satellite just to the left

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[22] See, for instance, above, p. 214.

[23] The inscription on the halo reads, "Sanctus Paulus gloriosus," followed by a word that I cannot decipher. The verses on the book that he holds are taken from the Epistle to the Romans, X, 10–11.

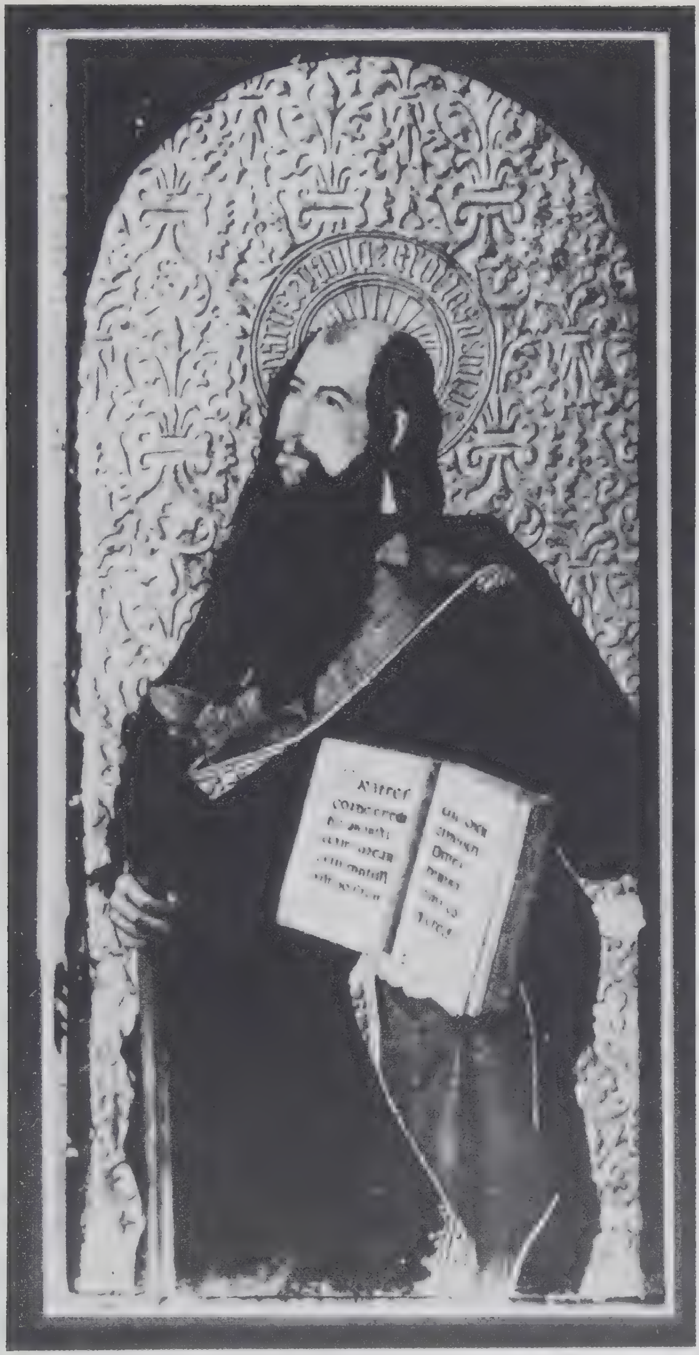

FIG. 231. CATALAN SCHOOL, SIXTEENTH CENTURY.
ST. PAUL. FONT DE RUBINAT COLLECTION, REUS
(Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)

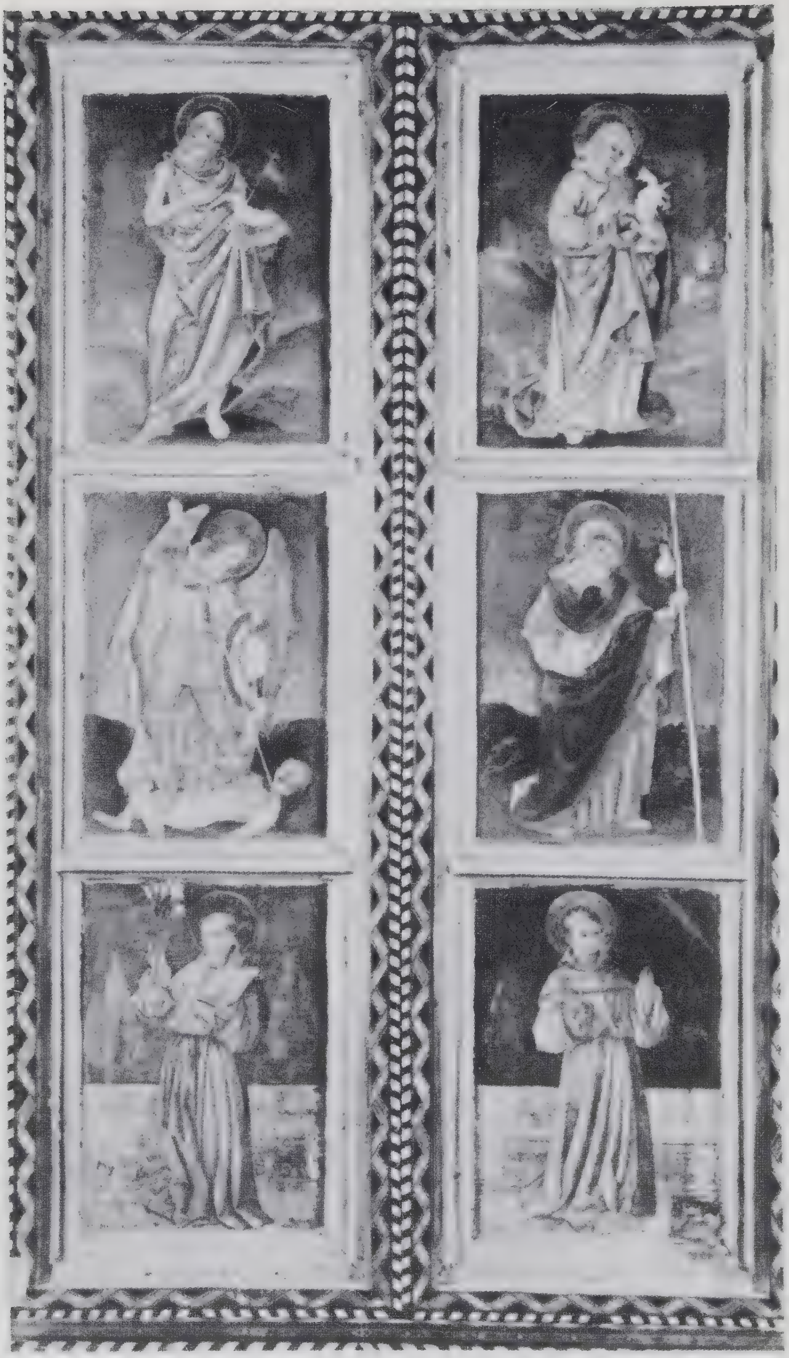

FIG. 232. CATALAN SCHOOL, SIXTEENTH CENTURY. PANELS OF SAINTS. CATHEDRAL, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

of Dacian in the compartment of the gridiron, it seems unthinkable that different artists should have executed the two countenances. The subject and shape of the panel at Reus imply that it was a door at the side of an altar, and, inasmuch as the pattern in the embossed gold background varies only slightly from the corresponding design in the additions to the retable of St. Vincent, there is no harm in merely guessing that it might have been a further part of the *ensemble* at Sarriá. The St. Paul is rather different from Gascó's accepted representations of the Apostle except for a partial likeness to the example in the retable of St. Julian; but rather close approximations to the type occur in other figures by him, as in the Santiago in the retable of San Juan del Galí, and I should not put it beyond the bounds of credibility that he is the painter to whom we owe the St. Paul and thus would acquire a further claim for identification with Huguet's successor.

If a curious panel in the Sala Capitular of the cathedral of Barcelona, consisting of six small compartments carried out in grisaille and each containing the standing effigy of a saint (Fig. 232), was executed by any artist whose personality has been disentangled, my very hesitant guess, after long weighing of the other possibilities, would be Jaime Fontanet, but it is likely that the author was one of the numerous Catalan painters active at the beginning of the sixteenth century whose names we know but whose styles we have been unable to recover. The two saints at the uppermost level are John Baptist and John Evangelist; in the middle register, Michael and James Major; and at the bottom, Francis (receiving the stigmata) and Anthony of Padua. As so often in the painting of the period, I can make nothing of the conglomerations of capricious letters on the haloes, borders of garments, and the balustrades against which, between a pair of conventionalized trees, each of the Franciscans is relieved. The original function of the *ensemble* is not ascertained, but it could perhaps have served as the door of a cupboard, like the examples decorated with Prophets and Sibyls by both Juan and Pedro Gascó. The elements that might conceivably but far from surely be taken as betokening the handicraft of Fontanet are: the disposition of the two St. Johns' draperies, as on the Sts. Justus and Pastor in his set of preserved windows; the tendency to gently bowed heads; a kind of resemblance between the countenances of St. Blaise on the windows and, despite the beard, St. James; and a mystical expres-

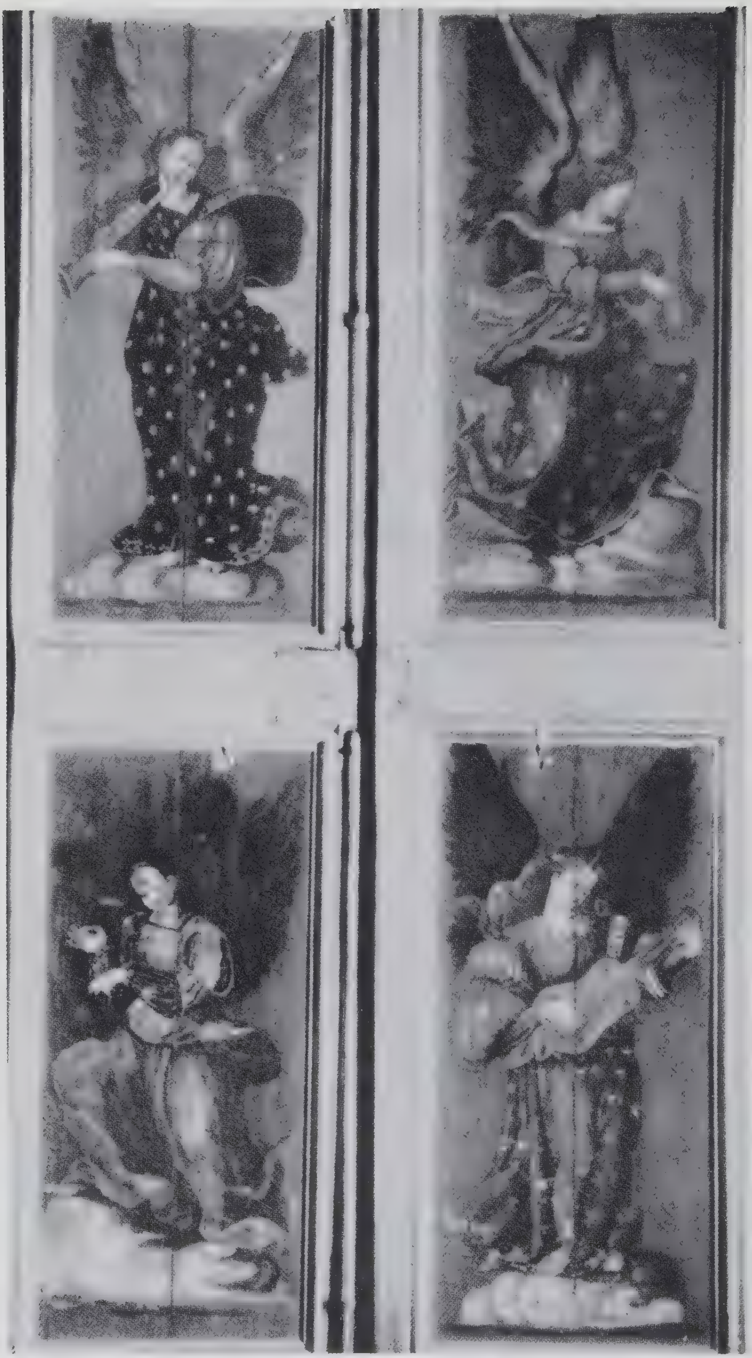

Fig. 233. CATALAN SCHOOL, SIXTEENTH CENTURY.
PANELS OF ANGELS. CATHEDRAL, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

siveness in the two Franciscans, like that of the Catalan Quattrocento, upon which I have commented in my discussion of the artist.

I am at a loss even timidly to suggest a candidate on the dim chance that he might father a rather similar object likewise in the Sala Capitular of the cathedral of Barcelona, which apparently once constituted also the doors of a cupboard or perchance the exterior wings of a triptych (Fig. 233). Representing in four compartments as many music-making angels in bespangled garbs and standing on clouds, the celestial assemblage has baffled my assiduous efforts to descry it in the concrete traces of any painter whose manner we have succeeded in defining, even though, since the work obviously falls within a somewhat later date than the six saints treated in the preceding paragraph, my research has not excluded the Catalan artists of the end of the Renaissance who will occupy us in a subsequent volume. A considerable interest attaches to the series because, although not actually copying any of the angels by Melozzo da Forlì which, once in the church of the Santi Apostoli at Rome, are now to be seen in the Vatican Gallery, the Barcelona examples are so similar in type and animation that they must have been seen and admired by the Catalan painter, whoever he was, and because therefore he would have belonged to the number of his compatriots who enjoyed the privilege of an Italian sojourn.

The panel of the Madonna of the Pear in the Provincial Museum, Gerona, but of unrecorded provenience (Fig. 234) has recently been subjected to a restoration, and it is possible that still earlier repaintings as well conceal the handiwork of Pedro Gascó; but, so far as the eye can now discern, the picture must be left in the class of the productions of the Catalan school for which an exact attribution would be hazardous.

In the Church of S. Cipriano at the town of Fogás de Tordera in the extreme northeastern corner of the province of Barcelona but belonging to the diocese of Gerona, an almost rustic triptych consisting of a central panel of the Lamentation over the Dead Christ between lateral compartments of the standing Sts. Sebastian and Roch (Fig. 235) reveals perhaps some dim and wholly indeterminate resemblances to the manner of the retable at Centellas that I have allocated to the circle of Juan Gatón and Juan Gascó. An inscription on the base gives the date 1531 and the donor as Bernat Dot als Vidal, but tantalizingly not the artist's name.

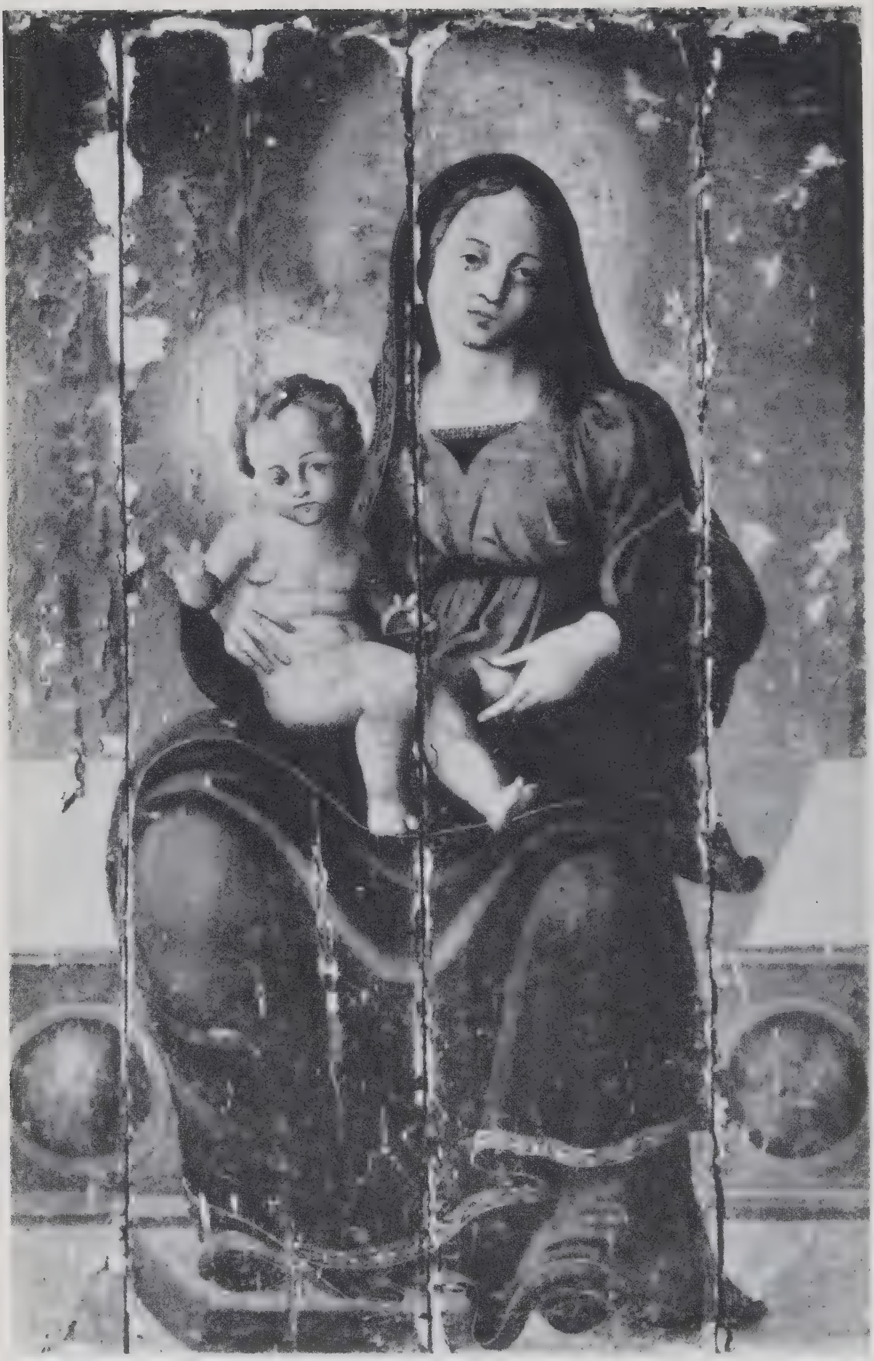

FIG. 234. CATALAN SCHOOL, SIXTEENTH CENTURY. MADONNA OF THE PEAR. PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, GERONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

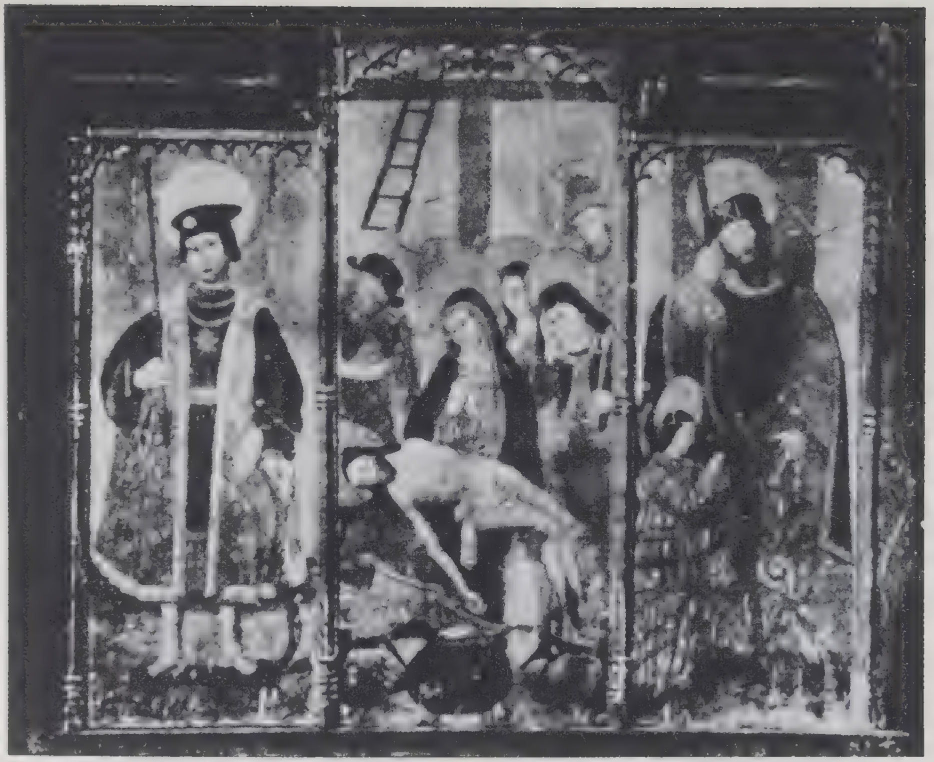

FIG. 235. CATALAN SCHOOL, SIXTEENTH CENTURY. TRIPTYCH.
CHURCH OF S. CAPRIANO. FOGÁS DE TORDERA
(*From the "Nomenclator Histórico" of Monsalvatje*)

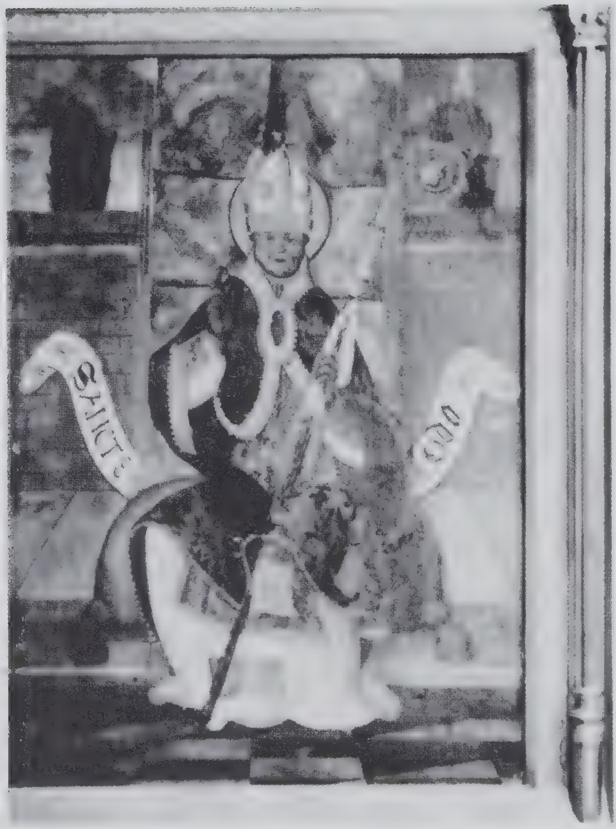

FIG. 236. SPANISH SCHOOL, SIXTEENTH CENTURY. ST. ODO. SADOLIN COLLECTION, DRAGOER, DENMARK

Better in quality are two panels of the enthroned Sts. Ermengold and Odo (Fig. 236) that I saw as long ago as 1935 in the Sadolin Collection at Dragoer, near Copenhagen, in Denmark, but I place them at the end of the chapter because it is not even certain that they belong to the Catalan rather than to any other school in Spain. The main reason for conjecturing them Catalan is that, as canonized mediaeval bishops of La Seo de Urgel,[24] they enjoyed a cult especially in Catalonia, but, even if we confine ourselves to stylistic considerations, it is perhaps possible to discern affiliations with the types of Pedro Gascó or of the Lladó Master. Devotion to the hallowed prelates, nevertheless, could easily have drifted into adjacent Aragon, and the panels exhibit some analogies, again unfortunately indecisive, to the central effigies in two anonymous, lateral retables of the early Renaissance in the church at Anento, just southeast of Daroca.

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[24] Vol. VI, p. 8.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

ADDITIONS TO VOLUMES I–XI

Jaime and Pedro Serra

One of the most significant considerations that have recently come to light anent not only these brothers but Catalan painting of the Middle Ages in general is the likelihood that both of them carried out commissions for Sicily. The evidence in the case of Jaime is a small panel of the Last Supper, probably once a part of a predella (Fig. 237), in a private collection at Partanna (south of Palermo).[1] Coming from an unknown or at least unrevealed source, the picture could hardly have entered a collection in a small Sicilian town in any other way than if it had once graced a sacred edifice on the island. The composition and many of the types are nearly duplicated in the version of the theme in the predella of the retable from Sijena, in the Museum of Catalan Art, Barcelona, which is now generally accepted as a late work of Jaime[2] or as at least closely affiliated with his style; but a somewhat greater rigidity in the articulation of the forms, as in Judas's extended arm, a favorite *motif* in the master's figures, and the affinity with his first productions, as in the compartment of Judas bargaining with the Jewish ecclesiastics in the cycle in S. Nicolás, Saragossa,[3] suggest that the Partanna piece belonged to an altarpiece executed at a relatively early moment in his career.

Among the many little known works exhibited in the *Mostra* at Messina in 1953 of *Antonello da Messina e la Pittura del '400 in Sicilia* was a panel of the enthroned Madonna, musical angels, Sts. Eulalia and Catherine, and a kneeling nun as donor, which is a part of the collection of the Museo Nazionale di Palazzo Bellomo at Syracuse and has been properly claimed for Pedro Serra by the distinguished Catalan scholar, Juan Ainaud de Lasarte (Fig. 238).[4] The original provenience of the panel, as in the instance of Jaime Serra's Last Supper, is unascertained, but the director of the Museo Nazionale di Palazzo Bellomo, Dr. Santi Luigi Agnello, has been so good as to inform me that until 1893 it was in the now abandoned Museo Civico of Syracuse without any record

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[1] Illustrated, without realization of its true affiliations, by Stefano Bottari, *La pittura del Quattrocento in Sicilia*, Messina and Florence, 1953, fig. 19: see also in the same book p. 14.

[2] See my vol. II, p. 234.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 226.

[4] No. 23, p. 28, and plate XXIII of the first edition of the Catalogue of the *Mostra.* The attribution is credited in the Catalogue merely to the Instituto Amatller de Arte Hispánico, Barcelona, but the director of the Palazzo Bellomo, Dr. Santi Luigi Agnello, kindly writes me that Ainaud was the actual person who recognized the picture's parentage.

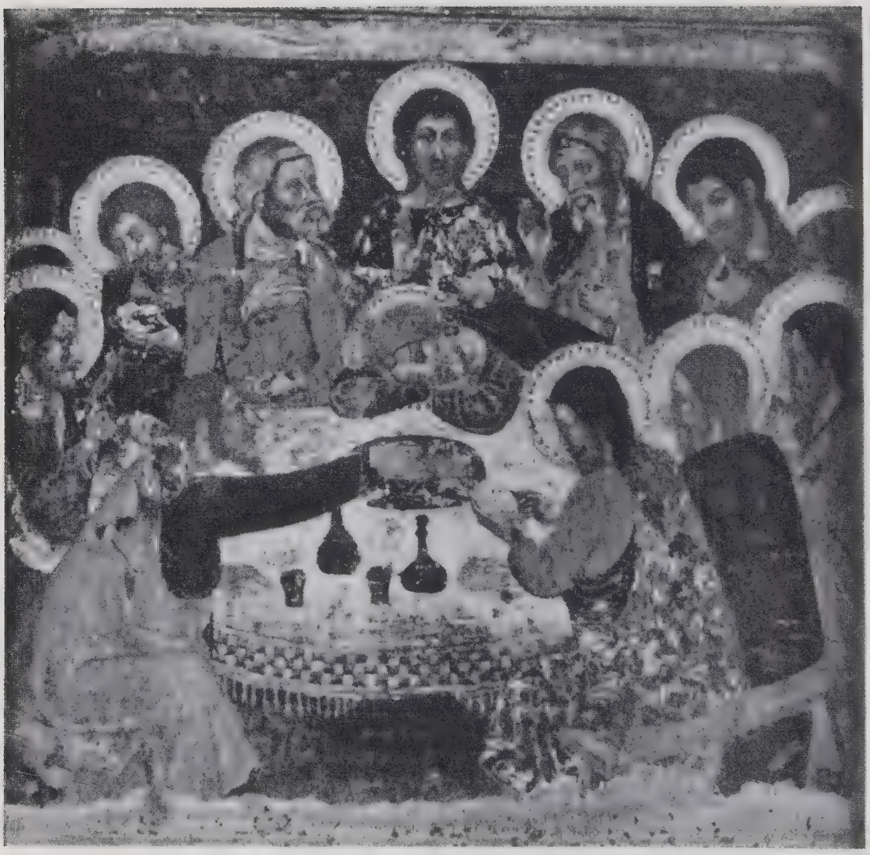

Fig. 237. JAIME SERRA. LAST SUPPER. PRIVATE COLLECTION, PARTANNA
(*From Bottari's "La pittura del Quattrocento in Sicilia"*)

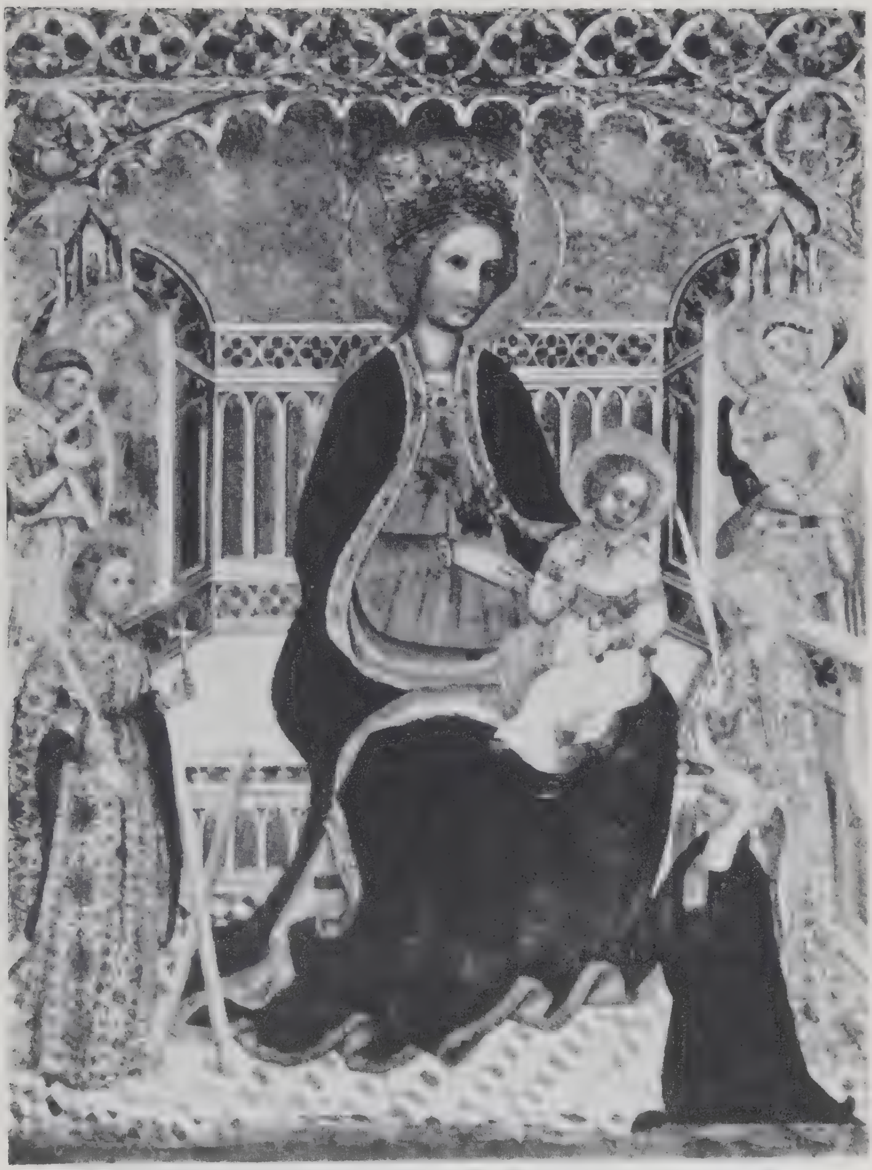

FIG. 238. PEDRO SERRA. MADONNA, ANGELS, AND SAINTS.
MUSEO NAZIONALE DI PALAZZO BELLOMO, SYRACUSE
*(From the Catalogue of the Mostra of Antonello
da Messina e la Pittura del '400 in Sicilia)*

of its source and that probably it reached this Museum in 1870 after the suppression of many Syracusan religious institutions. Since, therefore, it is scarcely credible that as early as 1893 a private collector in Sicily would have possessed a mediaeval Spanish painting acquired in the Iberian peninsula itself and would have given it to the Museo Civico, the almost inevitable conclusion is that the picture once existed in a Syracusan or at least Sicilian church and that it was painted by Pedro Serra for the island. As then a section of the domain of the kingdom of Aragon and Catalonia, Sicily would be expected to have turned ordinarily for the decoration of its sacred and secular edifices to the painters of this section of Spain, but my previous volumes have shown that such was not the case and that Italy was too near not to have dominated the island with the seductive charm of its art. As exceptions to this Italianate orientation of Sicilian painting, it is well-nigh certain that we should now add the cases of Jaime and Pedro Serra to the activity of Gerardo Gener for the cathedral of Monreale.[5]

The types, compositions, brocades of the costumes, and diapering of the gold background at once demonstrate to the student of Catalan art the justness of Ainaud's perception in discerning in the Syracusan panel one of Pedro's creations. The one thing which for the moment might give us pause is that the Virgin's head is not precisely duplicated in any of his other representations of the enthroned Madonna, but it is a type not infrequently encountered in various figures that he painted, as in the St. John in the Transfiguration of the Manresa retable or the St. Catherine in the predella belonging to the Museum of Catalan Art, Barcelona.[6]

The documentary knowledge that Pedro Serra was one of a number of Catalan painters who worked at least for Sardinia is revealed by José M. Madurell's excellent and orderly publication of the records that bear upon the mediaeval painting of Catalonia in volume VIII, part II (1950), of the *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, a work by this scholar that comprises many items besides those included in the articles which he had already brought out and to which I have often had occasion to refer in my pages. Among these items[7] is Pedro's receipt of September 25, 1404, for partial payment on a retable in the Sardinian town of Alghero, a document that extends his term of life six months beyond our hitherto discovered last record of his existence.[8] In addition there are notices not only of several commissions for lost altarpieces[9] to which, when my previous volumes were written, Madurell had not yet alluded but also of Pedro's acceptance of an apprentice.[10]

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[5] See my vol. V, pp. 266–267.

[6] Vol. VIII, p. 559 and fig. 258.

[7] No. 68.

[8] See my vol. X, p. 298. While my book is already in the press, I receive Madurell's second volume of documents on early Catalan painting (belatedly published as vol. X for 1952 of *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*) which contains many more notices of Pedro Serra, the only ones of which it is important that I register at present are Nos. 515–516, enabling us to fix the date of his death a bit more accurately, between May 4, 1405, and May 10, 1408.

[9] Nos. 35, 39, 57, 54 and 59, 58, 63, 64, 67.

In the new publication,[11] February 5, 1363, is corrected to March 4 of this year for the time of the joint contract of the brothers Jaime and Pedro to do the long since destroyed retable of All Saints at Manresa. Madurell's recent book [12] shows also that September 24, 1399, is the proper date for the document which I mentioned in volume X, p. 297, and which, as Pedro's receipt for partial payment for finishing a retable only begun by his deceased brother Jaime, proves the latter to have then been no longer living; but an earlier receipt of Pedro made out on August 16, 1397, for remuneration for completing the same work is comprised in the new publication [13] and declares Jaime to have commenced it and to be dead already in this prior year. The first date that we have hitherto known in Jaime's life was January 21, 1360, when he acknowledges payment for the lost retable of S. Pedro de Galligáns at Gerona,[14] but Madurell's insertion of the whole record of the transaction [15] makes it clear that the painter had actually contracted for the enterprise a fortnight or so before on January 3.[16] Further facts in Jaime's career are also given us by the Catalan scholar. We were already informed that in 1361 he was witness to a will,[17] and in the new publication we find that on September 13 of this year he acted in the same capacity for the contract of another artist, a sculptor.[18] The labors that I registered in volume VIII [19] as carried out by him for Queen Eleanor of Sicily, the third wife of Peter IV, in 1362 and 1366 consisted in the painting of a litter for her, and it is therefore not strange that Madurell [20] includes an analogous task of his, the pictorial decoration in 1366 of a litter for the proposed nuptials of the Infanta Juana, Pedro IV's daughter by his first wife, with the king of Portugal, a wedding, however, that never took place, leaving her to be married later to a Count of Ampurias and leaving the litter in Jaime Serra's own hands. We learn finally [21] that on September 30, 1367, he contracted for a lost altarpiece in the convent of Sta. María de Junqueras, Barcelona.

[10] No. 60.

[11] No. 11 and p. 24.

[12] No. 49.

[13] No. 42.

[14] See my vol. VIII, p. 556.

[15] No. 9, and cf. F. P. Verrié in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, II, 1 (1944), 69, n. 4.

[16] The second set of Catalan documents that I have just mentioned in a note supply us (No. 404) with a prior date for Jaime's first mention, May 11, 1358, and, among many interesting pieces of information, they confirm the spread of the Serras' style to Valencia by his receipt of January 14, 1370 (No. 440), for a retable in the Iglesia del Mercado in this city.

[17] My vol. VIII, p. 556.

[18] Madurell, No. 10.

[19] P. 556.

[20] No. 29.

[21] No. 23.

Pedro Baró

To his identification of my Elne Master as Arnaldo Gassies,[1] Professor Marcel Durliat of Perpignan has added the signal achievement of giving an actual name to another and earlier painter employed at Elne, Pedro Baró, who turns out to be the follower of the Serras in Roussillon whom I isolated in volume VIII.[2] Knowing that this follower's tabernacle for the Sacrament which has passed from a private collection at Perpignan to another at Orléans came originally from Elne,[3] Durliat remembered that in the long inventory [4] of Baró's interesting possessions made on June 28, 1399, a week subsequent to his decease on June 20, there is listed (in Catalan) "un armari del Corpus que es stat d'Euna," a chest of the Sacrament that belonged to Elne. The natural deduction would be that the chest or tabernacle had been ordered for the cathedral of Elne (though eventually removed to a house in the town) but not yet delivered, and, since two such tabernacles could scarcely have been required for the cathedral at the time to which the style of the one now at Orléans assigns it, we are justified in calling its author Pedro Baró.[5] The record of his activities, which extend from 1367 to his death, and the inventory show that he was at least quite as much at home in the practice of sculpture as of painting.[6] The identification of the painter of the tabernacle from Elne with Baró is rendered all the more certain because the contemporary references to him demonstrate that he made a specialty of chests or cabinets, whether or not for the Sacrament, and because the Barcelona Museum possesses another cabinet of the sort, deriving from Perpignan, which was surely painted in his shop, possibly in small part by his own hand.[7] Some inferior member or members of his circle perpetrated the retable of St. Michael in the Elne cathedral.[8]

Borrassá and his School

Don José Gudiol Ricart's eagerly awaited monograph on this pivotal Catalan painter of the turn of the fourteenth into the fifteenth century has appeared.[1] I will not carry coals to Newcastle nor waste valuable space by enlarging upon the superlative praise that it obviously deserves, for I should only be reiterating exactly the sentences of high analytic appreciation that I accorded [2] to the book on Huguet which he wrote in association with Don Juan Ainaud de Lasarte. Suffice it to say that in every aspect of scholarship and urbane presentation he has again produced a model for other students of the Fine Arts to emulate. His uncle, Mossén José Gudiol Cunill, who composed the first, indispensable monograph on Borrassá and to whom the nephew appropriately dedicates his work, may well look down from Paradise, where he now is, with justified pride in the distinguished mode in which a successor in his own family has carried to fruition the enlightened research that he himself had devoted to the subject more than a quarter of a century ago.

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[1] See my vol. XI, p. 433.

[2] P. 580.

[3] Durliat (*Arts anciens du Roussillon, peinture*, Perpignan, 1954, p. 70) identifies the virgin martyrs on the insides of the doors as Sts. Julia and Eulalia, patronesses of Elne.

[4] The inventory is published by Pierre Vidal in the Bulletin of the *Société Agricole, Scientifique et Littéraire des Pyrénées Orientales*, XXVII (1886), 196–207. The apposite item is 211 on p. 206.

[5] Durliat, however (*op. cit.*, 73), with admirable scholarly restraint, does not quite dare to make the identification of the author of the chest with Baró categorical.

[6] Vidal, *op. cit.*, 191–207. Cf. also: the pages cited in the index of Joseph Gudiol Cunill, *Els Trescentistes*, Barcelona, 1924; Antonio Rubió y Lluch, *Documents per l'historia de la cultura catalana mig-eval*, Barcelona, II (1921), p. 205 and document CCXVI; and Durliat, *op. cit.*, 70–73.

[7] See my vol. VIII, p. 581.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 584.

For the purposes of my volume, however, it is a pleasant necessity to summarize the abundant factual accretion of the book to our knowledge of Borrassá. We are confronted with a wealth of new documents, published in a pair of volumes by the eminent delver into the Catalan archives, Don José María Madurell,[3] which add materially to the list of the painter's lost works, to the events of his life, and to the number of apprentices who sought training in his outstanding atelier. Gudiol himself [4] includes for the first time the contract of 1423 for the retable of St. Stephen at Palautordera, the central piece of which is preserved in the Diocesan Museum, Barcelona.[5] Saralegui [6] had already brought into connection with Borrassá a retable of the Virgin in the Montortal Collection, Valencia, and one of Gudiol's major discoveries is that it proves to be the one for which the artist contracted on January 26, 1402, to adorn the parish church at Copóns (a town that, west of Igualada, has supplied the Vich Museum with a St. Anthony Abbot by Borrassá).[7] The Montortal retable thus emerges as the earliest extant production related to a document about the master. It comes somewhat as a shock, after this, to find Gudiol acknowledging that the execution was consigned to an assistant, although I myself should not be disposed to exclude absolutely and everywhere Borrassá's own participation. Another surprising consideration is that his shop was already so going a business concern that the accumulation of orders compelled him to turn over to it at times the manual labor and that its reputation was already so well established as to allow him to perpetrate the substitution.

The fragments of a retable of St. Andrew from the cathedral of Barcelona [8] Gudiol augments with four bits now in the Juñer and Perdigó

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[1] Barcelona, 1953.

[2] Vol. X, pp. 374–375.

[3] Vols. VIII (1950) and X (1952) of *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona.*

[4] P. 33.

[5] My vol. IX, p. 750.

[6] *Arte español*, XVII (1947), 21.

[7] My vol. VIII, p. 594.

[8] My vol. V, p. 264.

Collections, Barcelona, and I am glad to accept wholeheartedly another piece in the latter Collection, a panel of St. Thomas Aquinas,[9] which comes from an unknown source but was perhaps once a section of a predella. I have long floundered about seeking the Catalan author of a panel of St. Barbara in the Lisbon Museum, but Gudiol (following August L. Mayer) has convinced me of his attribution to Borrassá, especially when he adds the evidence of a piece, representing Sts. Peter and Lucy, in the Puget Collection, Barcelona, which he has recognized as of the same predella as the panel in Portugal. The illustration of an already desperately battered fragment, with representations of the Resurrection and upper part of the Ascension, which from an unascertained original location has reached the Diocesan Museum, Barcelona, is too dim for me to control Gudiol's ascription to his hero. He registers as an achievement of Borrassá in unison with an assistant a large, much injured Crucifixion in the Museum of Solsona which for many years has been a puzzle to me, and, since its provenience is an *ermita* near San Lorenzo de Morúnys, he reasonably surmises it to have been the pinnacle of an otherwise lost retable that the artist is documented to have done for the parish church of the town in 1419; but, if indeed it was a division of this retable, I should judge that the master handed it over wholly to an assistant who modified considerably the modes of the head of the shop.

Of works that I have classified in Borrassá's school, the retable of St. Michael formerly belonging to Benito Pardo at Paris[10] but now in the Collection of Don David de Mas, Madrid, is believed by Gudiol to come from the master's atelier, though in the main to have been executed by a collaborator, but, even taking account of the extensive modern restoration, I have difficulty in discerning anywhere the master's own handicraft. In volume X,[11] I finally assembled as from a single original retable three panels, a Betrayal in the Junyent Collection, Barcelona, a Christ before Pilate in the Silberman Galleries, New York, and a Flagellation in the Musée Goya at Castres, and Gudiol believes that from this original altarpiece there proceed a Crucifixion in the Hartmann Collection, Barcelona, and the fragment from a scene in St. Dominic's life that I listed in volume II[12] as by Borrassá, because they were once in the same private possession at Gerona as the Betrayal. The three panels I still would definitely assign to a follower of Borrassá, but Gudiol would not entirely set aside the master's own participation. If the Dominican piece, now also in the Junyent Collection, has its source in the same retable, it would show that Borrassá did at least this much of the commission; but, even if the Crucifixion also belonged to the retable, I should continue to entertain the possibility of execution by Gerardo Gener,[13] as then a collaborator with Borrassá and as compelling us to set the retable earlier in the latter's career than the date which Gudiol claims for it. He states [14] that the two panels coming from Centellas which I ascribed to Borrassá [15] are parts of the retable that contributed to the Muntadas Collection a painting of a Madonna, with angels, which I degraded to his school [16] (whether or not Gudiol is informed that this picture was also found at Centellas), and he holds them all to have been actually painted by the Fonollosa Master [17] as then a member of Borrassá's shop; but, although I obtusely failed to notice in them traces of this craftsman's manner, I remain loath to admit more than the Fonollosa Master's intervention in these productions in which, especially in the two narrative pieces, Borrassá participated with his own brush. The retable of St. Michael in the cathedral of Antwerp for which I was willing to claim no more than Borrassá's influence,[18] Gudiol judges to have emanated from his atelier, though carried out by an assistant.

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[9] I agree with Gudiol that the Dominican here represented is probably St. Thomas Aquinas, with his emblem of the sun ingeniously transferred from its usual spot on his chest to fill the top of the Gothic frame above him and to shed the rays upon his head.

[10] See my article in the *Art Quarterly* (Detroit), 1951, p. 108.

[11] P. 302.

[12] P. 327.

Gudiol solves as follows the enigma of the retable from the monastery of Santas Creus, now in the great cathedral of Tarragona, with three compartments scattered in the Museum of Catalan Art, Barcelona,[19] and in the Fontana Collection in the same city. Since I last considered the subject,[20] documents have emerged showing that Pedro Serra was at work in 1403–1404 on the retable of the high altar of Santas Creus,[21] which may now be said with surety to be the one that concerns us in the present paragraph; but I agree with Gudiol in failing to perceive any traces of the hand of Pedro, who indeed died shortly thereafter. The Catalan scholar assigns the lion's share in the subsequent execution to Gerardo Gener, who is documented as having commenced the work, and he is probably right in maintaining that the Gerardo Gener of Catalonia, who did in 1401 the preserved altarpiece of Sts. Bartholomew and Elizabeth of Hungary in the cathedral of Barcelona, is identical with the homonym later recorded at Valencia. Ingeniously he explains the difference in style between the Barcelona and Santas Creus retables by the assumption that the manner of Gener, working again for Catalonia during or after his sojourn at Valencia, was altered by contact with the Valencian school. A receipt of March 16,

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[13] Vol. V, p. 270. Gener had died by July 16, 1411.

[14] P. 87.

[15] Vol. VIII, pp. 592–594.

[16] *Ibid.*, 586.

[17] *Ibid.*, 573.

[18] Vol. II, p. 452. The only fresh information that I have about this retable is that it was presented to the cathedral by a dean some eighty years ago and that it was therefore, of course, not done originally for the edifice: cf. Pierre Bautier, *Tableaux de l'école espagnole en Belgique*, in *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Conférences*, 1942–1943, p. 6.

[19] It is the Resurrection that has reached this Museum.

[20] Vol. VIII, p. 585.

[21] J. M. Madurell, *Archivo bibliográfico de Santes Creus, Memorias*, 1948, pp. 53–61, and 1950, pp. 145–147.

1419,[22] proves that the commission, after Gener's death before July 16, 1411,[23] was consigned to Borrassá, by whose hand Gudiol concurs with me [24] in discovering no more than a few passages. I confess to difficulty in agreeing with him that even a Valencian experience might have so transmuted the style of Gener, whom, however, we know once to have been an apprentice of Borrassá, but the only other elucidation, quite as hard to accept, would seem to be that Borrassá consigned the task of doing the major part of the retable to a collaborator who himself had fallen under Valencian influence.[25]

I am ashamed not to have anticipated Gudiol's keen insight [26] in isolating a personality in Borrassá's circle but strongly influenced also by Mateo Ortoneda. He christens him the Secuita Master as the author of the retable from La Secuita, now in the Diocesan Museum, Tarragona,[27] and he rightly credits him also with a lone panel of St. Margaret in the same institution and with the retable at Cabacés which I wrongly claimed for Ortoneda himself.[28] It seems very likely that he has brilliantly hit upon the truth in attributing to another artist in Borrassá's *entourage*, Jaime Cabrera, the panel of Sts. Anthony Abbot and Francis in the Diocesan Museum, Lérida.[29]

In the discussion of this very important book I have postponed until the end Gudiol's major innovation, the endeavor to create a very early period for Borrassá in works not hitherto ascribed to him, in accordance with his similar treatment of Huguet's beginnings. His potent authority has naturally induced me to study carefully again these works, but I have space to record only my conclusions, without itemizing the evidence by which I have arrived at them. He might eventually be able to persuade me that the retable of the Virgin and St. George at Villafranca del Panadés [30] embodies a pristine moment in Borrassa's evolution, but, hard as I try, I cannot believe that any of the mediaeval painters, who ordinarily remained pretty consistent to the manners that they established at the commencement of their careers, could have compassed the changes from the three other productions with which Gudiol credits the young master to his certified style, nor can I think them by a single artist or by the author of the Villafranca del Panadés altarpiece. The three productions are the section of a retable in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris,[31] the altarpiece of St. Gabriel in the Barcelona cathedral,[32] and some newly discovered panels from the church of the town of San Julián de Vilatorta (just east of Vich), now in the possession of Señor Gudiol and his brother, which are so fragmentary as not to reveal their themes. I myself cannot conquer the suspicion that the retable from which these fragments come was a creation of the personality whom I have dubbed the Rusiñol Master.[33] The Saviour in one of the pieces exhibits his peculiar mode of dressing the hair, as in the Virgin of the Sitges retable; the foremost spectator at the right in the scene of St. Peter reviving the youth in this retable is vividly recalled, especially in the very similar upraised hands, by a layman who fills one of the other fragments; a floral diapering like that on the layman's costume is a favorite with the Rusiñol Master; and the haloes display a figuration of which he was very fond.

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[22] Until recently the year had been misread as 1416: cf. Madurell in the book of documents, vol. VIII of *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, 226.

[23] Gudiol's monograph, 111.

[24] Vol. VIII, p. 586.

[25] For the necessity, now, of divorcing Gener from any connection with the retable of Sts. Clement and Martha in the cathedral of Valencia, see below, p. 593.

[26] P. 87.

[27] Vol. II, p. 303.

[28] Vol. VII, p. 751.

[29] Vol. II, p. 249.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 306.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 282.

The only addition that I have to make to Gudiol's tremendous amassment of information about Borrassá is the identification of the saint in two relics of a retable,[34] one in the Prado and the other formerly in the Dohan Collection at Darling, Pennsylvania, but now in the possession of Franz Mayer, Mexico City. Since Gudiol, like me, had failed to solve the problem, I once more attacked it and was finally rewarded by plainly discerning that the scenes are from the life of St. Hippolytus. In the Dohan panel, the subject is his benediction of his household after his return from the burial of St. Lawrence, and in the Prado compartment, his posthumous miracle (as related at the end of the account in the *Golden Legend*) of the restoration of the carter's severed leg in obedience to the Virgin's command. I was led to consider St. Hippolytus by two of the newly published documents[35] which have to do with a retable which Borrassá agreed in 1419 to paint for the chapel of St. Lawrence in the cathedral of Barcelona and in which Hippolytus shared the honors with Lawrence and Thomas Aquinas; and it thus becomes possible that the two panels belong to this retable. The contract calls only for narrative episodes from the stories of Sts. Thomas Aquinas and Lawrence, but there are many examples of quite as violent thematic changes in the finished product from the original stipulations, particularly in view of the close biographical interrelation of Sts. Lawrence and Hippolytus. On the other hand, Borrassá might have done another retable of Hippolytus, which is not recorded in the archives. In hitting upon this saint there doubtless hovered in my mind recollections of the scene of his blessing of his family by Arnaldo Gassies;[36] and, inasmuch as the two versions are rather analogous in composition and as Gassies had studied at Barcelona in his youth, there is a likelihood that he remembered Borrassá's altarpiece, whether or not it was the one in the cathedral.

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[32] Vols. V, p. 270, and X, p. 302, n. 2.

[33] Vols. VII, p. 743; VIII, p. 564; and XI, p. 374.

[34] Vol. VIII, p. 588.

[35] Vol. VIII of *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, 249–252.

[36] Vols. XI, p. 433, and VII, p. 560.

THE CAMÉLAS MASTER (FRANCISCO FERRER?)

Among Marcel Durliat's many recent clarifications of the early art of Roussillon, we can happily number his isolation [1] of the personality of a painter who was formed not so much through direct descent from Pedro Serra as under the influence of Serra's pupil, Borrassá, at the beginning of the latter's career. There is some reason for believing that the name of this personality was Francisco Ferrer, whose activity may be traced from 1398 to 1434,[2] but the evidence is so inconclusive that we must fall back upon the sobriquet which I have set at the head of this division of the appendix, derived from the town of Camélas, west of Perpignan, where the church harbors a retable of St. Agnes, the work that supplies what evidence there is for identifying Ferrer with him. Durliat brings to bear upon the problem a pertinent section of a document, a list of Pedro Baró's [3] debts, drawn up on July 20, 1399, a month after his death. It is stated in this section that he owed to the painter, Francisco Ferrer, four pounds and eighteen sous which Baró had received for "making and painting a certain retable" at Camélas. We shall find [4] that an altarpiece by the Roussillon Master exists in the town, somewhat too late in style to have been done in 1399 or before, whereas the retable of St. Agnes neatly fits the date. Furthermore, it is improbable that for a village like Camélas there should have been painted about 1399 a second lost retable to which the document would apply rather than to the one devoted to St. Agnes. The ascertained style of Baró renders his execution of the paintings in the retable of St. Agnes unthinkable, so that, if the document does refer to this retable, the explanation would be that he received the order but farmed it out to Ferrer. Indeed the records suggest that Baró, whom we have found proficient also in sculpture, kept for himself the statue in the middle of the structure. Durliat has keenly perceived that in the inventory of Baró's possessions composed on June 28, 1399, a week subsequent to his decease, there are listed "three images in which St. Agnes is in the middle." [5] One jumps forthwith to the surmise that this was the statue of the virgin martyr intended for the retable's centre but not yet in place at his death, and, as a matter of fact, the centre now contains a modern, sculptured figure, though of a canonized bishop.[6] *Image* ordinarily, albeit not invariably, means to a Spaniard a statue, but I do not know that it is possible to determine from the present condition of the retable whether the central piece was a carved form or a picture. The words "three images" are followed by what has been dubiously read as the

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[1] *Arts anciens du Roussillon, peinture*, Perpignan, 1954, pp. 73–75.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 75, and 90.

[3] See above, p. 560.

[4] P. 574.

[5] See Pierre Vidal in the Bulletin of the *Société Agricole, Scientifique et Littéraire des Pyrénées Orientales*, XXVII (1886), p. 205, item 177.

[6] Durliat states that a statue of the canonized agricultural laborer, St. Gaudericus, will eventually be placed there: see above, p. 432.

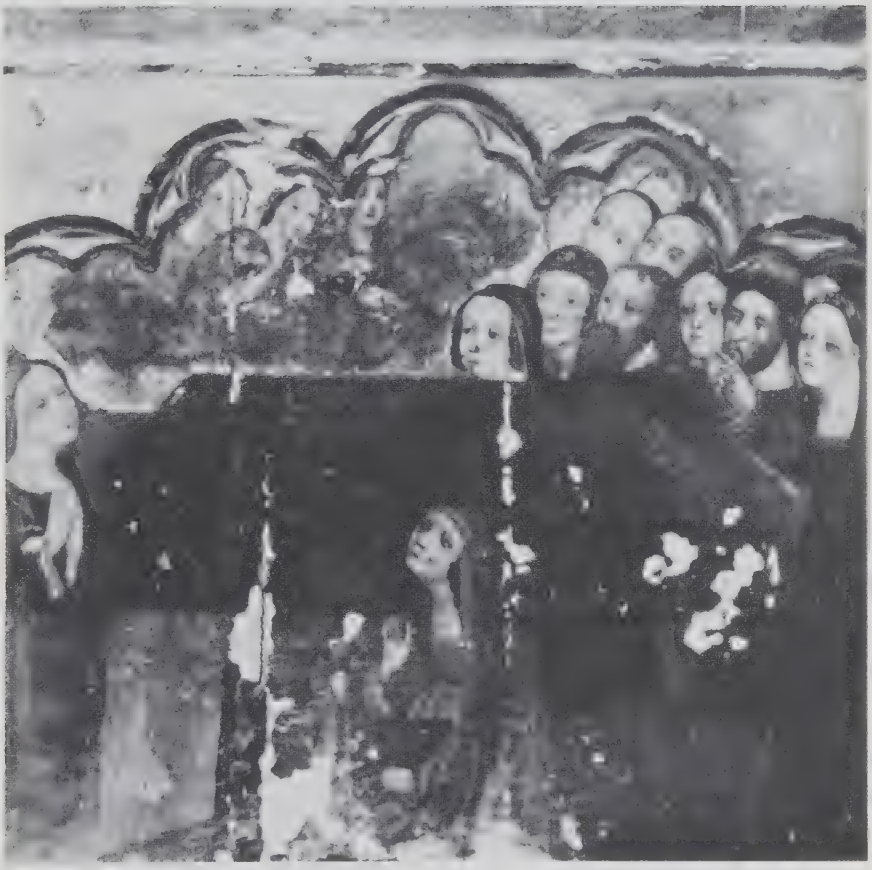

FIG. 239. THE CAMÉLAS MASTER. POSTHUMOUS APPEARANCE OF ST. AGNES, SECTION OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, CAMÉLAS
(*Photo. Comet*)

Catalan adjective for *contiguous*, which might suggest three figures that went together and so could not have been jammed into the fairly small space in the middle of the retable of St. Agnes; and yet there remains at least a good likelihood that the image of St. Agnes was a separate statue designed for the extant retable, strengthening the proposition that this retable is the one for which Baró owed to Ferrer some remuneration. An objection to the recognition of Ferrer as the producer of the paintings at once rises in one's mind, the slightness of the remuneration, the paltry sum of four pounds and eighteen sous, in comparison to the amounts of thirty or forty pounds which were being charged for such Catalan retables at the time. The implication might seem to be that he was remunerated only for minor tasks of assistance on the altarpiece, but the rebuttal of this demurrer could be that the four pounds and eighteen sous were merely one of a series of installments of payment, according to a frequent practice in settling debts for altarpieces. Nevertheless, the difficulties that we have enumerated in the evidence forbid us to equate Ferrer definitively with the Camélas Master.

In the retable of St. Agnes, the lateral compartments follow so closely the account of her in the *Golden Legend* that they could readily be used for illustrations of the text, and, in conformity to the passion for anecdotal narrative that distinguishes European painting of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, all but two of the six compartments are subdivided into pairs of episodes. Of the panels at the left, in the uppermost she rejects the offer of marriage from the son of the prefect of Rome, while delivering a homily on her heavenly bridegroom; in the next compartment the poor fellow, actually languishing in bed from the sickness of love, receives a visit from the physicians, and, in a subdivision, she is arraigned before his father; and in the lowest panel there are again two scenes, her nudity in the brothel clothed supernaturally by the overflow of her hair and an angel bringing to her a white vesture. The top compartment at the right shows her suitor, intent on rape, strangled to death by Satan and then resurrected at her prayers; next, the fire into which she had been cast is miraculously quenched, but she suffers decollation; and the last panel on this side is expanded into the single scene of her radiant posthumous appearance, together with other saintly virgins and holding a white lamb, to her parents and friends at her sepulchre (Fig. 239).[7] The delight in story-telling even adds a compartment beneath the no longer existing central effigy, the rarely represented tale of her statue at Rome appropriating the ring from the amorous priest.[8] Instead of the usual Crucifixion, the subject of the Madonna and angels fills the central pinnacle, and the spaces above the lateral scenes are punctuated with cartouches of the actors in the Annunciation.

By this pleasantly gifted painter who perpetuates the gentle moods of the Serras more than does Borrassá and whose nearest artistic relative in the circle is perhaps Jaime Cabrera, Durliat has keenly recognized through internal evidence another work, in the Haviland Collection at Perpignan,

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[7] For Jaime Forner's rendering of some of these scenes, see above, p. 214.

[8] See my vol. IX, p. 294.

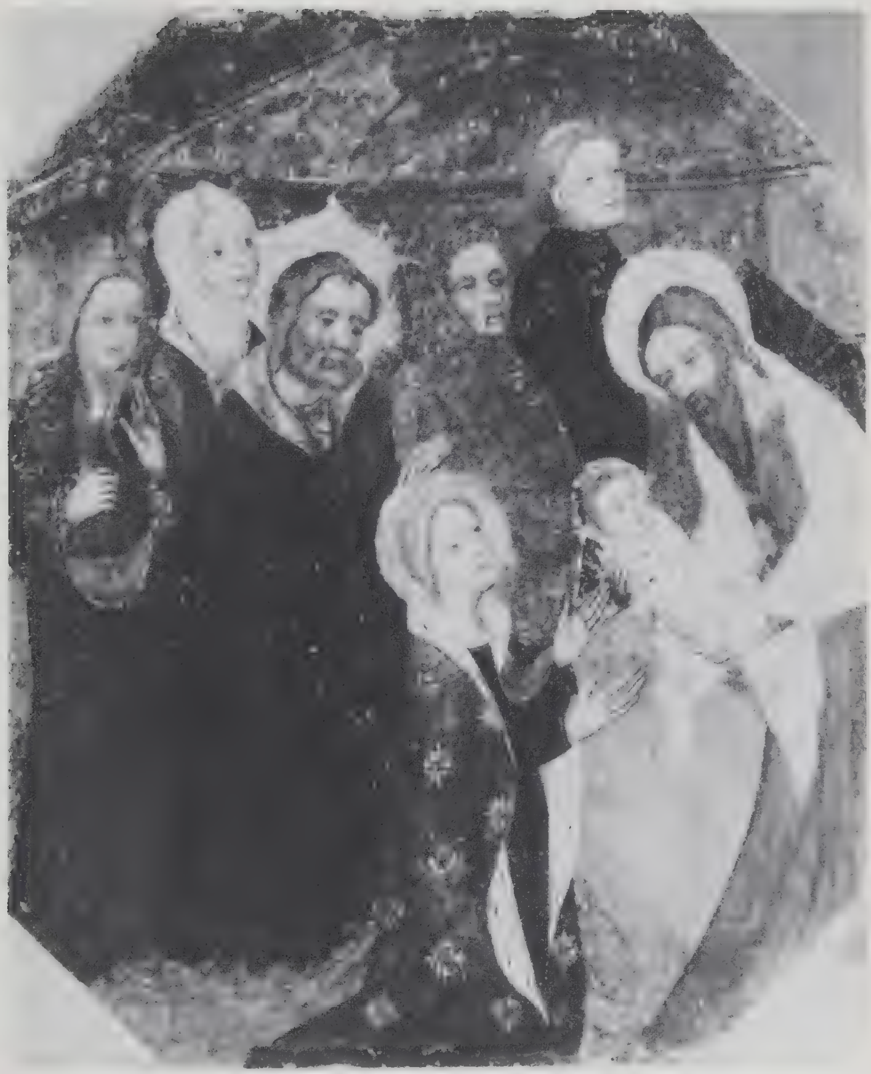

FIG. 240. THE CAMÉLAS MASTER. PURIFICATION.
HAVILAND COLLECTION, PERPIGNAN
(*Photo. Jauzac*)

which combines with the themes of the retable of St. Agnes to indicate perhaps a tendency in the Camélas Master to iconographical novelties, since it is a panel depicting an uncommonly represented incident in the Purification, the seated Simeon taking the Child in his arms (Fig. 240). The French scholar has informed me also that Don Juan Ainaud de Lasarte, on seeing a photograph of the Perpignan picture, at once rightly discerned that its author executed likewise the panel of Christ among the Doctors in the Santamarina Collection, Buenos Aires, of which in volume IX [9] Cabrera was doubtfully guessed by me to be the creator. The odd shape of the two compartments, the identical pattern on the Virgin's dress, and the figuration of the haloes render it difficult to question that they belonged to a single, original retable, to whose predella I, with more confidence than Durliat, should assign also (again by reason of the haloes and Our Lady's mantle) the small Via Dolorosa in the National Gallery, Ottawa.[10]

BERNARDO MARTORELL

The writer of the Catalogue [1] of the Exposition of Mediterranean Primitives at Barcelona in 1952 has persuaded me that once again we can happily thin the list of anonymous works in the Catalan school and ascribe to Martorell the retable of the Baptist from Cabrera de Mataró in the Diocesan Museum, Barcelona, that I assigned in volume II [2] no more definitely than to a follower of Borrassá. Since the Catalan scholars, who know the art of their own country better than I, have arrived at the conviction of Martorell's authorship, I will not bore the reader with the long series of pieces of itemized proof by which I have determined that in methods, draughtsmanship, modelling, and types the retable of the Baptist leads directly into his mature attainments. It possesses the signal importance of demonstrating that, as my analysis of the retable in volume II indicates, he began strongly under Borrassá's influence and that it turns out to be the earliest known of Martorell's achievements, probably done even prior to 1425, the date proposed in the Catalogue.

The affiliations of a half-length of a warrior saint (George?) in the Diocesan Museum, Barcelona, have baffled me ever since I first studied it in 1926, but the problem is partly solved because the Catalogue of the Barcelona Exposition of Mediterranean Primitives [3] recognizes that the panel, as the halo and frame reveal, was a section of a predella from which another piece, representing St. Michael, is preserved in the Amatller Collection in the same city. I wish that I could agree with the Catalogue in discerning in the two compartments the hand of Martorell, but, although I have devoted much study to the question, I frankly cannot do more than

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[9] P. 755 and fig. 309.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 748 and fig. 306.

[1] P. 65, no. 164.

[2] Pp. 332–335.

[3] P. 65, no. 150.

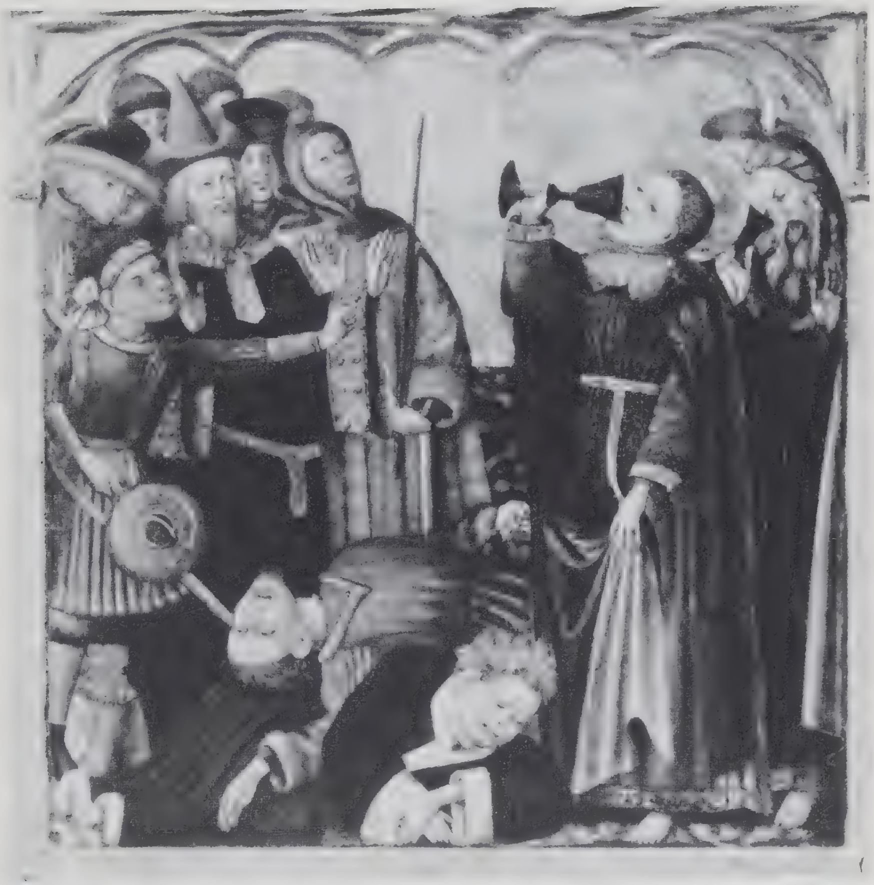

Fig. 241. BERNARDO MARTORELL. ST. JOHN EVANGELIST DRINKING THE POISONED CUP, SECTION OF RETABLE. COLLECTION OF WILDENSTEIN AND CO., NEW YORK
(*Courtesy of the owners*)

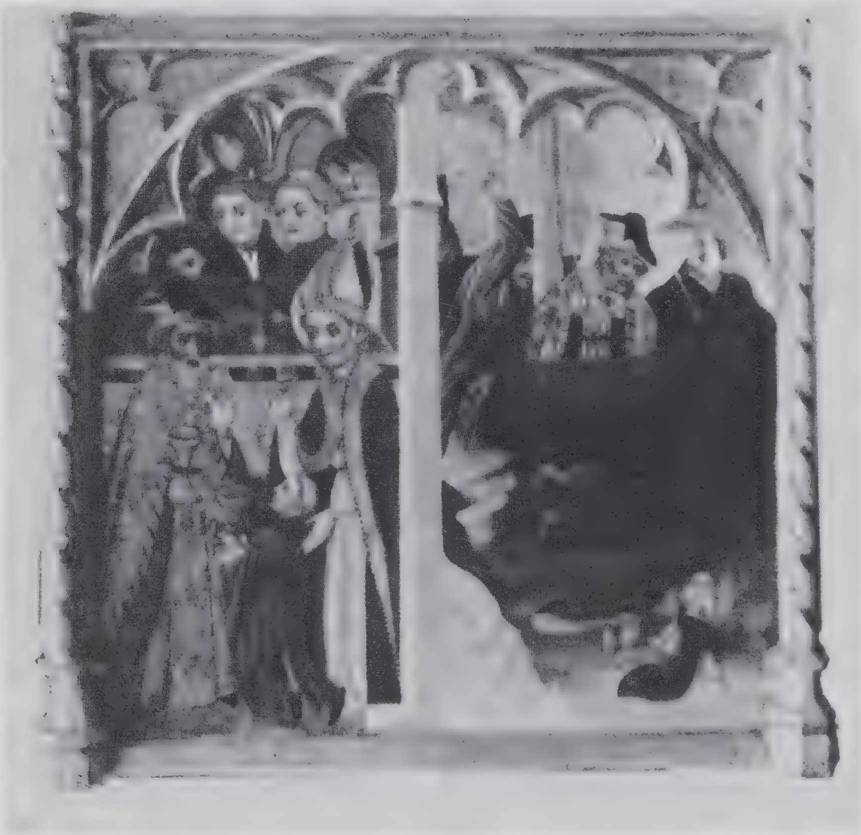

FIG. 242. THE ROUSSILLON MASTER. MIRACLE OF ST. NICHOLAS, SECTION OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, CAMÉLAS
(Courtesy of Professor Marcel Durliat)

attribute them to some one of his followers whom I am unable to specify. I well realize the resemblances to Martorell's manner, finding even a few approximations to the way in which the sombre warrior departs from the artist's usual gentle manner, for instance in the man to the right of St. Lucy in the scene of her arraignment in the retable of the Martin le Roy Collection, Paris, in the spectator at the extreme left in the episode of St. John Evangelist's boiling in oil in the predella in the Muntadas Collection, Barcelona, or in the henchman dropping coals upon the roasted St. Vincent in the altarpiece in the Museum of Catalan Art in this city; but I cannot force myself to detect in the two panels the actual personal touch of Martorell, particularly when I look at the very different conceptions of Sts. George and Michael in his documented retable of Púbol.

From the dismembered retable of which the predella in the Muntadas Collection was a part, I am happy, on my own behalf, to register the discovery of another panel. In the retable, which dedicated to the two St. Johns, originally decorated the church of S. Juan at Vinaixa in the province of Tarragona, we were already familiar, not only with the predella, but with other sections: the central compartment exhibiting the erect effigies of the Baptist and St. John Evangelist, now in the Diocesan Museum, Tarragona; and five pieces owned by Wildenstein and Co., New York, the surmounting Crucifixion and four lateral divisions, comprising a pair of episodes devoted to each of the titular holy personages.[4] The newly discovered panel, also acquired by Wildenstein and Co. and obviously shown by style, types, costumes, and frame to derive from the same *ensemble*, represents the Evangelist drinking unharmed the poisoned cup, while the two criminals who had succumbed to the venom lie dead at this feet; and in the original arrangement of the retable it must have been located in the main body of the structure beneath the two other scenes from his life at one side (Fig. 241).

THE ROUSSILLON MASTER

In addition to the many other shafts of light that he has cast upon the art of Roussillon and Cerdagne, Professor Marcel Durliat has widened our knowledge of the winsome exponent of the international movement to whom I have given the name of the Roussillon Master by soundly attributing to him two works [1] besides those which I myself have listed.[2] One is a retable of St. Nicholas in the church at Camélas that houses the somewhat earlier altarpiece of St. Agnes by the Camélas Master, and it is assigned to the year 1408 or immediately thereafter because Durliat has unearthed (as he kindly communicates to me in a letter) the wills of two goodmen of the town, executed on December 25, 1407, and February 18, 1408, bequeathing sums for defraying the cost of the retable and in the second document stating that it was not yet painted. We are thus supplied with our only known date in the Roussillon Master's career. The central division of the retable is occupied, at least now, at the lower level by a shrine containing an early Gothic statue of the seated Madonna and at the upper level by the Roussillon Master's painting of the enthroned St. Nicholas; and, since, besides the six lateral compartments from his story, the predella marshals four scenes from the life of the Virgin, it is likely that the lower shrine always contained some commemoration of her. The events chosen from the biography of St. Nicholas are: at the left, his precocious prayer in his wash-basin on the very day of his birth, his charity to the three indigent maidens, and his episcopal consecration; and at the right, his rescue of the storm-tossed mariners, his death, and finally, as so often in the retables of Roussillon, two episodes of a tale compressed into a single compartment, the story of the son born to a nobleman through the efficacy of the deceased St. Nicholas's intercession. In the right subdivision, the boy, during their voyage to St. Nicholas's shrine to offer the golden cup that the father had vowed, falls into the sea while attempting to fill the cup with water; and in the left space the hallowed bishop, having preserved the lad alive, restores him, still holding the cup, to his father who is depicted, with the tendency of mediaeval art to literal detail, as clasping the cup's copy that before their journey he had caused to be made (Fig. 242). In the predella the subjects relating to the Virgin, ranged at the sides of a compartment of the dead Christ, are the Annunciation, Nativity of Christ, Epiphany, and Dormition (Fig. 243). The justness of Durliat's perception is witnessed not only by the types and technical procedure but even by the architectural settings and by the same mode of stylizing the waves of the sea as in the story of the resuscitation of the forty disciples in the retable of St. Andrew at New York.

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[4] Vol. VIII, p. 629. With all other students of Catalan art, I am now convinced that the central compartment, about which I was once too cautious, was painted by Martorell and belonged to the same retable as the above registered parts.

[1] *Études roussillonnaises*, II (1953), 257–261. When he wrote this article he had not yet fully determined that the Camélas Master was the author of the retable of St. Agnes rather than of the one devoted to St. Nicholas, but in his book, *Arts anciens du Roussillon, peinture*, of 1954, p. 82, he definitely makes the distinction.

[2] Vol. VII, pp. 777–784. His retable of the presumptive Sts. Justus and Pastor has passed from the Wilkinson Collection into the American Church, Paris. I have recently become still more sceptical about his authorship of the retable at Evol, dated shortly before 1428 by the armorial bearings with which it is embellished (see

Durliat's second accretion to the deposit that time has left us from the Roussillon Master is a panel in the parish church of Collioure, southeast of Perpignan, which he reasonably believes to have once constituted a piece of an otherwise lost retable in the Dominican monastery in the town. Once more the space is divided into two interrelated episodes, at the right St. Dominic's vision of Christ brandishing the darts of his anger (the subject that gave rise to the Spanish iconographic theme, the Patrocinio de la Virgen [3]) and at the left the ensuing encounter with St. Francis, whom the Virgin had selected to be his companion in the struggle against the vices which had provoked the divine wrath.

Durliat's book, p. 80). Saralegui (*Arte español*, XV, 1944, p. 64) suggests a number of explanations of the Baptist's emblem of a lantern in this altarpiece.

[3] Vol. VII, p. 691.

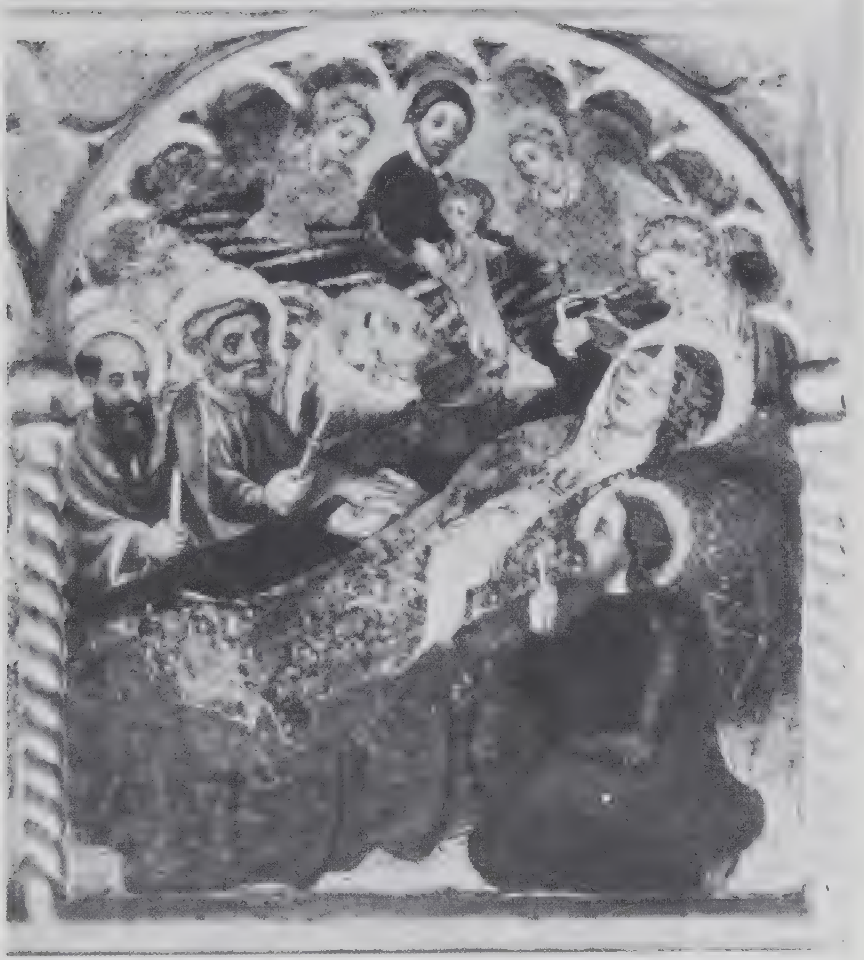

Fig. 243. THE ROUSSILLON MASTER. DORMITION, SECTION OF PREDELLA OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, CAMÉLAS
(Courtesy of Professor Marcel Durliat)

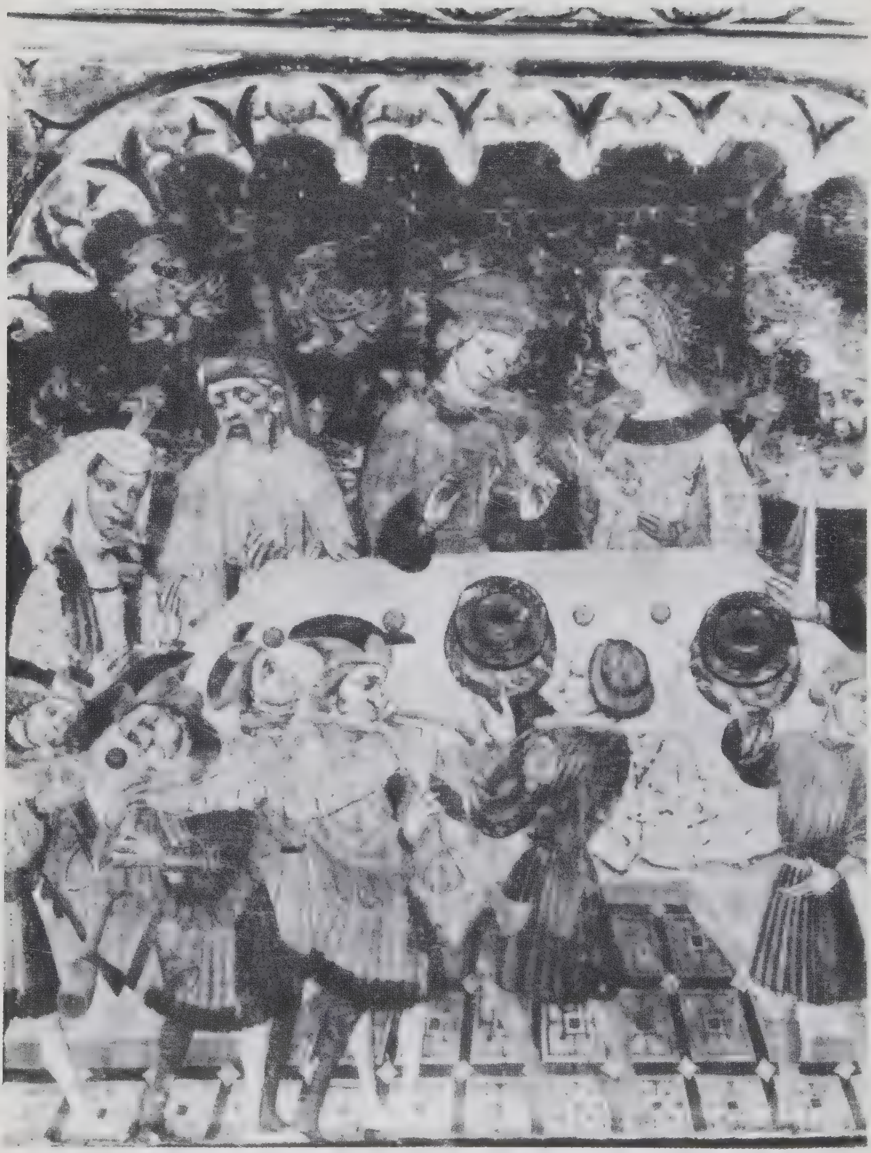

FIG. 244. THE ST. BASILISSA MASTER. FEAST OF THE MARRIAGE OF STS. JULIAN AND BASILISSA, SECTION OF RETABLE. MUSEUM OF CATALAN ART, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

The St. Basilissa Master

It is both curious and exasperating that, besides lack of information about the ultimate provenience of his works, we do not really know in what part of the domain of Catalan art there was active the painter, transitional between the modes of the first and second halves of the fifteenth century, to whom Gudiol Ricart, in his minutely discerning and broadly humanistic recent book, *Pintura gótica*,[1] has given the above name, whether in the northern section, Gerona and even Cerdagne, or at the opposite, southern extreme of Catalan influence, in the Maestrazgo and the stylistic vicinity of Valentín Montolíu. The name is chosen from a retable of Sts. Julian and Basilissa [2] now in the Museum of Catalan Art, Barcelona. The central compartment has disappeared, but the customary capping Crucifixion is preserved. The three narrative scenes at the left all have to do with St. Julian's marriage: at the age of eighteen he asks his parents for eight days' respite in order to consider whether to accede to their request that he take a wife, and (included in the same compartment) he is directed by Christ in a dream on the seventh night to comply; in the persisting spirit of *genre* inherent in the international movement, a whole compartment is consigned to the banquet of his nuptials with St. Basilissa (Fig. 244); and on the wedding night, having vowed themselves to continence in the matrimonial state, they are crowned by a pair of angels in the presence of two men behind the bed, whom I cannot explain unless one be intended as the supernaturally appearing graybeard who urged at this time that St. Julian read in a book with letters of gold the virginal glory prepared in heaven for the bride and groom. The story of the saint after his chastely purposed separation from his wife and his adoption of monasticism is told in the compartments at the right. The subject of the topmost division may be the destruction, at St. Julian's prayer, of the temple of Jupiter, with its idols and pagan priests (vested, as usual in the art of the time, as Christian ecclesiastics!); next, he suffers decollation among his fellow-martyrs already slain; and finally in the concealment of a storm the Christians rescue their corpses. The Saviour of the Passion has been lost from the middle of the predella, but the flanking half-lengths of saints remain, the mourning Virgin and John, Lawrence and Stephen, and Peter and Paul.

Gudiol has recognized as by the same artist a retable of St. Barbara also in the Museum of Catalan Art, Barcelona, whose original source is likewise unascertained (Fig. 245). In this case, the enthroned virgin martyr beneath the Crucifixion is preserved, but there are only four lateral scenes from her life. A shepherd reveals her hiding-place to her father; she is denounced by her cruel parent to the proconsul, Marcian; she is stoned, while some of her persecutors are struck down by divine wrath; [3] and finally

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[1] Vol. IX, Madrid, 1955, in the series *Ars Hispaniae*, p. 117.

[2] For a brief bibliography of these saints, see above, p. 216, n. 23.

[3] The episode of the lapidation is not found in the ordinary accounts of her maltreatments but is represented in her altarpiece by Gonzalo Pérez (cf. below,

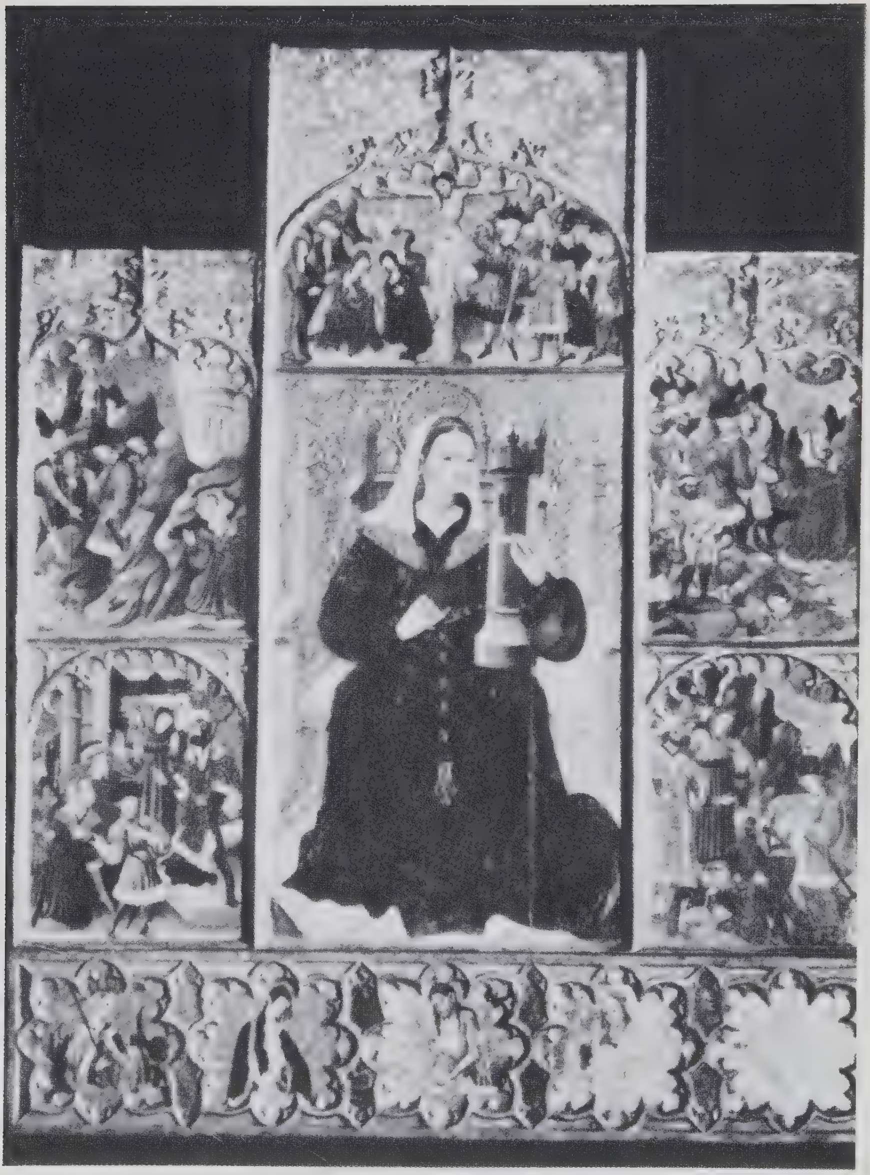

Fig. 245. THE ST. BASILISSA MASTER. RETABLE OF ST. BARBARA.
MUSEUM OF CATALAN ART, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

her decollation takes place, again amidst victims of supernatural justice. The dead Christ in the predella has survived between the customary Virgin and St. John, but one of the two other half-lengths has been obliterated, leaving us only St. Margaret.[4] The manner and the gold appurtenances of the St. Basilissa Master are so close to those of Valentín Montolíu that I have sometimes tried to convince myself, in the end unsuccessfully, that he merely embodied one of the latter's phases; but the similarities must very definitely be taken into account by any champion of the Master's location in the Maestrazgo, a region that might well have borrowed the kind of fabric, with a design of wheels and griffins, which was popular in the painting of adjacent Valencia and is utilized in the scenes of St. Julian's dream and of the crowning. Gudiol prefers to think of northern Catalonia, with which there are almost as persuasive links, for instance with the panels of St. John Evangelist from Puigcerdá in the Museum of Catalan Art, Barcelona.[5] It is to be noted also that the cult of Sts. Julian and Basilissa was peculiarly popular in the bishopric of Elne.[6]

The Fontanals Master

In order not to be outdone entirely by Gudiol Ricart in the number of new personalities whom he has brilliantly detected in his book, *Pintura gótica*, to the few that I myself have perceived and entered in the present appendix I add another like the St. Basilissa Master transitional to the fashions of the second half of the fifteenth century, Mateo Ortoneda's follower who did the retable of the Virgin dated 1459 and given by the artist Milá y Fontanals to the church of the Trinidad at Villafranca del Panadés [1] but now in the Museum of this town. Hard pressed to devise a sobriquet for covering the painter's anonymity, somewhat ineptly I call him the Fontanals Master from the second part of the donor's surname, inasmuch as I have already bestowed the pseudonym, the Milá Master, upon another, Castilian personality of the Quattrocento. I isolate the Fontanals Master because I have discerned further productions by his hand, two panels, probably fragments of a single altarpiece, in the Cruilles Collection, Barcelona, a Transfiguration (Fig. 246) and a standing St. Anthony Abbot. Amidst the general accord with the Villafranca retable, I confine myself to three determinative links. The Elijah in the Transfiguration is scarcely differentiated from the bearded Apostle above the Virgin's head in the Dormition of the retable, even to the little tuft of hair at the front of the bald pate; the St. Peter in the retable's predella has

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p. 597) now in the Museum of Catalan Art, Barcelona, though without the destruction of the tormentors, a *motif*, however, which is suggested by Pérez in the scene of the decapitation.

[4] In addition to her ordinary attributes, she carries an emblem that I cannot explain, some kind of vessel upheld by a ritualistic veil.

[5] Vol. VII, fig. 212.

[6] F. Monsalvatje, *Obispado de Elna*, Olot, III (1913), 163 ff.

[1] My vol. VII, p. 547.

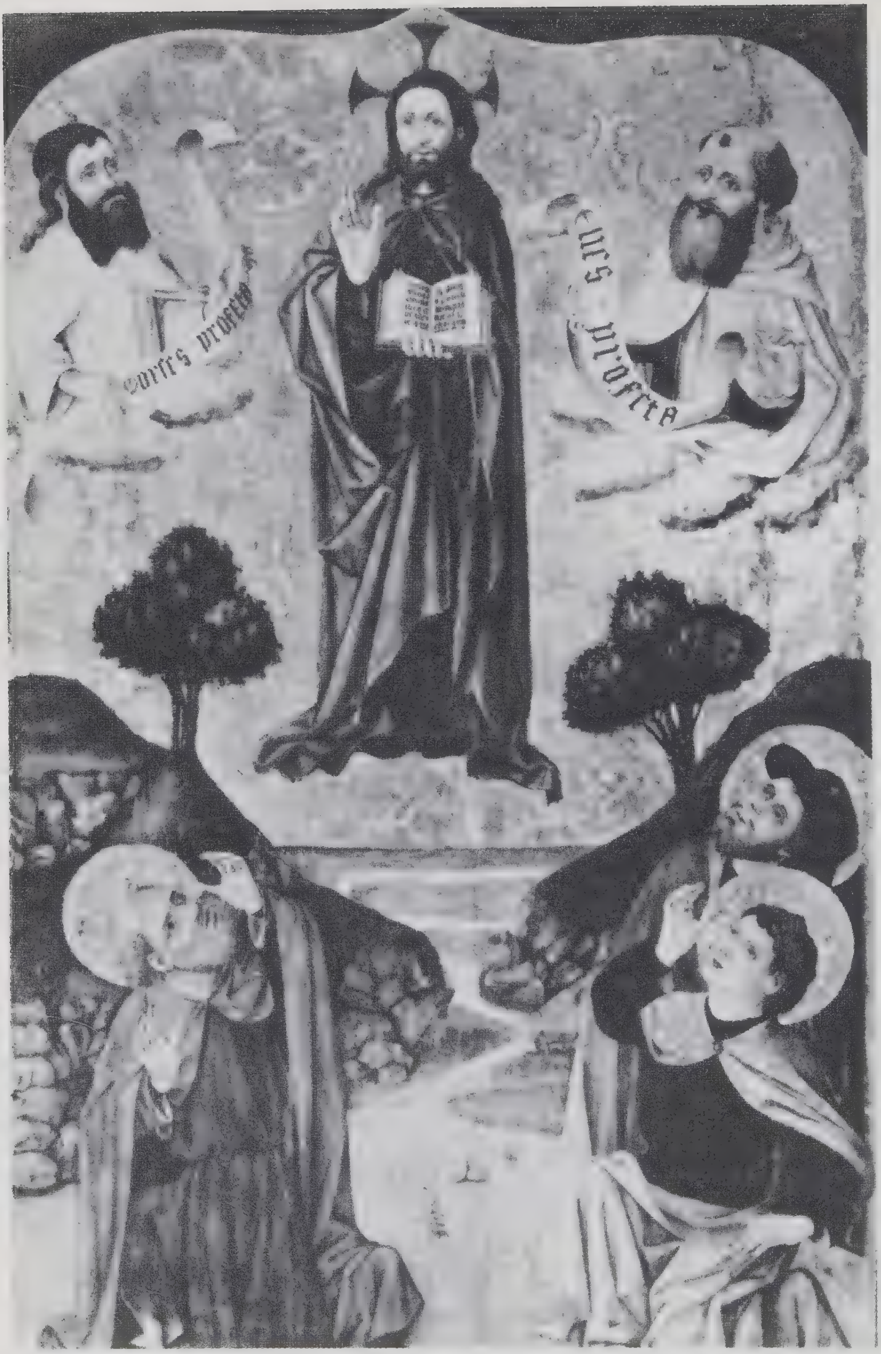
oises profeta
elias profeta

FIG. 246. THE FONTANALS MASTER. TRANSFIGURATION.
CRUILLES COLLECTION, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

precisely the odd and distinctive woebegone expression characteristic not only of the two worthies of the Old Testament in the Transfiguration but also of the St. Anthony; and the landscape in the Transfiguration is treated in the same peculiar way as in the scene of St. Thomas's reception of the girdle in the retable, with the rocky eminences, capped by trees, brought well forward in the picture and receding at either side like the wings on a stage and with the same sort of geological formation. The composition of the Transfiguration may have been suggested by Martorell's in the retable of the Barcelona cathedral and looks forward to the example in the altarpiece of Huguet's school which, at Tortosa, almost completely perished in the civil war.[2]

GUILLERMO TALARN

Although this volume is about to go to press, I must insert the notice of a discovery that has just been made, the actual name of still another painter leading into the Catalan style of the second half of the Quattrocento, Guillermo Talarn, who turns out to be the author of the retable of St. Michael in the church of Sta. María at Tarrasa, a work that has been a puzzle to me ever since I analyzed it in 1930 in my volume II.[1] The revelation comes through a document found in the Notarial Archive of Tarrasa, a receipt of Talarn,[2] dated February 13, 1451, for payment of thirty florins for the retable in addition to the hundred florins for which the deceased painter, Jaime Cirera, had contracted to do the job. It is not absolutely clear from the document that Talarn received the whole one hundred and thirty florins or merely the thirty, but the former alternative is the likely one, since little, if any, of the handicraft of Cirera, who had died by April 3, 1450,[3] is detectable in the retable and the manner of Talarn, to say the least, very much predominates. The place where I should be most willing to discern beginnings by Cirera would be in the central figure of St. Michael, inasmuch as the head is very like that of the main effigy in his retable of St. Eulalia in the Museum of Vich [4] and as the composition of the whole form recalls somewhat his large representations of the archangel. The donor in the central compartment, however, surely emanated from Talarn's brush. The mere compositions in the lateral divisions seem to reflect Cirera's treatments of the themes, either because he had left sketches or because Talarn remembered these sections of Cirera's altarpieces. I debated inconclusively in volume II Miss Richert's proposition to see in the predella a hand different from that of the rest of the retable; but, if there is a difference, the secondary hand cannot belong to Cirera but to an assistant of Talarn.

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[2] *Ibid.*, fig. 148.

[1] P. 456.

[2] I know the document through its publication in the Barcelona newspaper, *El Destino*, of September 29, 1956, sent me by my constant creditor, Don Juan Sutrá.

[3] See my vol. X, p. 304.

[4] Vol. VIII, p. 606.

I have almost nothing to add to my discussion of the retable in volume II. Talarn's essential style appears to owe little to Cirera, and this, although there must have been some connection between them, since on another and nearly synchronous occasion in 1450 and 1451 he was occupied in completing a further commission [5] that death had prevented Cirera from carrying out, a (lost) retable in the church of Piérola, close to Igualada and not too far from Tarrasa. His forms recall the actors in the early creations of the Sant Quirse Master and Pedro García de Benabarre and are not unlike those of the All Master and of the artist who did the panels from Artiés in the Provincial Museum, Lérida,[6] but with whom Talarn is not identical. His distinctive note is what seems the purposed touch of humor upon which I have commented in volume II, even approaching caricature in his addiction to showing only the backs of pertly upturned heads so that we see little of the front of the countenances except the snub nose, as if he were ironically making fun of religion (Fig. 247). The region of Tarrasa was evidently a centre of his vogue, for on September 1, 1436, the painter Bernardo Mates agreed to terminate a retable that together with Talarn he had contracted to make in the town of Vacarisas,[7] just southeast of which Tarrasa lies. He is chronicled in 1449 as also a designer of stained glass,[8] and Madurell [9] has assembled other data in his career to which may be added the notice of a financial transaction on August 6, 1450.[10] In the brief time that has elapsed since the disclosure of Talarn's personality, I have not recognized his craft in any other extant works, but, as has usually happened when a Spanish artist's name has been revealed or his individuality defined, scholars will probably soon succeed in perceiving further examples of his attainments.[11]

The Villahermosa Master

As the years have gone by, the clouds of confusion and indecision in which in my earlier volumes I left the mass of material from the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries in Valencia and its territory and in the adjacent Maestrazgo have in considerable degree evaporated, very largely through the efforts of the great scholar, Don Leandro de Saralegui. The appendices

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[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 627–628.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 610.

[7] See Madurell in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, VIII (1950), 368.

[8] Sanpere, *Los cuatrocentistas*, II, 220.

[9] *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, III, 4 (1945), 317 ff. and X (1952), *passim.*

[10] My vol. VIII, p. 627.

[11] After writing the above discussion, I received through the kindness of the distinguished scholar and artist, Don Rafael Benet, his article on the subject in *El Destino* of October 27, 1956, where I am encouraged by finding that, quite separately from me, he has arrived at the same conclusions, except that he refuses to see any possibility even of beginnings by Cirera. By subtle arguments from probability Don Rafael had already divined, before the discovery of the document, that Talarn would turn out to be the author of the retable of St. Michael at Tarrasa.

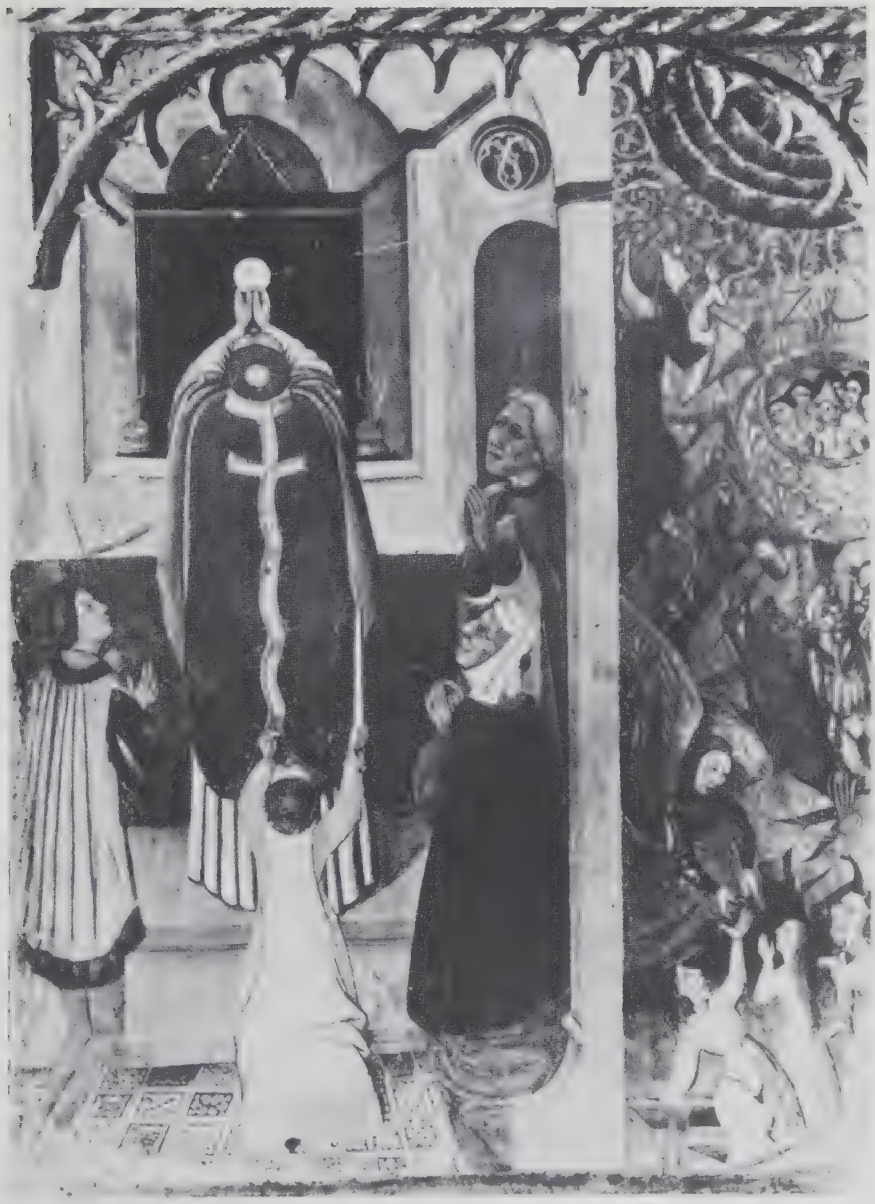

FIG. 247. GUILLERMO TALARN. ANGELS RELEASING SOULS FROM PURGATORY AT REQUIEM, SECTION OF RETABLE.
STA. MARÍA, TARRASA
(*Photo. Mas*)

of my later volumes have registered a number of such clarifications, and the recent writings of Saralegui have reminded me that I ought long ago to have summarized his isolation of a personality active in these regions in the second half of the Trecento but Catalan in style to whom he gives the name of the Master of Villahermosa. In my fourth volume [1] I grouped together several works as very possibly by the painter who did a series of retables at Villahermosa, and Saralegui, seeing more keenly than I, has in a series of articles [2] conclusively established the unity of authorship in these works, brilliantly perceiving that still others must be added to the quota. The productions that I assembled and that are now ratified by Saralegui as executed by the Villahermosa Master are: the retables at Villahermosa itself; the panels of St. Luke [3] that, once belonging to the carpenters' guild at Valencia, have found a safe home in the Provincial Museum of the city; the Nativity in the collection of the Hispanic Society at New York; the now destroyed retable of St. Agatha at Castellnovo; the partially repainted altarpiece of the Madonna of Humility now in the Muntadas Collection, Barcelona, but having originally graced some church at Chelva, northwest of Valencia and south of Teruel; and the Madonna from Torroella de Montgrí in Catalonia,[4] at my last knowledge in the Juñer Collection at Barcelona.

To this roster he is entirely right in adding a fragment the affiliations of which had escaped my eyes, a pinnacle of a retable depicting the Crucifixion that from an Augustinian convent at San Mateo in the Maestrazgo entered an unrevealed private collection.[5] I follow him also in ascribing to the Villahermosa Master the Madonna, said to come from Albarracín, west of Teruel, which was acquired for the Museum of Catalan Art, Barcelona, from the Plandiura Collection,[6] on condition that we admit much repaint, especially in the case of the angels; but with a like proviso of even more modernization, perhaps by the same hand which did over the Albarracín example, I believe that we must ensconce in the category of the Master's achievements the Madonna that, in the church of S. Salvador at Valencia,[7] was burned in the civil war. Unless repaint conceals the truth, the similar panel from Penellas [8] that was destroyed in the war with almost all the rest of the contents of the Diocesan Museum, Valencia, can scarcely have been executed by the Master himself, and the variant formerly in the Collection of Rómulo Bosch, Barcelona, and now in the Museum of Catalan Art, is either a production of a follower or an achievement of the Master entirely transmuted by a "restorer." The most significant and acutely perceptive accretion made by Saralegui to the deposit left us by the Villahermosa Master is the painting on cloth representing the Longitudo Christi in the cathedral of Valencia,[9] a work in which I am practically convinced that he is right in holding this artist's hand not to be concealed even by the repaint which makes the picture look somewhat like a Byzantine icon.

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[1] Pp. 566–570.

[2] *Archivo de arte valenciano*, XXI (1935), 25 ff., and XXIII (1952), 22, n. 35, and pp. 38–39; *Arte español*, XV (1944), 81, n. 1; and in his *El Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes de San Carlos, Tablas de las salas 1ª y 2ª de primitivos valencianos*, Valencia, 1954, pp. 21–26.

[3] The subject of the panel in the series that I described (vol. III, p. 4) as the Virgin holding St. Luke's portrait has been discovered by Saralegui (*Archivo de arte valenciano*, XXI, 41) to be really an embodiment of the legend that, after the Dormition, she brought a veronica of her countenance to him.

[4] Saralegui now accepts the Torroella de Montgrí panel as by the Villahermosa Master, if I rightly interpret his words in *Archivo de arte valenciano*, XXIII, 39.

[5] Illustrated as Plate XIV in Ángel Sánchez Gozalbo, *Pintors del Maestrat*, Castellón de la Plana, 1932.

[6] See my vol. II, p. 272.

[7] See my vol. VI, pp. 566–568.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 568.

For possible but by no means certain identification with the Villahermosa Master, we now have to reckon not only with Guillermo Ferrer, whose claims I have heretofore [10] indicated, but also with the Francisco Serra II about whom I registered data in my volume VIII,[11] who was exiled to Valencia, and whose father Francisco I,[12] was, as it now appears, a brother of the more celebrated painters Jaime and Pedro Serra. It can scarcely be doubted that he was the same as the artist mentioned in the Valencian documents from 1379 [13] to 1396, and his dates, like those of Ferrer, would agree with the style of the Villahermosa Master's achievements.

The Liria Master

A further subdivision of Valencian painting of the fourteenth century, highly individual in character and rather diverse from the other strains, can now be isolated, centering about the retable of Sts. Vincent and Stephen in the Iglesia de la Sangre at Liria, which was executed in the last decade of the Trecento.[1] The emergence of this subdivision is attained through Gudiol Ricart's [2] conditional ascription of a second altarpiece to the retable's creator, whom he has naturally christened the Liria Master. I am not entirely convinced of the single authorship; but the second altarpiece was carried out in any case by a very closely affiliated artist, thus at least establishing the existence of a definite group of interrelated painters, to which

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[9] See my vol. IV, p. 586.

[10] Vol. III, p. 4. For Ferrer, see also A. Sánchez Gozalbo, *Bernat Serra*, Castellón de la Plana, 1935, pp. 62–63, and Saralegui, *Archivo de arte valenciano*, XXI, 25.

[11] P. 559.

[12] See J. M. Madurell, *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de arte de Barcelona*, VIII (1950) and X (1952) *passim*. In documents 12–13 it is shown that the year of his difficulties with the church of Sta. María del Pino, Barcelona, was 1356 and not 1357, as I had stated it in vol. VIII, p. 562.

[13] See Luis Cerveró Gomis in *Archivo de arte valenciano*, XXVII (1956), 103, as well as the documents published by J. M. Madurell, first of two cited volumes, 38 (giving us 1376 for his first mention at Barcelona) and 43.

[1] Vols. VIII, p. 600, n. 1, and III, pp. 37–40. I have hitherto failed to note that the book of the central St. Vincent is inscribed with the collect for his day, January 22, practically identical with the one still used, except that now St. Anastasius is joined with him in the prayer.

[2] *Pintura gótica*, 132.

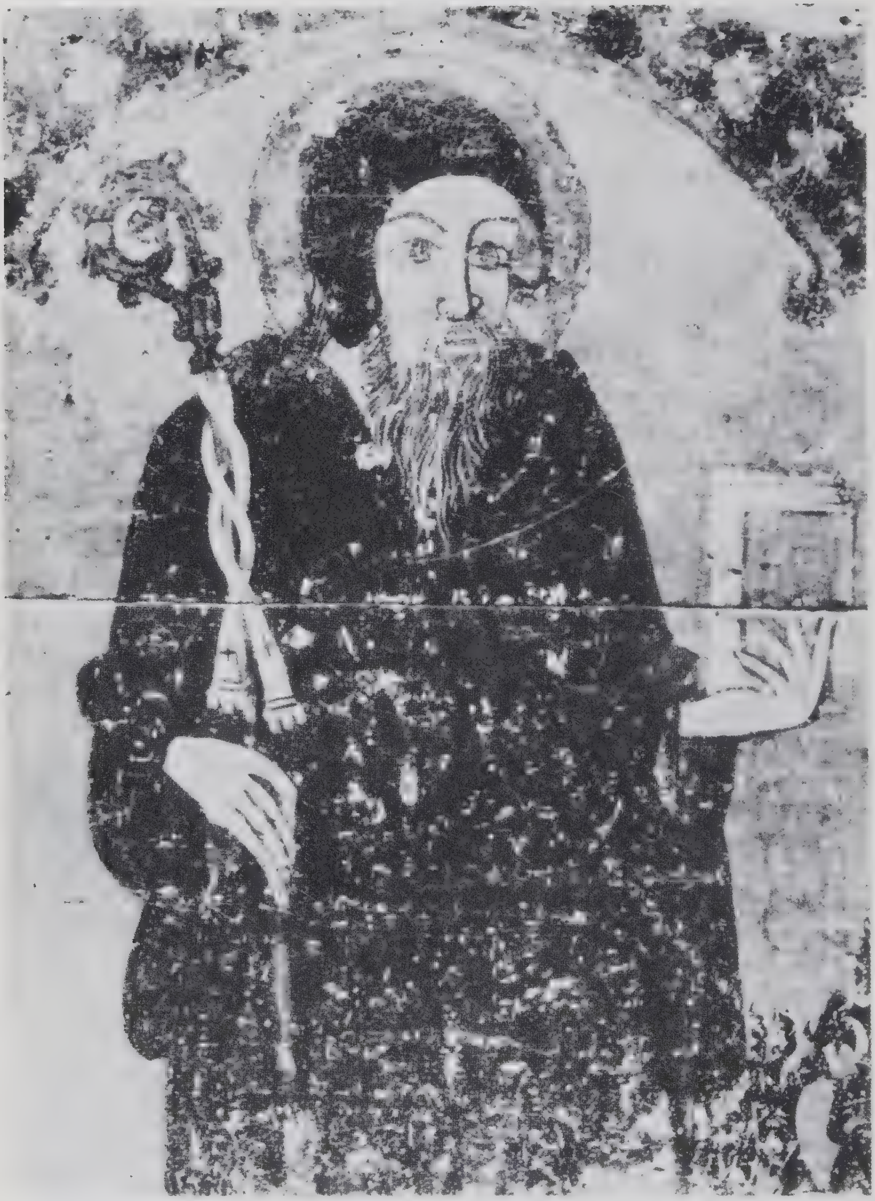

Fig. 248. THE LIRIA MASTER. ST. ANTHONY ABBOT, SECTION OF ANTEPENDIUM. IGLESIA DE LA SANGRE, LIRIA
(*Photo. Mas*)

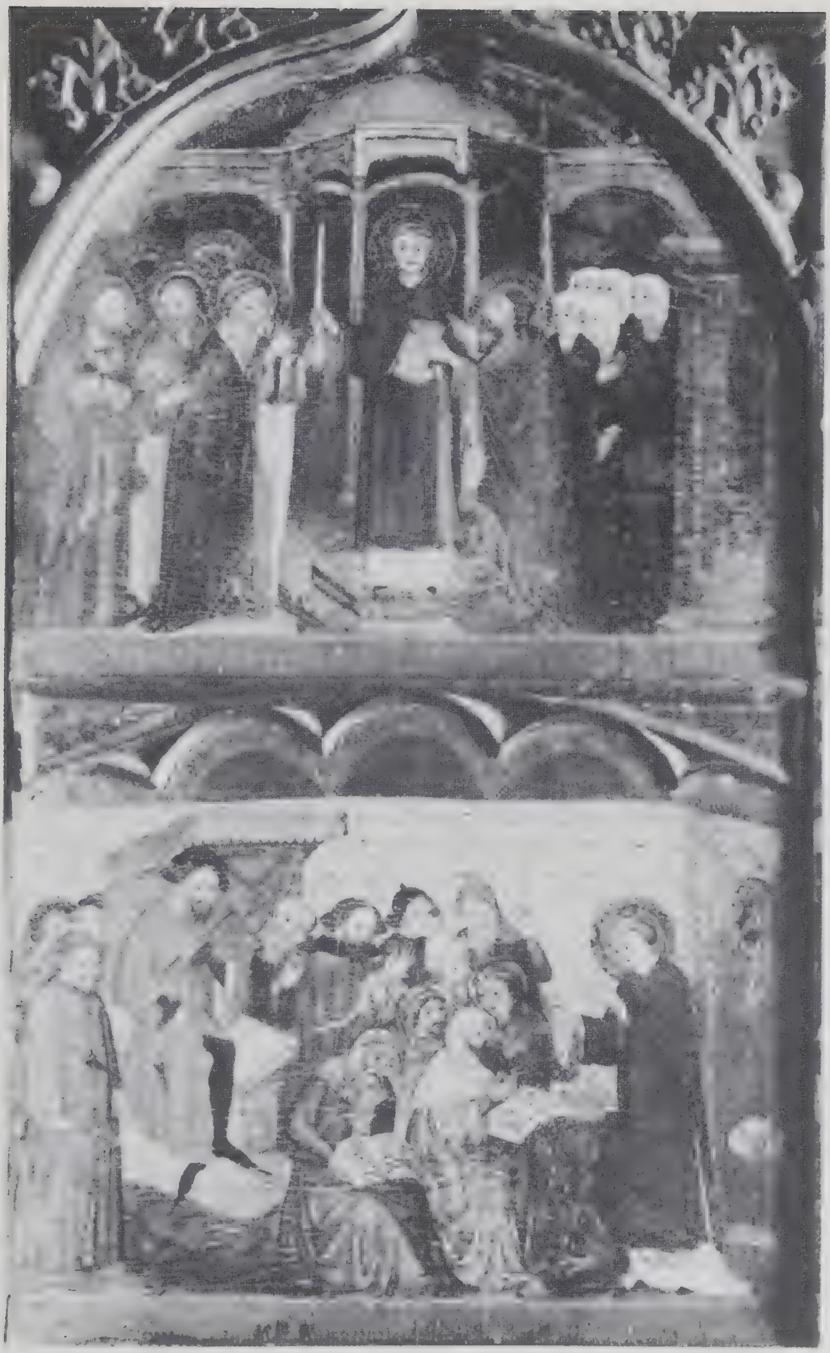

FIG. 249. THE LIRIA MASTER. ORDINATION AND DISPUTE OF ST. STEPHEN, SECTION OF RETABLE. IGLESIA DE LA SANGRE, LIRIA
(*Photo. Mas*)

I myself am able to assign other works, one actually formerly at Valencia itself.

We can clear the decks by attributing at once to the Liria Master himself, namely the author of the retable of Sts. Vincent and Stephen, the antependium of Sts. Anthony Abbot and Bartholomew now at least in the very same chapel that houses the retable in the Iglesia de la Sangre. In my second volume [3] I catalogued the antependium as Franco-Gothic, and it may indeed be that the Liria Master's peculiar style constitutes a fusion of the Franco-Gothic strain with the nascent Italo-Gothic manner; but, whatever the truth in this morphological problem, a facial comparison of the central St. Anthony in the frontal (Fig. 248) with such a personage as the Apostle at the extreme left (Fig. 249) in the compartment of St. Stephen's ordination in the Liria retable demonstrates that we have to do with the same painter. To our Master would naturally have been consigned the commission of doing the other antependium, dedicated to St. James Major,[4] in the chapel, but the evidence is insufficient for definitely establishing the hypothesis.

The altarpiece that has been attributed to the Liria Master, of unascertained ultimate provenience and now in the Collection of Mr. Ellery Sedgwick at Beverly, Massachusetts, would seem at first sight to be a striking example of the heterogeneous conglomeration of subjects that we occasionally meet in Spanish retables, but careful consideration uncovers a valid and subtle interrelation between all the themes, which appears to have been devised by an orderly ecclesiastical mind. The actual iconography, however, of several of the scenes is no less unusual than the pictorial manner of the altarpiece, as if the author was a provincial unfamiliar with the treatment of the subjects in the great artistic centres and thus evolved compositions of his own, which as a matter of fact turn out to be very effective.

A representation of Pentecost occupies the principal compartment, so manipulated that the Virgin is more emphasized even than in the renderings by the Serras and their circle, which the painter perhaps knew, or than in Spanish iconography in general. The emphasis is achieved through her dissociation from the Apostles and elevation on a throne, with the result that she becomes practically a separate effigy; and the compartment may be said to fuse two themes, the glorified Virgin (as at the centre of many another retable) and the mystery of Whitsunday. The Apostles are grouped below as if worshipping her rather than receiving the Holy Spirit, and, with a pronounced manifestation of a general proclivity of mediaeval Spanish art, they are coerced into a still more formal composition than in the Serra versions. One of them is arbitrarily set below in the middle, with his back baldly turned to us, thus prolonging the central axis established by the Virgin; and the others are arranged symmetrically on either side of the throne's base. As regularly, no matter what the chief subject or subjects of a retable, the Crucifixion takes it place in the central pinnacle, above the

[3] P. 46.

[4] *Ibid.*, fig. 98.

Pentecost. An uninhibited Spanish naturalism expresses itself in the exaggeration of the unredeemed thief's moribund contortions and in the leer of a soldier at the left which bares his hideous teeth.

Of the other narrative themes, the two at the lower right incorporate events closely connected with Whitsunday: the appearance of Christ to the Apostles on the night of the first Easter when He instructed them to wait for Pentecost [5] and, breathing on them, actually said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost"; [6] and St. Peter's Pentecostal sermon.[7] The scenes at the left add to Pentecost three other direct interventions of Deity in our realm of existence, taken from the New Testament and two of them again involving the Holy Spirit's activity, the Annunciation and Our Lord's Baptism. As so often in sacred art, the sentence from the first chapter [8] of St. Luke's Gospel, where the Annunciation is related, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee," is materialized in the form of a dove, just as in the scene of Pentecost in the retable and as frequently in Spanish representations of the event the Third Person of the Trinity assumes this ornithological shape; and the Baptism is also linked with the central compartment by the introduction of the dove, which is specifically mentioned in the Scriptural accounts of the happening. There is no allusion to the Holy Spirit in the Biblical narratives of the third scene, the Transfiguration (Fig. 250), which, however, coalesces with the rest of the altarpiece not only as another theophany but also because the same words came from heaven as in the Baptism, "This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased." The iconography of the Transfiguration is most original. Moses and Elijah are placed on the earth instead of, according to the usual scheme, in the sky, and they are employed to balance symmetrically the three Apostles on the other side of the panel; but, with still greater and more impressive invention on the part of the painter, the representation of the Saviour is mystically reduced to the cloud-enveloped and nimbus-girt top of His head. There remains to be explained the insertion of the Trinity as the theme of the uppermost compartment at the right. It could be logically admitted to the assemblage as embodying the essence of the faith that the Apostles received on Whitsunday the inspiration to preach, and it is concretely united to the other subjects by the unwonted prominence given to the dove of the Holy Ghost between the seated Father and the crucified Son in the divine Triad. Indeed the dove is oddly given the oblique position that characterizes it in the Pentecost, Annunciation, and Baptism, as if to make the relationship plainer to the spectator. Although the three Persons are depicted and grouped in the way regular at the period, the whole composition is in a sense peculiar, in that the triune Godhead is isolated at the middle of a chamber instead of filling the entire space of the panel.

Since, as I have said at the beginning, the Sedgwick altarpiece has been

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[5] Luke, XXIV, 49.

[6] John, XX, 22.

[7] Acts, II, 14.

[8] Verse 35.

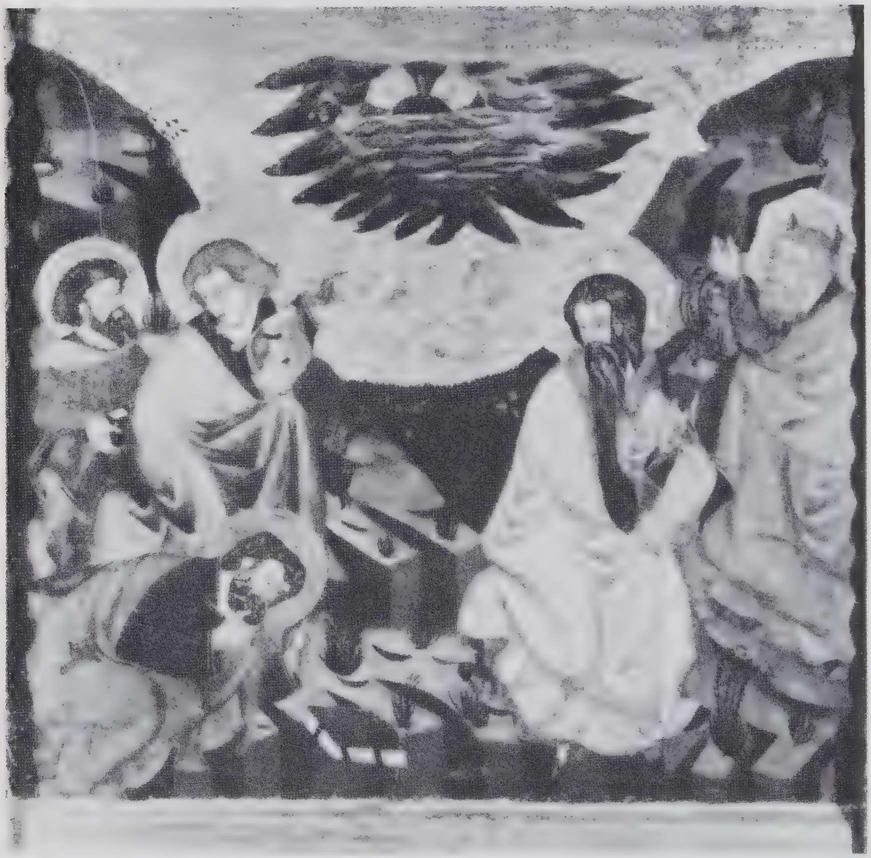

FIG. 250. CIRCLE OF THE LIRIA MASTER. TRANSFIGURATION, SECTION OF RETABLE. SEDGWICK COLLECTION, BEVERLY, MASSACHUSETTS
(*Photo. Mas*)

attributed to the Liria Master and since indeed the affiliations are very obvious, I will not bore the reader, in the way that I am often obliged to do, by recapitulating the numerous, detailed points of contact. A long and painstaking scrutiny of the two monuments, nevertheless, has not completely won me to the attribution, perhaps because the truth is concealed beneath the extensive repaint on the retable of Sts. Vincent and Stephen; and, so far as we can now see, it does not appear to me possible to argue with confidence for anything more precise than that the altarpiece of Pentecost was executed by someone in the Liria Master's immediate circle. Analogously, in another, almost contemporary phase of Valencian painting, the manners of Pedro Nicoláu and Gonzalo Pérez [9] are as nearly indistinguishable. In any case, the Sedgwick altarpiece, as a member of exactly the same group as the works at Liria, contributes to establishing and enlarging this subdivision in the pictorial production of Valencia and its territory towards the end of the fourteenth century.

The vogue of the group at Valencia itself is certified by a panel for which, in volume IV,[10] I could not find a definite niche but which I am now very sure should be aligned with the Liria aggregation, the St. Anthony Abbot that in the civil war disappeared from the church of S. Valero (Fig. 251). As a matter of fact, I have arrived at the opinion (based on laborious confrontations, with which again I will not weary the reader) that, if the retables of the two deacon saints and of Pentecost are not by the same artist, it is the creator of the former to whom the St. Anthony should be credited. Many of the similarities the reader will see from the illustration at once for himself, as of the correspondence in type to the great anchorite in the Liria antependium and to several of the Apostles in the retable at this town, the likeness of the garden setting to the background of the Madonna and angels in the retable, or the virtual identity of the central St. Vincent's halo in the retable and of St. Anthony's in the Valencian panel.

I have already in these pages several times stressed the peculiarities of the Liria Master and of the Sedgwick altarpiece, affecting not only the iconography but also such matters as the eccentric types of mature men with schematized hair and beards. Even when I wrote volume III,[11] I was struck by the way in which the Italian indebtedness in the retable of Sts. Vincent and Stephen was modified through the use of indigenous casts of features. Occasional factors in the Sedgwick altarpiece, such as the composition of Pentecost and the pattern on the Virgin's mantle in this scene and in the Annunciation, may imply a knowledge of the products of the Serras and their circle on the part of the author; but the general manner is different from that of Catalonia and different also from the modes of the other Valencian shops. Had some artist from Aragon drifted into the

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[9] See below, p. 593.

[10] P. 604. I have here pointed out that the inscription *Sant Genis* is a wrong, subsequent addition; and I myself was probably incorrect in dating the St. Anthony about 1430 or indeed later than 1400.

[11] P. 38.

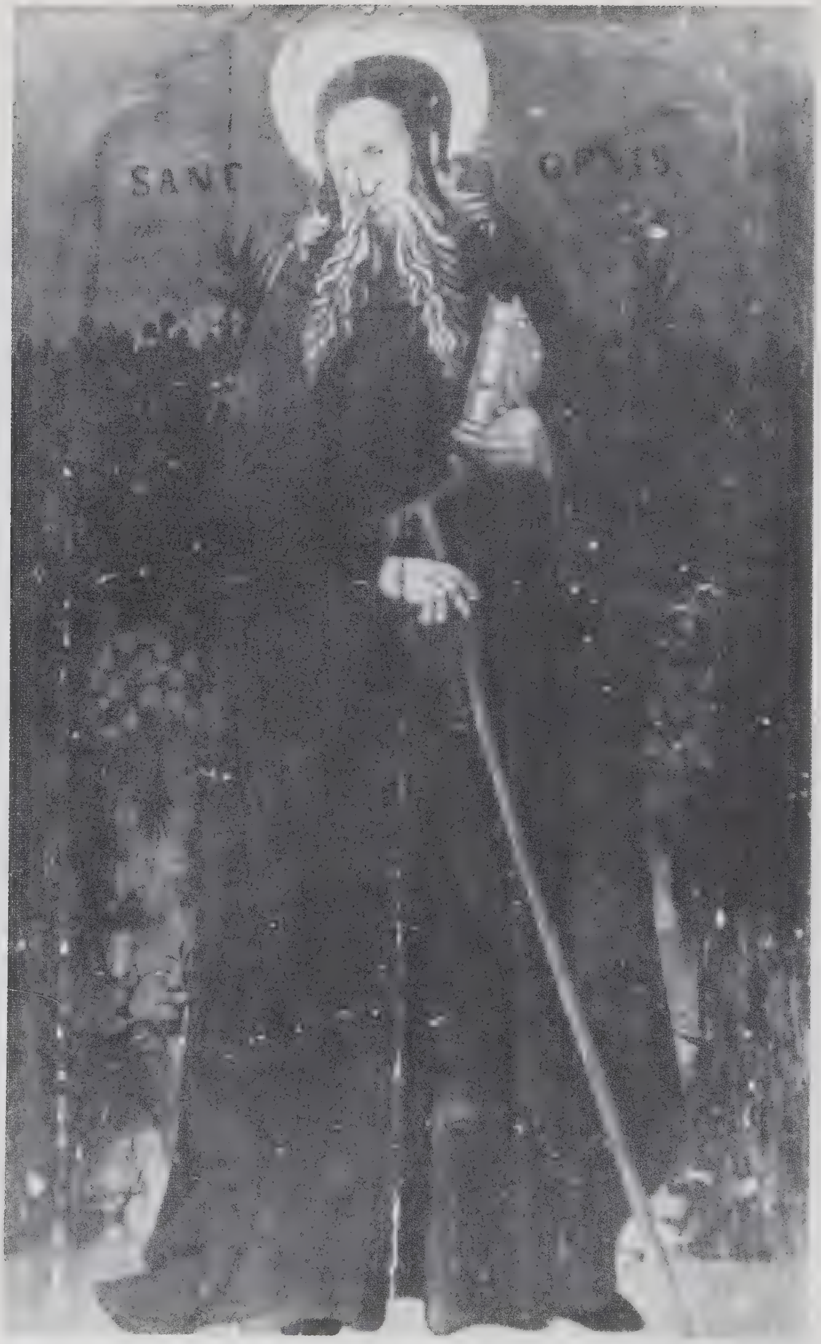

Fig. 251. THE LIRIA MASTER. ST. ANTHONY ABBOT. FORMERLY IN THE CHURCH OF S. VALERO, VALENCIA
(*Photo. Mas*)

Valencian *milieu*? And what is the connection of the Liria group with the Juan de Peralta who is known only by his signed panel of St. Andrew in the Schmit Collection, Paris, which undeniably exhibits corresponding stylistic traits? I have suggested [12] Aragon as one of the possibilities for Juan's origins, and, although the evidence is far from sufficient for equating him with the Liria Master, the affinities are such as to strengthen the hypothesis at least of an Aragonese influence in the achievements of this Master and his *entourage*.[13]

Gonzalo Pérez (the Martín de Torres Master)

In a section [1] of perhaps the most important of his many important articles on the painting of Valencia Saralegui, by penetrating research and coordination of its results, has practically succeeded in identifying this Master with a personality prominent in the annals of Valencian art, Gonzalo Pérez, whose activity can be traced from 1404 to the time when he made his will at the end of 1451 (on the virtually sure assumption that he should be equated with a man designated in the documents as Gonzalo Pérez Sarriá or merely Gonzalo Sarriá); and I myself am able to contribute an additional factor that, it seems to me, removes any doubt. Saralegui's evidence consists (1) in the assignment to this Master of a panel of St. James Major in the Barcelona Museum, an attribution in which I now [2] agree, and (2) in the provenience of the panel from the Hospital at Algemesí (south of Valencia) where Gonzalo Pérez, in a receipt of 1423, acknowledged payment for having done a retable for the high altar of the parish church. The credible presumption would be that, as in many other cases of old panels, the picture had eventually been transferred from the church to another building in the town, in this instance the Hospital; and, although the receipt does not specify the retable's subject, it would have honored St. James, to whom the church is dedicated. The provenience from Algemesí was certified to Saralegui through the investigations of Professor Alfonso Roig of the Valencian Escuela de Bellas Artes, and the picture is of the large size and content adapted to the central compartment of an altarpiece.

Corroborative substantiation of Saralegui's identification of Pérez with the Martín de Torres Master has recently emerged in the extremely valuable series of Valencian documents published by Luis Cerveró Gomis.[3] It now appears that Gonzalo Pérez, *without the collaboration of Gerardo Gener*, did the retable of Sts. Clement and Martha in the cathedral of

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[12] Vol. VIII, p. 658.

[13] For another suggestion in regard to Juan de Peralta, see below, p. 612.

[1] *Archivo español de arte*, XXVI (1953), 242–245; cf. also his great new book, to which I have referred above (p. 584, n. 2), *El Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes de San Carlos*, p. 77, and an article on Gonzalo Pérez that reaches me while my volume is in press, in *Archivo de arte valenciano*, XXVIII (1957), 3–24.

[2] In vol. VII, p. 790, I classified it no more exactly than in the following of Nicoláu and Marzal de Sas.

[3] See above, p. 585, n. 13.

Valencia, since he alone signed a receipt for the task on May 31, 1412,[4] and since indeed Gener had died before July 16, 1411.[5] We must, therefore, conclude that Pahoner loosely stated [6] or was loosely interpreted to have stated, as Saralegui [7] had keenly surmised even before the receipt was published, that the two painters did the retable in partnership, the excuse for the mistake being that they had actually carried out together between 1405 and 1407 an altarpiece for the chapel of Sto. Domingo in the cathedral.[8] The identity of Pérez with the Martín de Torres Master is confirmed by the stylistic agreement of the extant central compartment of the retable of Sts. Clement and Martha with the works rightly adjudged to the Master of Martín de Torres by Saralegui, especially, for instance, the impressive analogy of the ill-favored St. Clement to the hallowed ecclesiastics in the predella in the Provincial Museum, Valencia, probably belonging to the triptych of Sts. Martin, Ursula, and Anthony Abbot.[9]

I do not seem to be familiar with a fragment, depicting an angel accompanied by a banderole, which is wrongly attached, in the Museo Provincial, Valencia, to the Gil Master's retable of the Holy Cross, but I am willing to rely upon the judgment of Saralegui [10] who ascribes it to the Master of Martín de Torres (i.e., Gonzalo Pérez) and believes it very probably a further bit of the above-mentioned triptych.

Just as in many other instances Saralegui has eventually brought me over to his opinion, so he has finally convinced me that he is right in attributing [11] to Gonzalo Pérez a pair of narrative panels from a retable of St. Peter which belong to the Barón de Cárcer at Valencia — with the reservations, however, on my part that we must take into account considerable deterioration and repaint [12] and that (as the Spanish scholar himself suggests in a letter to me) a third compartment in the series, also in the Barón's Collection, the delivery of the keys to the Apostle, should probably be ascribed to a collaborator.

In the case of a Deposition in the Puig Paláu Collection, Barcelona, shown at the Exposition of Mediterranean Primitives at Bordeaux and Barcelona [13] in 1952 (Fig. 252), I myself had arrived at the opinion that the Martín de Torres Master (whom I now wish to equate with Gonzalo

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[4] Cerveró in *Archivo de arte valenciano*, XXVII (1956), 109. The possibility that the retable was done after the fire of 1439 is thus removed.

[5] See above, p. 564.

[6] See my vol. III, p. 80.

[7] *Archivo español de arte*, XXVI (1953), 244.

[8] Cerveró (p. 107) publishes the receipt for this retable, the contract for which we already knew.

[9] See my vol. IX, p. 759.

[10] *El Museo Provincial*, etc., 105.

[11] *Archivo español de arte*, XVII (1944), 105, n. 1, and XXIII (1950), 185.

[12] The poor condition of the panels caused Saralegui himself, before he definitely arrived at the ascription to the Martín de Torres Master, to veer somewhat in regard to the authorship: see his monograph on the *Maestro de Santa Ana*, 37, n. 2.

[13] No. 130 in both Catalogues: illustrated in the former as plate XXVI.

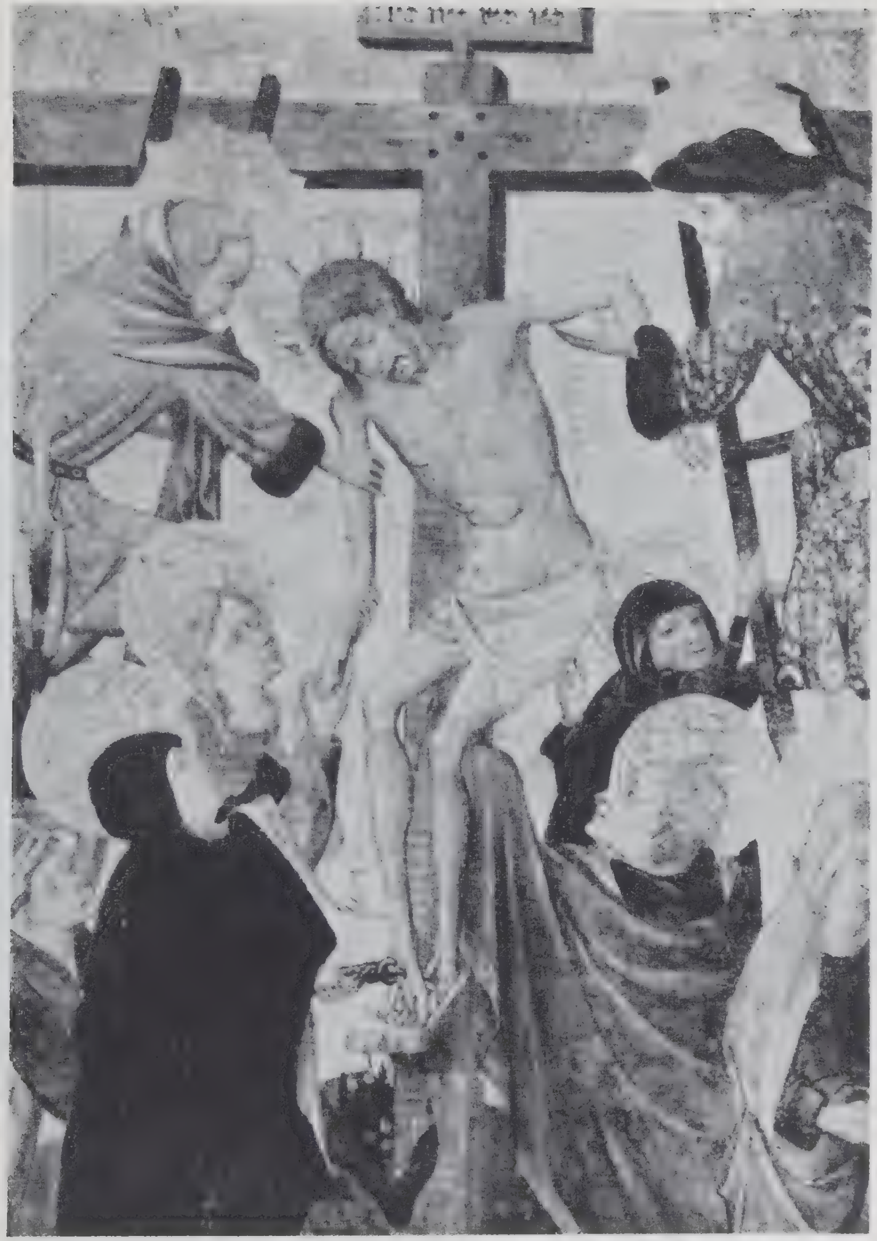

Fig. 252. GONZALO PÉREZ. DEPOSITION. PUIG PALÁU COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(*From the Catalogue of the Exposition of Mediterranean Primitives, Bordeaux*)

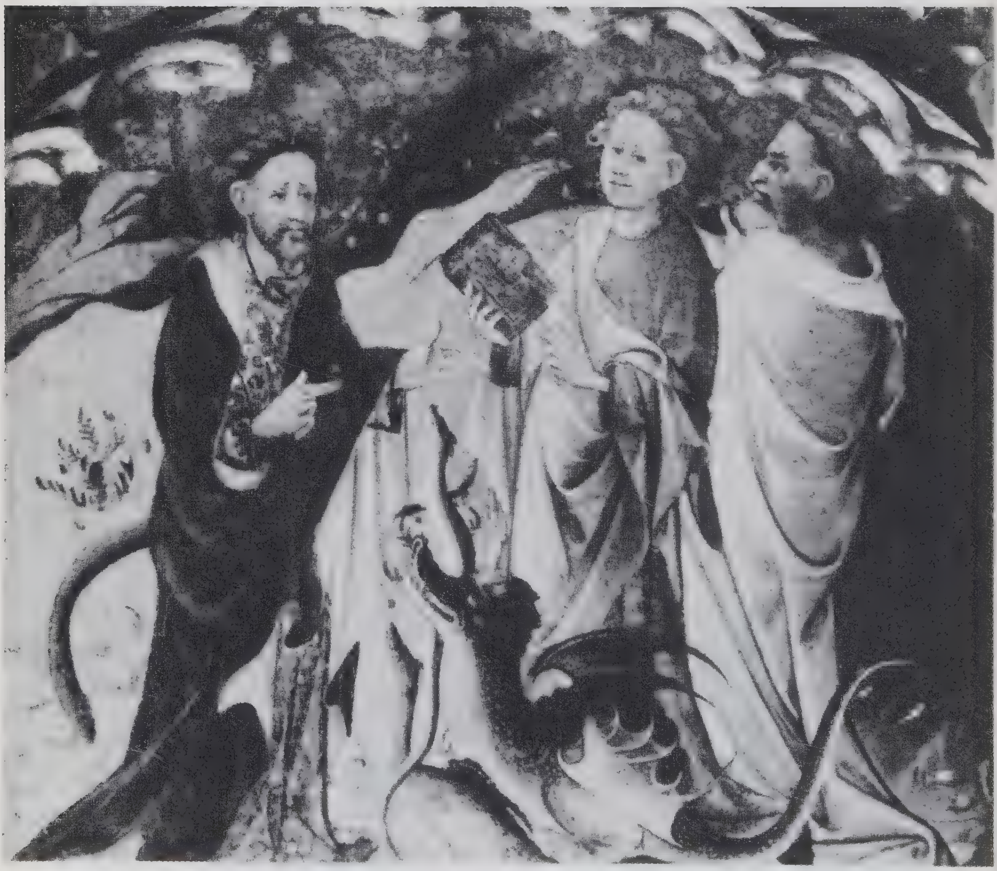

FIG. 253. GONZALO PÉREZ (?). ST. MATTHEW TAMING THE PAIR OF DRAGONS. DELBANCO COLLECTION, LONDON

Pérez) was the most likely father for the picture, when I found that Saralegui[14] definitely claims it for him.

My present opinion is that we should assign to Gonzalo Pérez a panel[15] belonging to Mr. G. Delbanco at London and depicting St. Matthew in Ethiopia taming the pair of dragons brought into his presence by the two enchanters[16] (Fig. 253), although I should not really be surprised if some day we should discover that Pedro Nicoláu himself deserves the credit or another member of his circle. The most telling points in favor of my attribution are the following. The St. Matthew should be compared with the St. James of the Barcelona Museum; the younger enchanter recalls the betraying shepherd in the scene of St. Barbara's discovery by her father in the retable devoted to her that the same Museum acquired from the Bosch Collection, but his outward glance is characteristic of many others among the master's actors; for the elder magician, there is utilized a recurrent type of hook-nosed old man, derived by him from Pedro Nicoláu and illustrated by a spectator at the extreme left in the compartment of the resuscitation of a youth, one of the narrative sections of his retable of Sts. Martin, Ursula, and Anthony Abbot in the Provincial Museum, Valencia;[17] a rock in the background is dotted with his pleasantly schematized flowers; and the retable of St. Barbara duplicates more than once the curious bits of vegetation in the lower right corner, like shells with leaves projecting from them. To the story of St. Matthew's miracle there are imaginatively added two serpents as companions of the brace of dragons. I once fondly entertained the idea that the panel might derive from a retable for which Gonzalo Pérez contracted on July 12, 1418,[18] but my constant mentor, Don Leandro de Saralegui, has pointed out to me in a letter that this retable was devoted to St. Matthias and not St. Matthew.

THE GIL MASTER (MIGUEL ALCAÑIZ?)

The same high praise as for Saralegui's equation of the Martín de Torres Master with Gonzalo Pérez can be given to his likewise very probable identification [1] of the Gil Master with Miguel Alcañiz, who emerges in the archives from *c.* 1400 [2] to 1434. The pith of the argument lies in his conviction that the Gil Master's six panels from the story of St. Michael at Lyons and the Crucifixion formerly belonging to P. Jackson Higgs, New York, which was surely a part of the same *ensemble,* derive from a retable of the archangel at Jérica for which Alcañiz contracted on October 13, 1421. The document prescribes a central effigy of St. Michael, presumably lost, surmounted by a Crucifixion, and at the sides six scenes relating to the champion of the heavenly host, without, unfortunately, specifying any further their themes, but a clinching point would seem to be that the spaces above the Lyons panel and the Hicks Crucifixion are decorated with the monogram of Christ's name that the contract also demands. The only escape from the evidence would be that there was another contemporary retable of St. Michael adorned with these not unusual insignia. As a matter of fact, the document orders that the model for the altarpiece at Jérica shall be a retable of St. Michael in the great monastery of Portaceli, but, if this, as we should naturally infer, was a work of Alcañiz, it might also have been the source of the preserved fragments. There are very slight gaps in the chain of proof, and Saralegui is less inclined to trust eyewitnesses who claim to have once seen the fragments at Jérica than in the case of the retable ascribed to Pérez at Algemesí; but he musters contributory evidence. I am somewhat sceptical about his attribution to the Gil Master of a St. Anthony Abbot (the present situation of which is unknown) and therefore about its assignment to a retable that Alcañiz agreed to paint in 1424; but it is not too easy to set aside the coincidence that he is documented as in Majorca in 1434 and that this is the alleged provenience of a Last Judgment now in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, which undeniably stands in some sort of affiliation with the Gil Master's style.[3]

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[14] *Archivo de arte valenciano*, XXV (1954), 8, n. 1; his book, *El Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes de San Carlos*, 78; and *Archivo español de arte*, XXVII (1954), 303.

[15] Its width is 22 inches.

[16] The subject is included also in the retable of the fourteenth century dedicated to Sts. Matthew and Francis now in the Museo Episcopal attached to the cathedral of Palma: cf. my vol. III, p. 146. F. P. Verrié (*Mallorca*, Barcelona, 1948, p. 42) says that the retable is considered to be dated in 1376, but Professor Marcel Durliat kindly writes me that he has found in the archives of the cathedral of Palma the deliberation of the chapter on the construction of the retable dated June 5, 1377. In vol. VII, fig. 225, the subject of a panel by the Girard Master or a pupil at Sant Martí d' Arabó was wrongly labelled by me as a scene in the life of St. Bartholomew, but my recognition now of what it really depicts harmonizes with the companion-piece of the calling of St. Matthew.

[17] Vol. IX, p. 759.

[18] Sanchis y Sivera, *Pintores medievales en Valencia*, 76.

Saralegui [4] ascribes to the presumptive Miguel Alcañiz the panel of the Madonna and angels which I tentatively claimed in volume V [5] for Andrés Marzal de Sas and which now belongs to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; and, if I could see the photograph, mentioned by the Spanish scholar, of the picture before its "restoration," I should probably be more convinced than I am at present of the justness of his opinion.

The Loert Master and the Master of the Privilegios

After the printing of my volume XI had progressed too far to admit of any addition, I realized that in discussing the Majorcan painter to whom

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[1] *Archivo español de arte*, XXVI (1953), 237–242; *El Museo Provincial*, etc., 113; and a monographic article on Miguel Alcañiz in *Archivo de arte valenciano*, XXVII (1956), 3–41.

[2] The approximate date of the Holy Cross retable in the Provincial Museum, Valencia: cf. my vol. V, p. 282.

[3] Vol. VIII, pp. 647–652.

[4] *Archivo de arte valenciano*, XXV (1954), 6.

[5] P. 282 and fig. 82.

I gave the pseudonym of the Loert Master [1] I should have returned to the question which I debated in volume IX,[2] i.e., whether he could have done any or all the illuminations in the manuscript, *Llibre dels Privilegis de Mallorca* (Book of the Privileges granted by royalty to Majorca), now in the Archivo Histórico, Palma. In my earlier volume I hesitated to give my assent, but a review of the whole problem, particularly with the aid of the new and better photographs of the retables of St. Quiteria and of St. Eulalia which I finally decided in volume XI must both be achievements of the Loert Master, has convinced me that he deserves the credit for the miniature of King James the Conqueror bestowing the privileges upon his insular subjects, which constitutes the frontispiece of the Catalan text of the manuscript, and for at least the majority of the other, smaller miniatures in the book. Professor Millard Meiss, who first keenly observed [3] the intimate relation of the illuminations to the two retables, equates with the painter of the one of St. Quiteria the author of the frontispiece of the Latin text, which depicts the same subject as the corresponding page in the Catalan translation and which he assigns to a different artist than the other miniatures, together with the altarpiece of St. Eulalia, as of his school; but, if, as is likely, we owe the Latin frontispiece to a separate illuminator, I believe that it was his companion who should be identified with the Loert Master. There can be no doubt that Professor Meiss is right in discerning still another member of this school of miniaturists in the illuminations of the manuscript, the *Lleis i Ordinacions* of James II of Majorca, dated in 1337, now in the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels.

The Inca Master

The considerable accretions that I was able to make in volume XI to the roster of this Majorcan artist can be safely augmented by a fragment in the Cambó Collection, Barcelona,[1] perhaps a section of a predella,[2] depicting the Annunciation and Crucifixion between standing figures of Sts. John Baptist and Catherine. Not only do the types, haloes, and other appurtenances correspond, but the St. Catherine is almost a small replica of her effigy in the Convento de la Concepción at Palma.

The Galiana Master

To the personalities that in the early Gothic art of the Balearic Isles I distinguished in the appendix of volume XI Gudiol Ricart [1] has added another, to whom we may give the title of the Galiana Master from his

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[1] P. 381.

[2] Pp. 773–774.

[3] *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore), IV (1941), 51–54.

[1] Plate XXXVIII of the Catalogue by Sánchez Cantón, Barcelona, 1955.

[2] The height is 62 centimetres.

[1] *Pintura gótica*, 122.

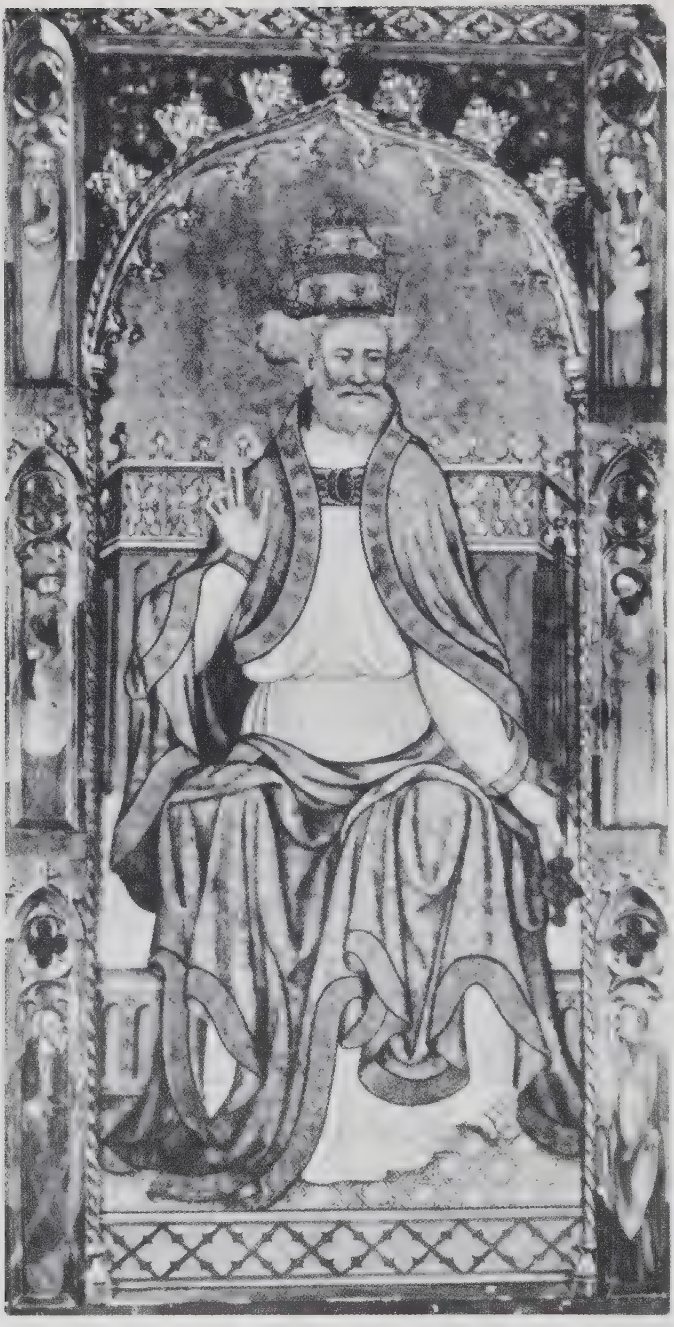

FIG. 254. THE LANGA MASTER. ST. PETER.
BUCHEN COLLECTION, BERLIN
(Courtesy of Mr. Ludwig Losbichler)

principal work, the retable of St. Paul in the episcopal palace, Palma,[2] which was an order from the bishop Antonio de Galiana (1363–1375). The painter is considered by Gudiol to have undergone the influence of the altarpiece exported to Majorca by Ramón Destorrents,[3] whom he rightly judges to have done the five little pinnacles from this altarpiece, representing the seated Eternal Father and in half length the worthies of the Old Testament, Enoch, David, Elijah, and Daniel, so labelled on their scrolls in Catalan, panels which, as well as the Crucifixion by Destorrents, are preserved in the Museo Arqueológico (Luliano) at Palma. The Spanish scholar also appears to be correct in making him the author of the charming Annunciation in the Museo de la Lonja, Palma,[4] and of a retable's pinnacle, representing the Crucifixion and on the uprights virgin martyrs, in the Collection of the Massot family, Barcelona, who have Majorcan connections.

The Langa Master

Mr. Ludwig Losbichler, in a letter to me, justly recognizes a panel of the enthroned St. Peter owned by Mr. H. P. Buchen of Berlin (Fig. 254) as a work of the Aragonese painter of the international movement to whom I have given the name of the Langa Master.[1] Obviously once the main compartment [2] of a retable and preserving its uprights with effigies of six other Apostles, the picture exhibits to us a figure closely resembling the St. Peter at the centre of the altarpiece at Langa del Castillo that supplies a title for the Master; but intimate affiliations with the representation of this Apostle in the predella of the retable of Sts. Michael and the Virgin in the Colegiata, Daroca, are also very tangible, and indeed the distinctive traits of the artist's manner are everywhere perceptible.

Benito Arnaldín

To the rarity of the practice of signing pictures in early Spanish art, this particular exponent of the international style in Aragon provides a notable exception, since there has now come to my attention even a third work upon which he has set his signature, a Crucifixion formerly in the Collection of Alphonse Kann at Paris and once the pinnacle of a retable that, to judge by the panel's size,[1] must have extended to considerable dimensions (Fig. 255). He has witnessed to his authorship at the bottom of the panel, not in Latin, as on the retable at Torralba de Ribota,[2] but in Catalan in exactly the form and epigraphy in which the signature occurs

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[2] My vol. III, pp. 145–146.

[3] Vol. XI, p. 373.

[4] Vol. IV, p. 609.

[1] Vols. IX, p. 778, and X, p. 318.

[2] The dimensions are 2.18 metres in height by 1.10 in width.

[1] The measurements are 33½ inches in height by 27½ in width.

[2] Vol. IV, p. 632.

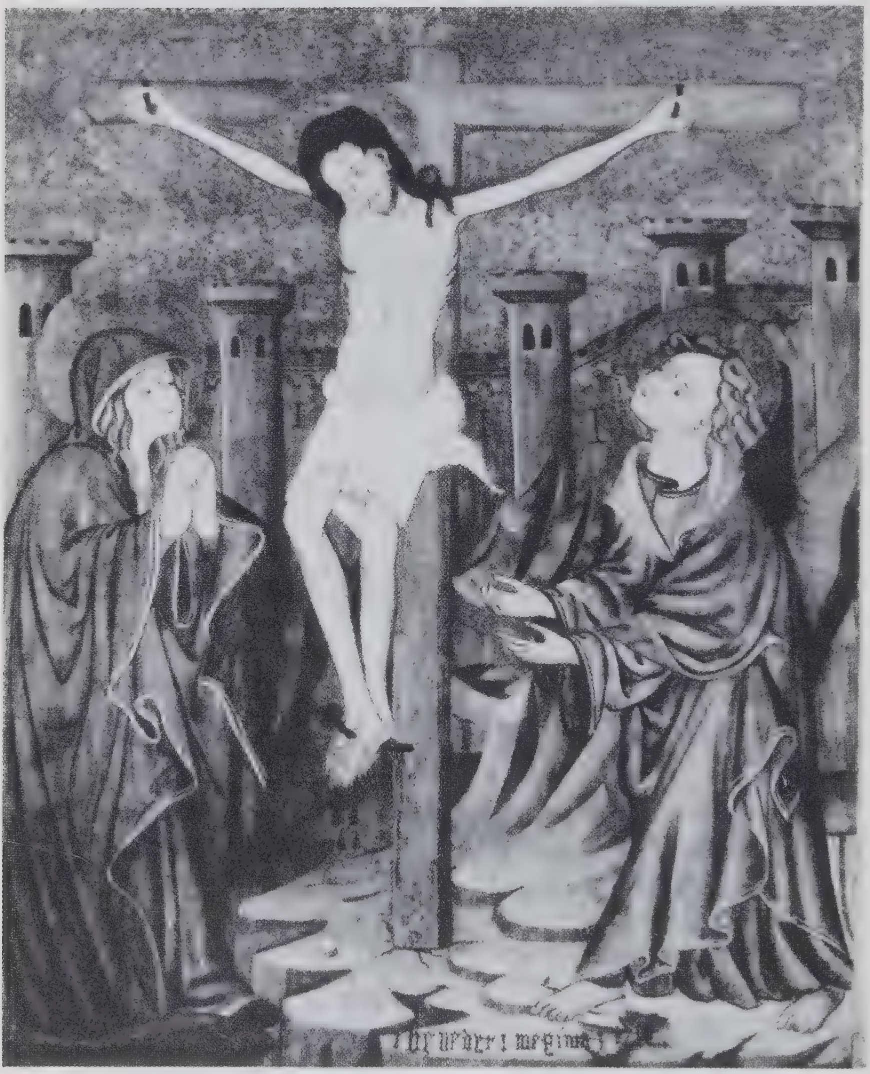

Fig. 255. BENITO ARNALDÍN. CRUCIFIXION. FORMERLY IN THE ALPHONSE KANN COLLECTION, PARIS

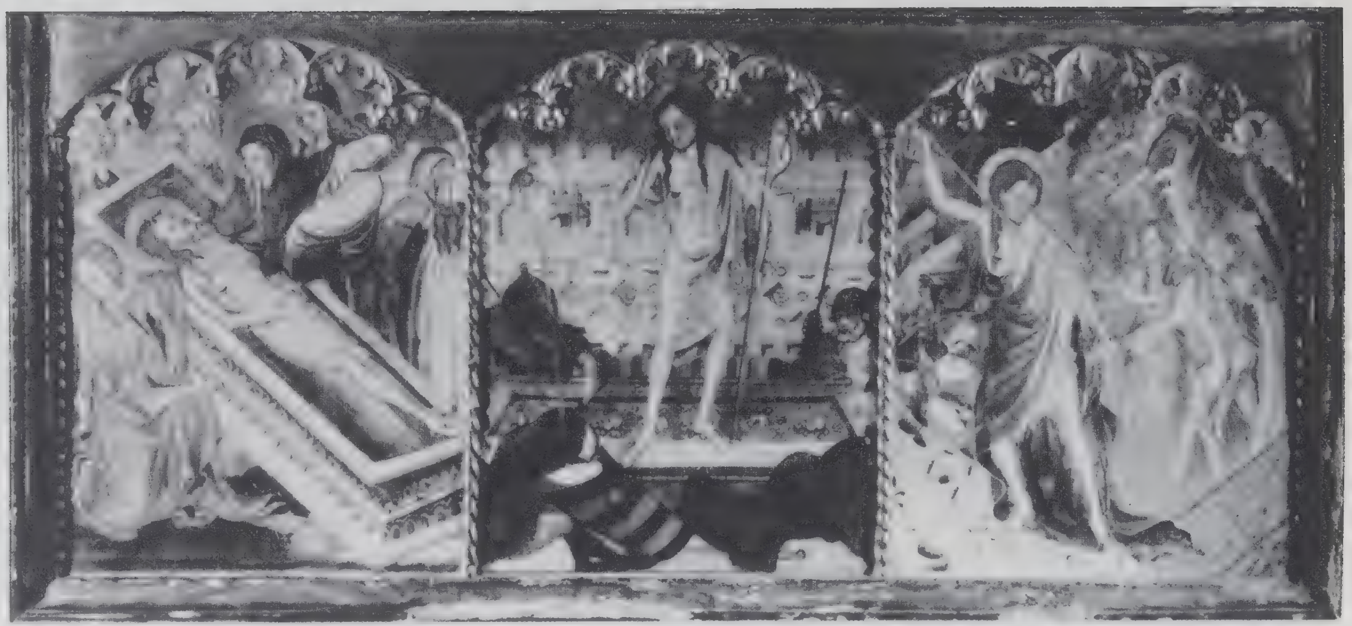

FIG. 256. NICOLÁS SOLANA. ENTOMBMENT, RESURRECTION, AND HARROWING OF HELL. GALÉRIE PARDO, PARIS

on his St. Quiteria in the Mateu Collection at Barcelona,[3] *Benedyt me pintà*. The signature is followed by a date which has been wrongly and absurdly read as 1212. The second cipher from the left is not a 2 but a Gothic 4, and the last figure may also be a 4 instead of a 2: in any case, the numbers set the panel sometime in the second decade of the fifteenth century. As a matter of fact, the Crucifixion needed no signature to authenticate it as a production of Benito Arnaldín, since all elements bespeak his craft. In the Torralba retable the Christ and the Virgin, for instance, are scarcely varied not only in the Crucifixion but in the Pietà of the predella; the Mater Dolorosa in a fragment that besides the St. Quiteria has entered the Mateu Collection[4] is another repetition of the type of Our Lady agonized with grief; and the gold background is tooled with his regular pattern of lozenges punctuated by grouped dots.

NICOLÁS SOLANA

The periodic discovery of additional works by this Aragonese master is gradually enabling us not only to differentiate his style from what once seemed the desperately interlinked manner of Arnaldín but also to realize his artistic and intellectual superiority to his rival. Both these points are illustrated in a predella by Solana that I have recently come to know in the Galérie Pardo, Paris, depicting at the centre the Resurrection and at the sides the Entombment and Harrowing of Hell (Fig. 256),[1] for the panels reveal very clearly the qualities distinguishing his craft from Arnaldín's and are painted with more affectionate care and thought than the latter displayed in his commissions or indeed than Solana himself usually exerted. The justness of Solana's claims to the honor of having done the predella will be brought into relief by such comparisons as between the Saviour in the Resurrection or Harrowing of Hell and the Christ of the Bilbao *Noli me tangere*,[2] between the Magdalene in the lower left corner of the Entombment and the St. Apollonia at Daroca,[3] or between the other holy women in the Entombment and the correspondingly sorrowing group in the Crucifixion of the Daroca retable of St. Peter.[4] The scene of the Apostle's burial in this retable contains an example of the rendering of anguish in bearded men by hiding the upper part of the countenance in a lowered headdress, as in two of the participants in the Entombment in the Pardo panels. Throughout this predella Solana has successfully put forth the effort to attain a beauty of draughtsmanship, in the late Gothic terms of delicacy, undulation of line, and sharp angles, that almost vies with the drawing of his virtual contemporary in Italy, Don Lorenzo Monaco;

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[3] Vol. VI, p. 598. I have here suggested explanations for the use of Catalan in Aragon.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 600.

[1] The dimensions are 1.75 metres in length by .80 in height.

[2] Vol. XI, fig. 171.

[3] Vol. VI, fig. 265.

[4] Vol. X, p. 323.

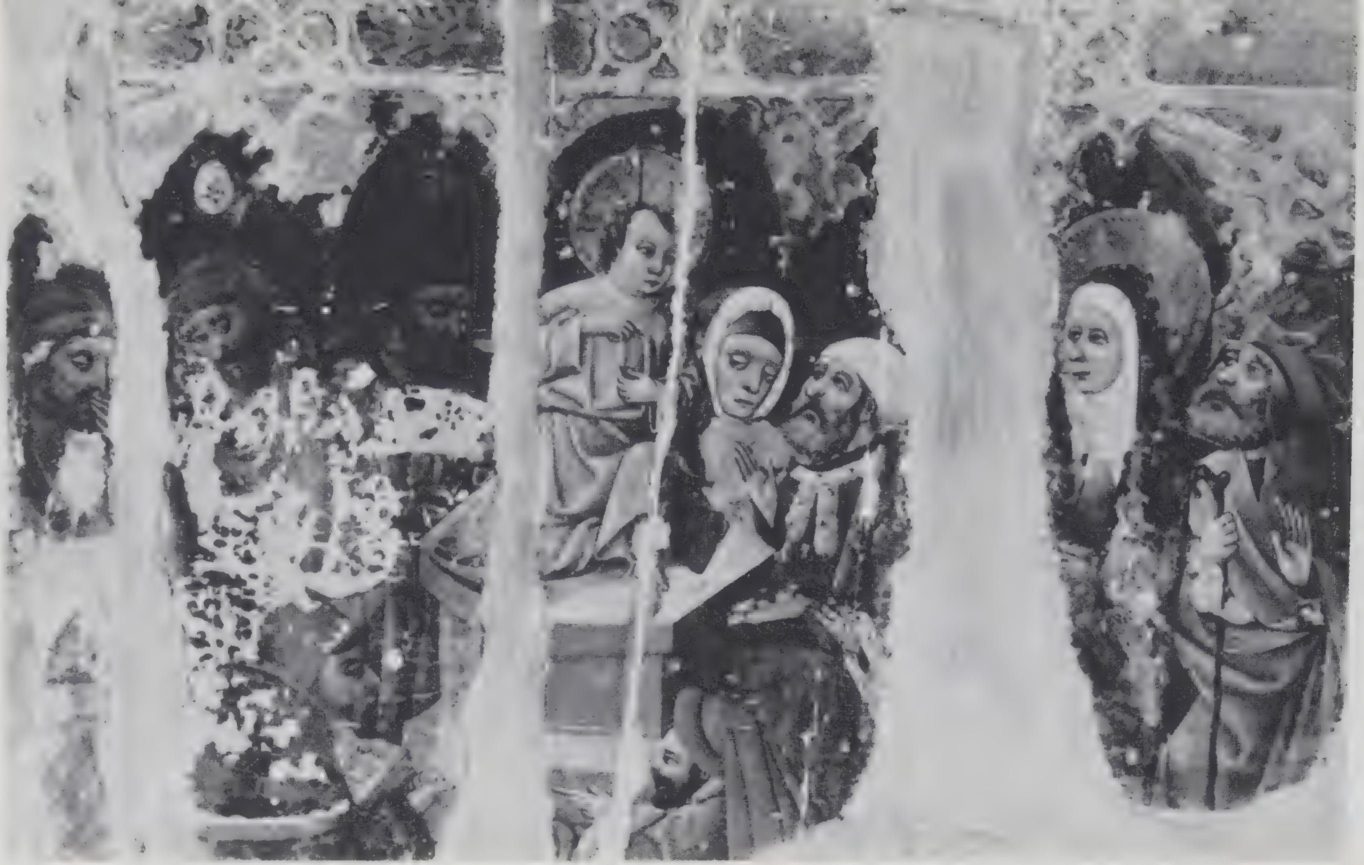

FIG. 257. THE LANAJA MASTER. THE YOUNG CHRIST AMONG THE DOCTORS,
SECTION OF RETABLE. HOSPITAL, TARAZONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

and to this achievement he has added, in the Entombment, a scarcely expected ability to ideate various expressions of grief which even in their violence are poignantly convincing.

After much friendly correspondence on the matter, Saralegui has finally persuaded me that he is justified in publishing [5] as of the shop or circle of Nicolás Solana six scenes from the life of St. Peter once in a private collection at Valencia and last recorded in the world of dealing. If it were only the Crucifixion [6] of the signed pieces in the Juñer Collection, Barcelona, which we had to use for comparison, the detailed similarities in the panels of St. Peter are such that I should be almost willing to accept Nicolás himself as the author; but in general he cultivates a more sensational stylization, and, when the subjects coincide, the treatments are too diverse from their representations in the retable of the same Apostle at Daroca. We are at liberty to guess, with Saralegui, that the brother of Nicolás, Juan, who is documented as his collaborator,[7] could have executed the panels and that, despite the differences in the figuration of the carved wooden frames, they might have been the lateral compartments of the effigy of the Apostle in the Collection of the Baron de Kuffner.[8]

THE LANAJA MASTER

The immense popularity of this very typically Aragonese purveyor of the international movement is demonstrated by the great number of works that in former volumes we have been able to assign to him and now again by a group of fragments,[1] probably from a single retable, which by an unappreciative later generation had been perverted into use for making a roof in the Hospital of Tarazona. It is likely that from the lateral divisions in the body of the retable there derive two compartments, in tolerable condition, depicting the Circumcision and the young Christ among the Doctors (Fig. 257), as well as mere shreds of a Nativity and Epiphany. The predella of the Passion is more extensively preserved, aligning the scenes of the Last Supper, the Agony in the Garden, the Betrayal, Christ before Pilate, the Flagellation, and the Via Dolorosa. The easily recognizable style of the Lanaja Master stands forth from every inch of the panels, and even the compositions are more or less similar to the other representations of the subjects by him and his *entourage*, as particularly in the predella of the Passion in the Maluenda retable of the Magdalene,[2] which has been bought by a private collector at Bilbao and which I am now disposed to attribute, not to the Lanaja Master himself, but to a closely affiliated member of his circle. Don Joaquín Albareda, in a communication of February 24,

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[5] *Archivo español de arte*, XXVIII (1955), 323.

[6] Vol. V, fig. 96.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 306.

[8] Vol. VIII, fig. 307.

[1] Another fragment from the roof, executed by a slightly later painter, will concern us in a subsequent volume.

[2] Vol. VII, p. 803.

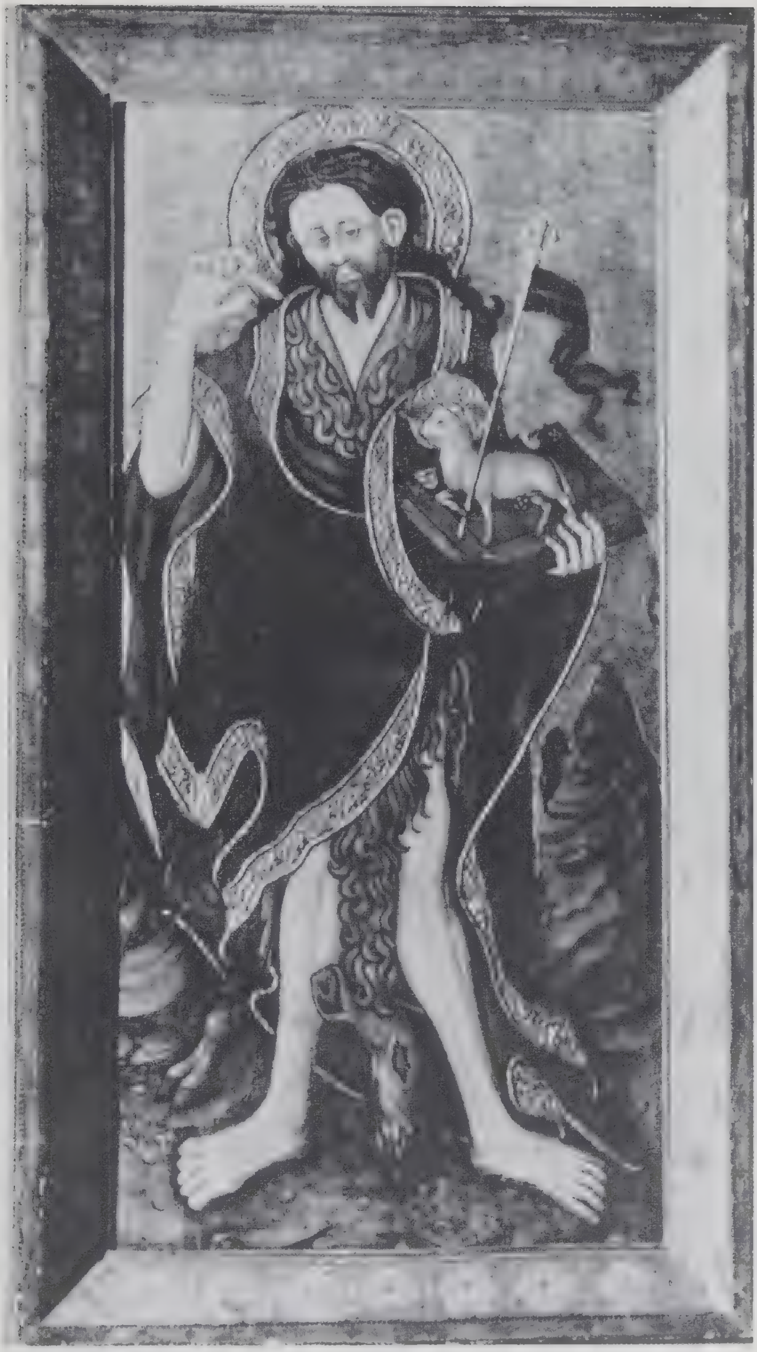

FIG. 258. THE BURNHAM MASTER. ST. JOHN BAPTIST.
LOSBICHLER COLLECTION, BARCELONA
(Courtesy of the owner)

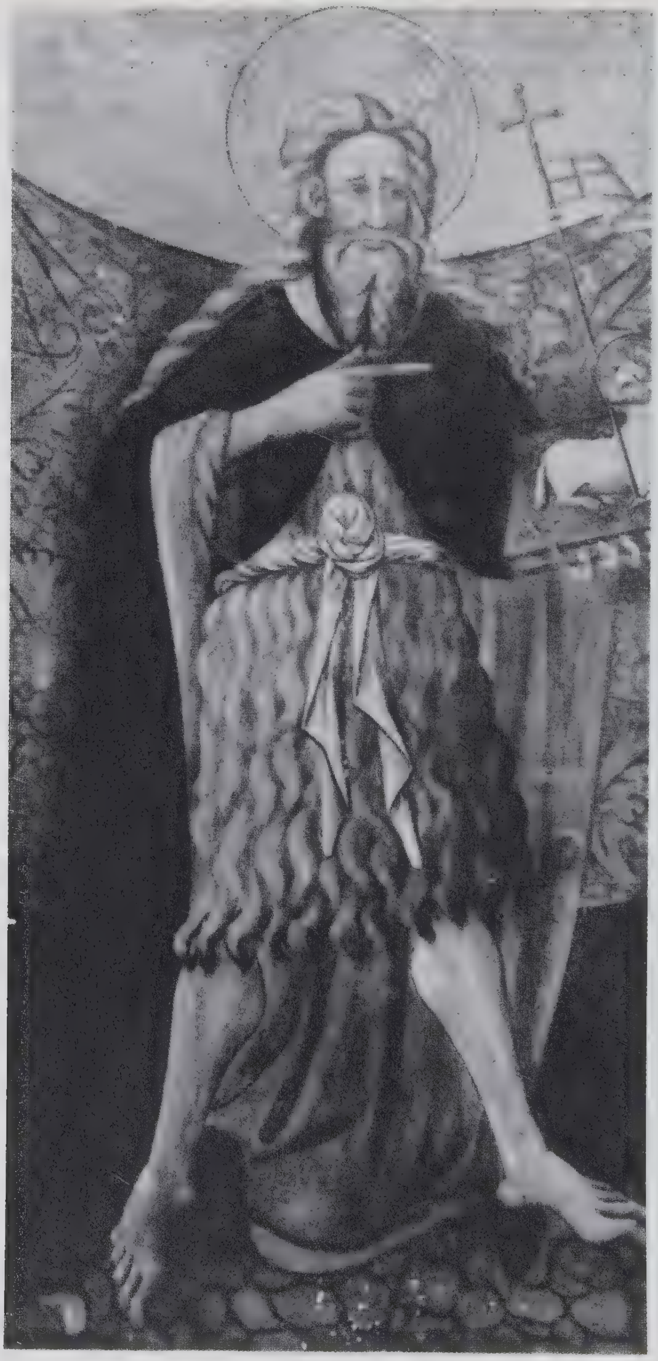

FIG. 259. THE TORRALBA MASTER. ST. JOHN BAPTIST. MUSEO CERRALBO, MADRID
(*Courtesy of the Museum*)

1953, to the Academia de San Luis, Saragossa, of which a copy has been kindly sent me, advances the persuasive hypothesis that the fragments by the Lanaja Master might have been parts of the retable of which the principal panel was the Madonna in the Lázaro Collection, Madrid, a painting ordered by a Sperandeo de Santa Fe and reported to come from Tarazona.[3]

The Burnham Master

No more characteristic a work by this other patently Aragonese representative of the international style, whose personality I defined in volume VII,[1] could be desired than a St. John Baptist in the possession of Mr. Ludwig Losbichler at Barcelona (Fig. 258), originally the central compartment [2] or at least one of the principal pieces in a retable. I emphasize the word "characteristic" because the panel incorporates so plainly his customary Aragonese ponderousness both in the physique of the Precursor and in the very heavy gold embossings, and because, as usual, he follows the tendency of the region of Spain where he lived by setting aside ordinary standards of human comeliness.

The Torralba Master

Amidst the almost desperately interrelated manners of the Aragonese painters during the first half of the fifteenth century, we gradually narrow down the choice until we arrive at the conviction that the Torralba Master was the author of a panel of St. John Baptist, obviously once the main, central compartment of a retable, now in the Museo Cerralbo, Madrid (Fig. 259). The St. Andrew in the principal panel of the altarpiece dedicated to this Apostle at Torralba de Ribota exhibits the same stylized moustache and grim glance, and beneath his feet is the identical sort of schematized pavement or earth. For the part of the hair and locks falling over the shoulders a comparison should be made, among many instances in the Master's output, especially with the good centurion and the holy women supporting the Virgin in the Crucifixion of the Keck Collection, New York.[1] The Baptist stands against a textile draped with much the same lines as the central St. Bartholomew at Castelnau de Bretenoux,[2] and his halo is patterned with the artist's preferred figuration of grouped dots.

In the case of two impressive panels of the enthroned Sts. Blaise and Anthony Abbot, once the centres of a retable of double dedication or perchance of two companion retables [3] but now prized possessions of the Museum of Fine Arts at Springfield, Massachusetts, works that manifestly belong to about 1425 in the evolution of the Aragonese school (Fig. 260),

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[3] Vols. III, p. 214, and IV, p. 638.

[1] P. 816.

[2] The dimensions are 1.30 metres in height by .66 in width.

[1] Vol. VII, fig. 326.

[2] Vol. VIII, p. 672.

[3] The dimensions of each are 54 inches in height by 23½ in width.

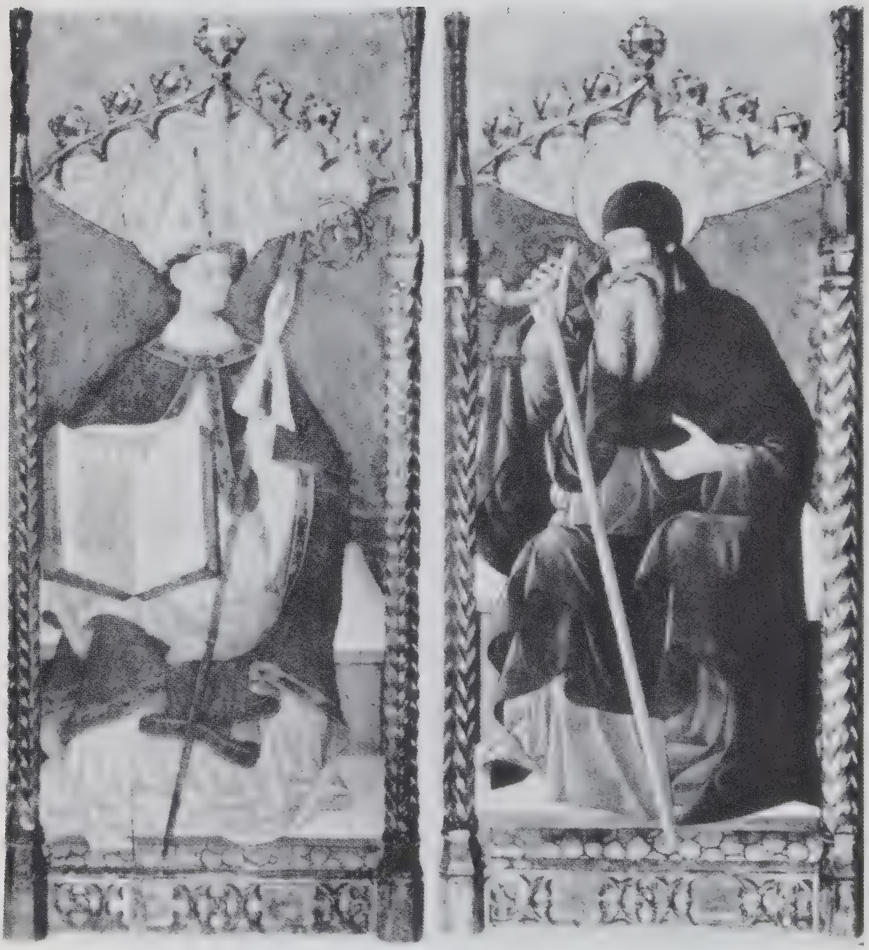

Fig. 260. THE TORRALBA MASTER. STS. BLAISE AND ANTHONY ABBOT. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS
(Courtesy of the Museum)

it is again the peculiarly conventionalized pavement or ground that provides the first clue in regard to their actual author; and, thus enlightened, we soon perceive a number of even Morellian corroborations, showing that he is the Torralba Master. The transition from the nose to the forehead is harshly standardized in precisely his fashion; St. Anthony's moustache exactly repeats the capriciously spreading lines of this adornment of the face on the Cerralbo Baptist; and the ends of the spidery fingers holding the Baptist's book dangle over the edge of St. Blaise's volume and over the top of St. Anthony's staff. Nor has the Master, with his Aragonese temperament, spared us the surly expression that he cultivates even on his sacred personages. Both the saints are seated against fabrics that in brocades and lines reiterate his favorite practice for such settings. According to a frequent custom in Spanish mediaeval painting, St. Blaise's volume is inscribed with the collect for his day, which, however, is not the one used in the modern Church or in any old missal with which I am familiar.

Juan de Sevilla (Johannes Hispalensis)

As so often, Don José Gudiol Ricart [1] has once more made a major contribution to the ordering and clarification of the history of Spanish painting — in this instance by recognizing what others, as well as I, had obtusely failed to discern, i.e., that the Johannes Hispalensis who signed a triptych in the Lázaro Collection, Madrid,[2] is identical with the artist to whom I had given the pseudonym of the Sigüenza Master. In consequence, the works registered by me [3] under this Master's name are now to be transferred to the account of Juan de Sevilla, for whose name Johannes Hispalensis is the Latin. The retable of St. Andrew and a hallowed deacon is no longer in the cathedral of Sigüenza and has probably passed into private possession at Barcelona. I am more and more convinced that the deacon cannot be St. Vincent, who, as a matter of fact, is depicted among the small figures on the uprights and so would scarcely have been also one of the retable's main themes; but, despite a good deal of research, I have been unable to discover what deacon was intended. The identity of the escutcheons on the Coronation once in the Van Stolk Collection, The Hague, but now in the Louvre with those of the sections of the retable of Sts. John Baptist and Catherine still in the cathedral of Sigüenza shows, as Gudiol notes, that it once belonged to the same assemblage, and he reasonably guesses that the fragment with an episcopal saint in the Mateu Collection, Barcelona (formerly belonging to the Marqués de Valderrey, Madrid [4]), may also have this source because the accompanying heraldic castles and lions appear on the sections of the retable now in the Prado.

[1] *Goya*, no. 5 (1955), 258.
[2] My vol. III, p. 316.
[3] Vols. III, pp. 175–176 and 330–332; IV, pp. 636–638; and VIII, pp. 660–662.
[4] Vol. III, p. 332.

To the group of paintings that I had gathered, Gudiol has perceptively added: a triptych of the Crucifixion in the Guasch Collection, Barcelona (which, as a matter of fact, I myself had recognized as a production of the "Sigüenza Master" but not yet had time to publish); a fragment of an upright of a retable with the figure of an Apostle that from the possession of Benito Pardo, Paris, has passed to that of Alfred Brod, London; and the major parts of a retable of St. Peter Martyr in the Torrents Collection, Barcelona.[5] He may very well see correctly in claiming for Juan de Sevilla also two panels of the retable almost all of which was once in the Retana Collection, Madrid,[6] and thus by implication he must similarly attribute the other sections; and yet I cannot give my unconditional adhesion to his contention, although I would no longer hold to an ascription to Juan de Leví himself and had myself once entertained the possibility of the Sigüenza Master's execution.[7] I am somewhat less willing to concur in Gudiol's linking of Juan de Sevilla with Juan de Peralta, for whom I have proposed on a former page [8] conceivable affiliations with the Liria Master, and I cannot but reflect that, so far as I am able to learn, there is no town of Peralta in southern Spain from which Juan de Peralta, if he is equal to Juan de Sevilla, could have derived his name, whereas places so called are found in the provinces of Tarragona and Lérida, not too far distant from Liria in the eastern part of the peninsula. The Liria Master, moreover, in the Apostles, for instance, of the very Liria retable, betrays the same curious drawing of the ear, as if semi-detached, that is one of Juan de Sevilla's peculiarities. Nor can I agree to what Gudiol admits is a mere surmise, namely that we perhaps ought to see a youthful achievement of Johannes Hispalensis, before he betook himself north, in a St. Michael in the Provincial Museum, Seville, which remains a puzzle to me. It is a brilliant idea of his to seek the artist's training from the Giottesque school implanted at Toledo by Starnina, but he has not yet

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[5] The parts are the central effigy and four scenes from his life, of which only one is clear, the frequent subject of his assassination or martyrdom, and the other three, as in his retable of St. Andrew and a canonized deacon from Sigüenza, are obscure in theme. In none of the several accounts of St. Peter Martyr that I have read do I find any story of his arraignment before a potentate, who seems to be represented as a barbarian, or of his resulting imprisonment. Countless miracles of healing are told of him, but I have yet to unearth the narrative that relates how, while still living and accompanied by the friar who afterward shared his martyrdom, he exorcised a maiden at the behest of her parents. I have sometimes even wondered whether, as in other retables by Johannes Hispalensis, two sacred personages were honored, the second being in this case a Dominican also, whom I do not recognize but to whom the arraignment would apply.

[6] Vol. X, p. 315. The parts that I have now ascertained to be in the Academia de San Carlos, Mexico City, are the seated Sts. Matthew and Luke and the former's martyrdom; the predella has reached the Smith College Museum of Art at Northampton, Massachusetts; but I have not discovered with surety what has become of the Crucifixion.

[7] Vol. VIII, p. 660.

[8] 593.

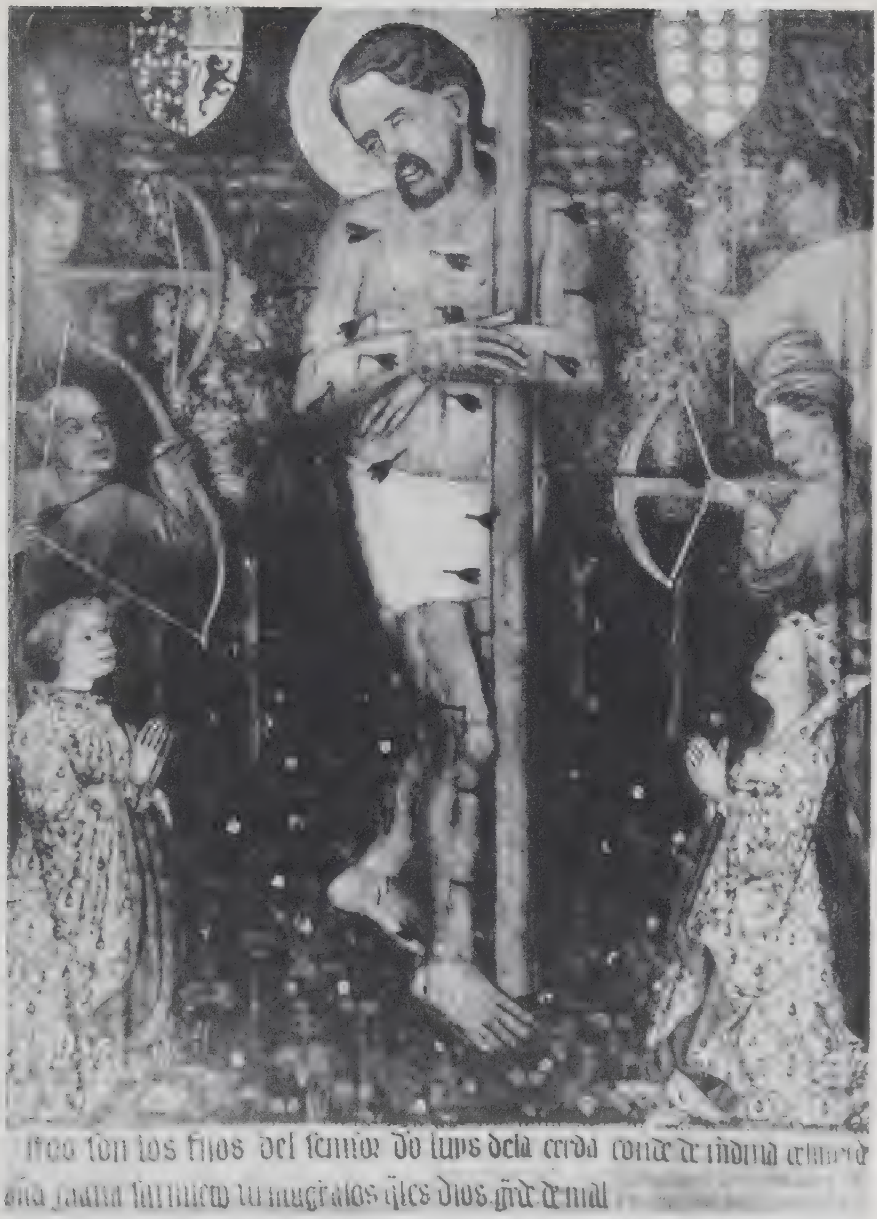
son los fijos del senior do luys dela cerda conde de medina
los q̄les dios gr̄de de mal

FIG. 261. JUAN DE SEVILLA. ST. SEBASTIAN'S ORDEAL OF THE ARROWS.
MUSEO CERRALBO, MADRID
(*Courtesy of the Museum*)

fully persuaded me to abandon my first belief rather in a dependence upon Aragon.

To the extensive array of Juan's recognized output, I myself wish to join what is surely one of his most interesting productions. On internal evidence I had first reached the conclusion that only the Sigüenza Master, whom Gudiol has now shown to be Johannes Hispalensis, could have executed a panel in the Museo Cerralbo, Madrid, depicting St. Sebastian's ordeal of the arrows in the presence of two young donors named La Cerda (Fig. 261); and then I suddenly realized that the evidence of my eyes was confirmed objectively by this aristocratic family's known patronage of the artist, exemplified in his principal extant work, the retable of Sts. John Baptist and Catherine [9] done for the chapel of the family in the cathedral of Sigüenza, which in 1491 was ceded to another great house called Los Arces.[10] An inscription in old Spanish at the base of the Cerralbo panel may be translated: "These are the children of Señor Don Luis de La Cerda, Count of Medinaceli, and of Doña Juana Sarmiento, his wife, whom may God defend from evil: the son is called Don Gastón de La Cerda, and the daughter Doña María de la Cerda." Luis de la Cerda, third Count of Medinaceli, dying in 1447, was succeeded by this son of his first marriage (who himself lived only until 1454), and, since the children look to be in their middle teens, the picture should probably be dated about 1435. Medinaceli lies close to Sigüenza, and the panel is embellished at the upper left with the escutcheon of the family of La Cerda, balanced at the right by that of the Sarmientos (?). In the retable of Sts. John Baptist and Catherine, the castle and lion of Castile in the heraldic embellishment of the section now in the Prado [11] are really the blazons of the two right quarters of the shield of the house of La Cerda.

Even without these historical clues, the stylistic factors are sufficient, I believe, to stamp the Cerralbo picture as a creation of Juan de Sevilla, despite the absence of some of his most characteristic means of recognition such as the little heads with their spreading coiffures or the beady eyes. It is doubtful, indeed, whether the main compartment of the retable of the Baptist and St. Catherine would have easily been seen to embody his craft, were it not for the evidence of the lateral pieces. Many painters of the period represent the hair combed back from the face in curls but not with precisely the lines and chiaroscuro that Juan de Sevilla affects in the St. Sebastian and the archer at the lower right, as well as in such figures in other works as the unidentified female saint in the predella of the Demandolx-Dedons Collection, Marseilles.[12] The executioner of the hallowed deacon in this predella and the decapitator of St. Catherine in the retable of the chapel of the cathedral of Sigüenza supply very exact counterparts for the upper archer at the right in countenance and tousled hair. To turn to Morellian traits, the already mentioned archer at the lower right illustrates in a marked form the Master's delineation of ears, and St. Sebastian betrays the careless drawing of unnaturally large feet that disfigures the executioner in the Demandolx-Dedons predella. The halo of the arrow-wounded saint conforms to the painter's favorite pattern of alternating rosettes and coupled dots.

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[9] Vol. IV, p. 637.

[10] M. Pérez-Villamil, *La catedral de Sigüenza*, Madrid, 1899, p. 339.

[11] Vol. III, p. 209. I have not been able to discover whose are the escutcheons on the sections still in the cathedral of Sigüenza. Some of them are framed by episcopal hats, but I cannot find that they are the shields of any bishops of Sigüenza during the period when the retable must have been carried out. One of the escutcheons displays grouped fleurs-de-lis, which also occupy one half of the shield of the family of La Cerda.

Juan de Flandes

The last years have accumulated evidence pointing not only to a more extended activity of this gifted Fleming in Spain than had been realized but also to the fact that, a discriminating artist, he purposely attained a more monumental manner in large retables than in his best known work, the illuminations of Queen Isabella's polytych, a truth which I had not sufficiently understood when I wrote volume IV.[1] Before we consider the additions that, I believe, can be made to the accretions by which I myself have already ventured[2] to augment the extant deposit of his achievements (accretions, I fear, that have been too far unnoticed by historians of Flemish or indeed European art in general), it will be worth while to take the space to tabulate the recent vicissitudes of some of his previously known productions. From the royal polyptych, the Crowning with Thorns, formerly in the Goudstikker Collection, Rotterdam, now enhances the Institute of Arts at Detroit. Don Eliseo Díez of Barcelona possesses the Deposition and Pietà that in the cathedral of Palencia were removed from the retable of the high altar almost as soon as executed in order to give more space for the statue of St. Antolín at the centre and were housed in the Capilla de S. Fernando[3] in the edifice; but the Crucifixion that was likewise taken down still remains, so far as I know, in the Sala Capitular. The panels that had been built into a later structure over the high altar in S. Lázaro, Palencia,[4] have been dismantled and sold, four of them obtained by the Prado, Madrid, and the other two, the Annunciation and Nativity (Fig. 262), acquired by the Kress Collection, New York. The Visitation that had been a part of the original retable but not inserted in the later structure and consigned, instead, to the sacristy of S. Lázaro entered the Prado long since;[5] and two further panels have appeared in New York and

[12] Vol. VIII, fig. 306.

[1] P. 39.

[2] Vols. IV, pp. 41 and 47; V, p. 324; and IX, p. 11. In connection with the frescoes of Anthony Abbot by Juan de Flandes in the University of Salamanca, for a learned commentary on the saint's function in punishment of those who commit nuisances in convenient spots see L. de Saralegui in *Arte español*, XV (1944–1945), 60.

[3] Vol. IV, p. 38.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

[5] *Ibid.*

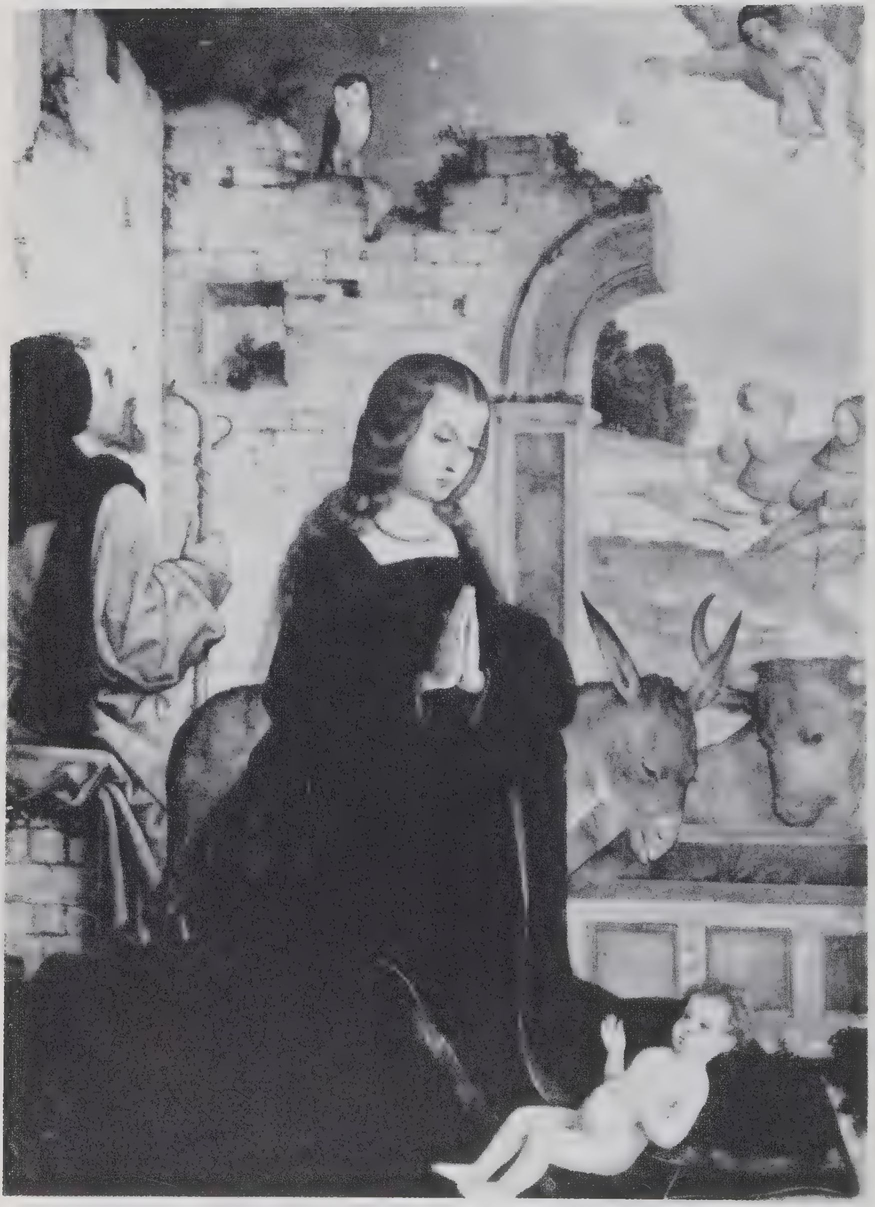

FIG. 262. JUAN DE FLANDES. NATIVITY. KRESS FOUNDATION, NEW YORK

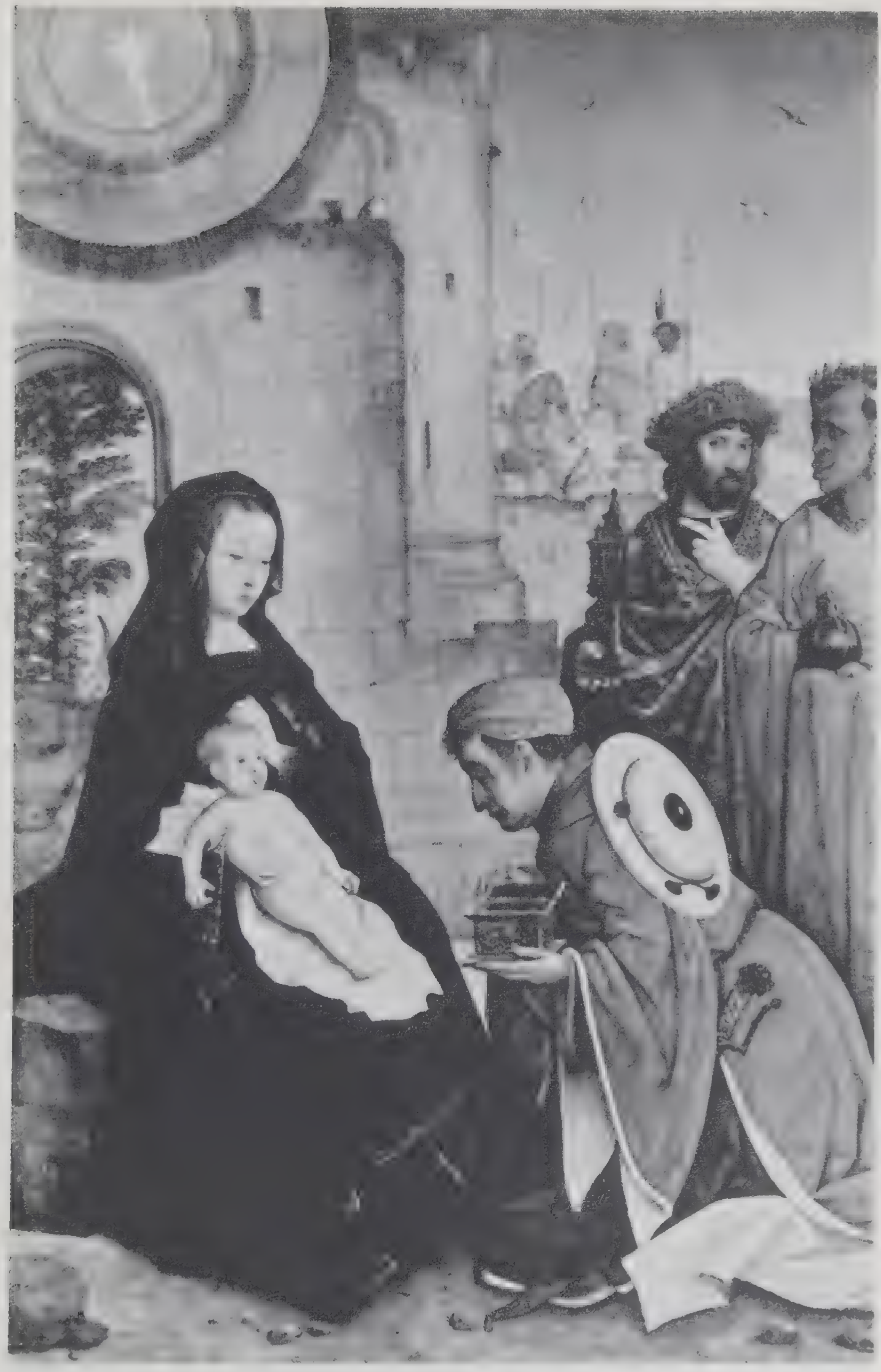

FIG. 263. JUAN DE FLANDES. EPIPHANY. KRESS FOUNDATION, NEW YORK

passed, I think, into the Kress Collection, the Epiphany (Fig. 263) and Baptism (a variant of the rendering in the Collection of the Vizconde de Roda, Madrid [6]) which can scarcely be doubted to have derived from the retable, since they exhibit precisely the same style and even dimensions,[7] and which have been hitherto unknown to scholars, probably because hidden away in some recess of the church. Although the paintings from S. Lázaro are for the most part considerably and properly varied in composition from the same themes in Isabella's miniatures and although the Visitation in the Prado differs in arrangement from the version in the retable of the Palencian cathedral, yet the Annunciation, Nativity, Epiphany, and Agony in the Garden in this retable are almost duplicated in the S. Lázaro renderings. The Entombment from Zamora [8] is now owned by a private collector at Barcelona; and the panel of Sts. Augustine and Roch from Villadiego graces the Gallery of Bob Jones University, Greenville, South Carolina.[9]

Through research, as intelligent as it was diligent, the distinguished canon and archivist of the cathedral of Palencia, Don Jesús San Martín Payo, has finally ferreted out something for which we have long been looking, the detailed records of payments to the various architects, sculptors, and painters who worked upon the retable of the high altar in this church, thus accurately establishing its history; and he has published the material and the logical deductions therefrom in an article both comprehensive and scholarly.[10] Although Juan de Flandes had contracted for the paintings in the retable as early as 1506,[11] he could scarcely have begun work upon the project until about 1510, when we find the mention of the first of the payments to him which continue to the time of his death in 1519, followed until 1521 by notices of concluding remunerations to his widow who was his heir.[12]

In ascribing to Juan de Flandes a hitherto unrecorded Epiphany formerly in the Torres Collection at Palencia and probably deriving from a church in the city or its diocese but at present in international commerce, I have been forestalled, I think, by someone else whose identity I have not discovered; but I heartily concur in the attribution (Fig. 264). Differing in composition from the rendering at Cervera de Pisuerga [13] and with a greater number of large-sized participants than in the versions from S. Lázaro and in the cathedral, Palencia, it is nevertheless sufficiently au-

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[6] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

[7] 49 inches in height by 31 in width.

[8] Vol. IX, p. 11.

[9] Vol. IV, fig. 5.

[10] *Publicaciones de la Institución Tello Téllez de Meneses* (Palencia), No. 10 (1953), 275–312.

[11] See my vol. IV, p. 38.

[12] Ramón Revilla Vielva in an earlier and excellent article on the retable (*Publicaciones de la Institución Tello Téllez de Meneses*, No. 5 (1951), 93 and 98, had proposed 1509 as the date of Juan's completion of work on the retable.

[13] Vol. IV, p. 46.

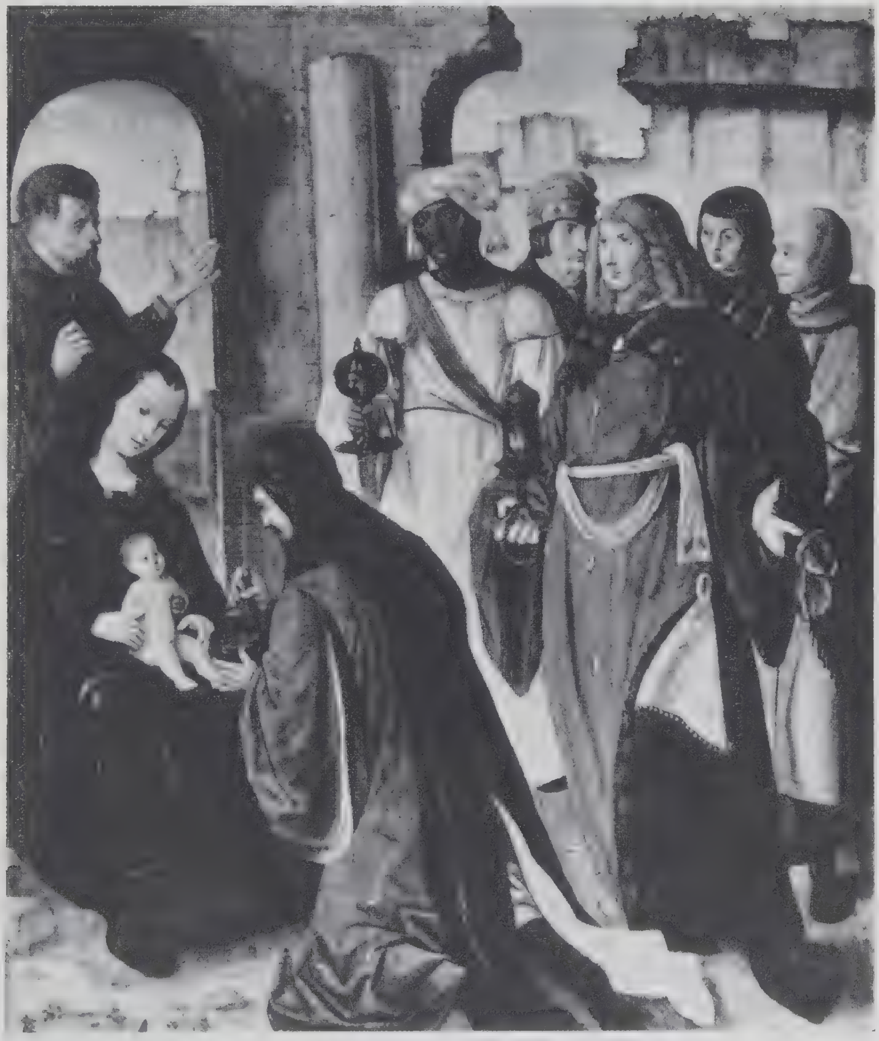

FIG. 264. JUAN DE FLANDES. EPIPHANY. FORMERLY IN THE TORRES COLLECTION, PALENCIA

thenticated by the similarity of the Madonna and Child to the corresponding figures in these versions and by the analogy of the St. Joseph to the foster-father of Christ in the compartments of the Nativity in the two Palencian assemblages. The kneeling Wise man exhibits one of the master's favorite treatments of the hair, as in the Apostle with his back towards us in the S. Lázaro Ascension. The most decided example that we have yet encountered in these volumes of Juan's magnification of the illuminator's technique to a monumentality consonant with the grander effects of an altarpiece, the panel also introduces us in the standing Caucasian Magus and in the retainer just behind him at the left to sterner types of humanity than we should have anticipated from the gentle mood enshrined in the majority of his achievements, thus demonstrating the breadth of his scope.

The recognition of this work by Juan de Flandes and its revelation of his wider capabilities seem to prove him almost surely the author of a panel that constitutes one of the many cases in which I have been rewarded for not making a premature attribution by discovering after many years and much pondering of the problem what appears to me the real truth (Fig. 265). Last known to me as offered for sale at London some twenty years ago,[14] it represents the baptism of a canonized youth, who could be St. Augustine, suggesting that the panel might have been once a section of the same retable as the Sts. Augustine and Roch from Villadiego; [15] but we should then have expected that the prelate administering the sacrament, as St. Ambrose, would, like the youth, have been endowed with a halo, although painters were by no means always consistent in this matter. The theme may therefore be the christening of St. Martin. One of the reasons that I did not forthwith detect the master when I saw the picture in 1936 was that it was said to have come from Granada, with the result that for a long time I vainly sought its creator among the painters of this city during the early Renaissance, stopping especially but in the end futilely over the author of the retable of the martyrdoms in the Granada Museo Arqueológico.[16] A visit of Juan de Flandes to Granada cannot be traced, although it is not impossible that he wandered so far from the focus of his activities in northern Castile; and the likelihood is that, as in so many similar instances, the provenience is falsely alleged.

It ought not to have taken me many glances to perceive that the panel falls within the general manner of Juan de Flandes, and the close resemblance of the glum gentleman staring outward at the prelate's side to the already mentioned retainer of the Magi in the Torres picture or to the Pilate and the reading scribe in the Ecce Homo of the Palencian cathedral is almost enough in itself to establish the attribution. The prelate himself is comparable to the St. Augustine in the panel from Villadiego, and the young man holding the cloth in the christening recalls St.

[14] The dimensions are 44 inches in height by 31½ in width.

[15] See above, p. 618.

[16] Vol. X, p. 243.

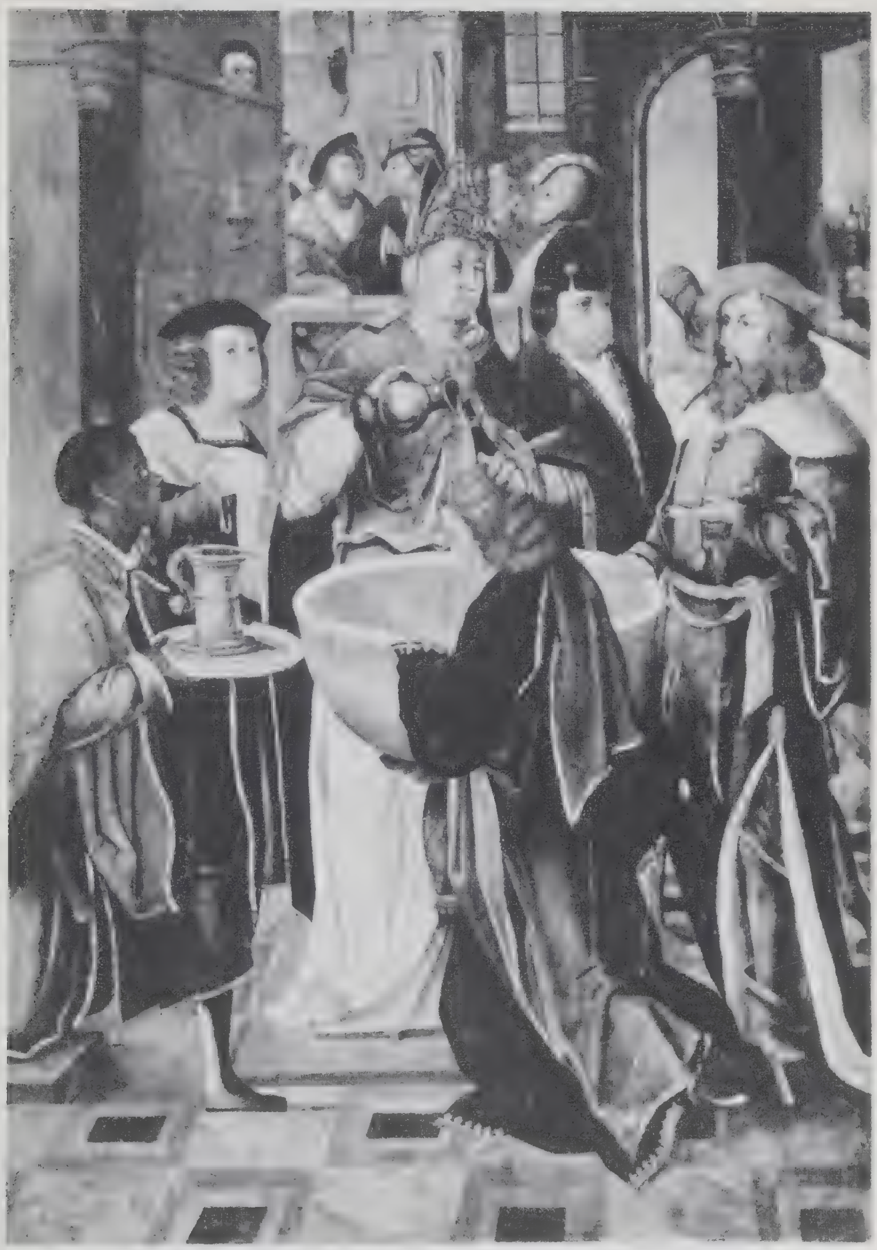

FIG. 265. JUAN DE FLANDES (?). BAPTISM OF A YOUNG SAINT.
DEALER, LONDON

Roch's angel in this panel or even more distinctly the angel in the Baptism of Christ from S. Lázaro. The heavily haired and bearded men of middle age, such as the magnificently accoutred spectator with his hand on the font or one of the group behind the parapet in the background are commonplaces in Juan's output, even in the illuminations; the smooth-faced profile in the middle of the group recalls the disciple at the right in the Supper at Emmaus in the altarpiece of the cathedral of Palencia; and the profile at the extreme right in the group scarcely differs from the face of the friar accompanying St. Francis in the stigmatization of the retable in the cloister of the Old Cathedral at Salamanca.[17] The London picture exemplifies not only the master's occasional resort to rugged human types, as once in a while in his other works, for instance in the Villadiego St. Augustine or in some of the participants in the Nailing to the Cross in Isabella's polyptych, but also a rarer tendency of his to caricature through snooping noses, as in the woman's face visible between the heads at the right and as behind the parapet in the profile at the extreme left, a characteristic not only adumbrated in the man pouring into the jars in the Marriage at Cana in Isabella's miniatures and in the kneeling Apostle at the right in the S. Lázaro Ascension but actually reiterated in the half-seen visage at the extreme right in the Epiphany at Cervera de Pisuerga.[18] The analogies to his other productions, were it necessary, could be multiplied almost *ad libitum*, for example his affection for glossy lights on curling hair or his proclivity for introducing negroes, as in the man carrying the ewer of baptismal water, corresponding to one of the onlookers in the Resurrection of Lazarus in the series of illuminations. The nature of the bit of landscape seen through the window at the right, with its eery towers of castles, is normal with him, and the tonality illustrates his partial Italianization of Flemish color.

It is curious that an unmistakable and attractive achievement of so prominent and easily recognizable an artist as Juan de Flandes should hitherto have passed virtually unnoticed, a panel of St. John Baptist, standing against a landscape, in the Museo Arqueológico, Madrid (Fig. 266). Perhaps through an oversight of mine, the only mentions of the picture as by Juan de Flandes that I have found (and these subsequently to my recognition of its authorship) are: in an account of the reopening of the Museum in 1954 by Jesús Hernández Perera,[19] who adds the information that it comes from a centre of the master's activity, Palencia, and, in this city, from the convent of Sta. Clara; and in Gudiol Ricart's recent book, *Pintura gótica*.[20] Anyone at all familiar with his production will detect forthwith his handicraft, manifest, for example, not only in the conformity of the Precursor's head to an oft repeated type of the painter, as in the repre-

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[17] Vol. IV, p. 40.

[18] For a good illustration of this Epiphany, see the article by Haverkamp Begemann that will immeditely concern us. He is perhaps right in recognizing a portrait of King Ferdinand in the man holding a sceptre next to the negroid Magus.

[19] *Archivo español de arte*, XXVII (1954), 88.

[20] P. 359.

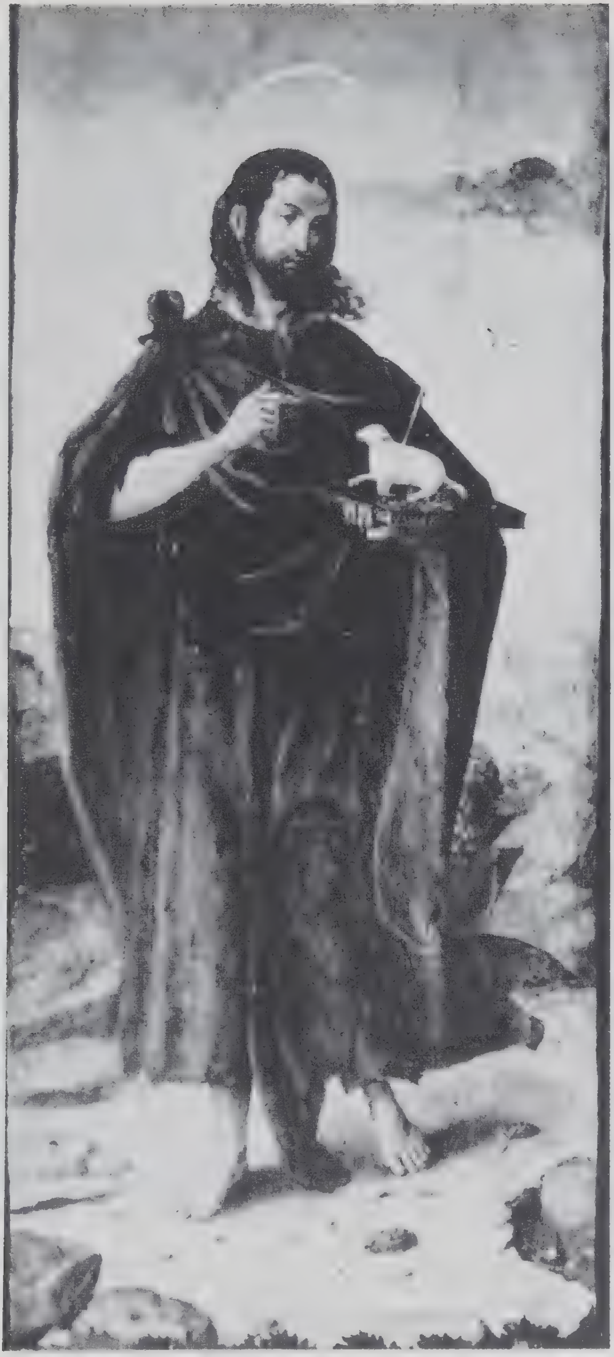

FIG. 266. JUAN DE FLANDES. ST. JOHN BAPTIST.
MUSEO ARQUEOLÓGICO, MADRID
(*Photo. Mas*)

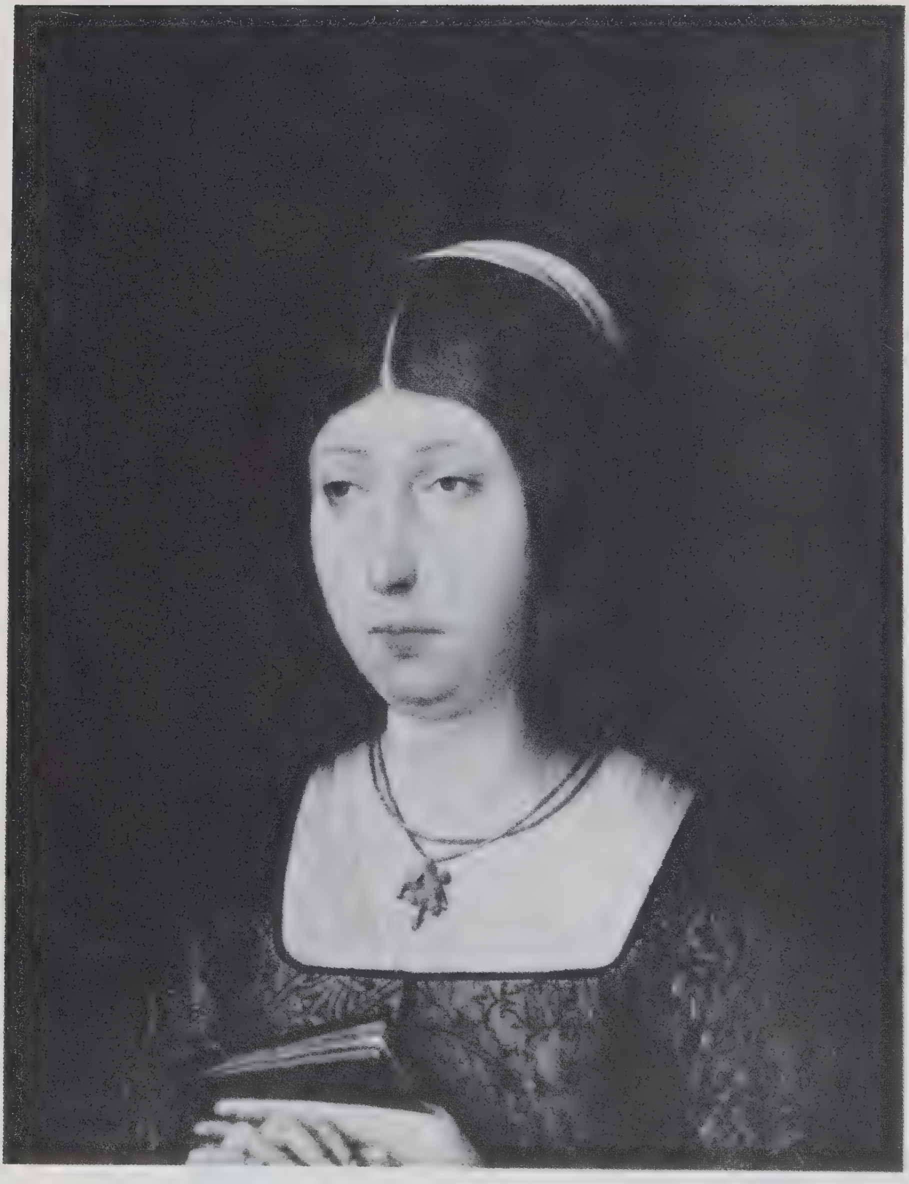

Fig. 267. JUAN DE FLANDES (?). ISABELLA THE CATHOLIC. BROMLEY-DAVENPORT COLLECTION, CAPESTHORNE HALL, MACCLESFIELD, ENGLAND
(*Courtesy of the owners*)

sentations of Christ in the cycle from S. Lázaro, Palencia, but also in the nature of the landscape. The mode of treating the saint renders it unthinkable that the panel should have constituted the centre of a retable to which belonged the episodes from his life in the Ariana Museum, Geneva, and the Mayer van den Bergh Collection, Antwerp, as well as, perhaps, the Baptism in the possession of the Vizconde de Roda, Madrid.[21]

More exciting than all these additions to our legacy from Juan de Flandes are the emergence of a portrait of Queen Isabella, not incredibly assignable to him, in an English private collection and the possibility that he did a likeness of her husband that has recently attracted attention in the Museum of Poitiers. I must confess to not having seriously doubted the right of Juan de Flandes to the Queen's portrait until the authority of Don Diego Angulo weakened somewhat my conviction, since in a letter to me and in a subsequent article[22] he expresses his inability to see clearly in the picture the workmanship of Juan or, indeed, of any of the known painters employed by her and Ferdinand. Belonging to Mr. Bromley-Davenport at Capesthorne Hall, Macclesfield, Cheshire, the effigy of Isabella (Fig. 267) has the primary interest of showing her at an earlier age than in the two well known portraits at Madrid, which will concern us in a subsequent paragraph. She looks, however, far less girlish than in the representation of her (together with Ferdinand) in the panel depicting the Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes (in the Royal Palace, Madrid) from the polyptych that Juan de Flandes, with some collaboration of Michael Sittow, did for her; but there is an obvious desire for complimentary rejuvenation in the likenesses of her and her consort in this panel, since they were already well on in their forties in 1500 or shortly before, the time usually accepted for the polyptych's execution, and the Bromley-Davenport portrait probably reveals her, less flatteringly, more nearly as she actually appeared at the very end of the fifteenth century. Except for the greater youthfulness of the Queen's likeness in the panel of the Loaves and Fishes, which is by Juan de Flandes's own hand, the practical identity in every respect with the portrait at Capesthorne Hall would appear in itself to authenticate the latter as the master's achievement, but, even apart from this, all aspects of the picture had seemed to me to bespeak his craft.

It is the general agreement with this craft that creates a strong presumption in favor of claiming for him the portrait of Ferdinand at Poitiers (Fig. 268), which, nevertheless, exhibits no such concrete links with his works as the Isabella and is, as a matter of fact, rather different from the idealized representation of the King in the panel of the Loaves and Fishes. Angulo refuses to ascribe the Poitiers picture to the author of the painting in the Bromley-Davenport Collection, though assigning the former to some Fleming; and he is less ready than he used to be to accept the portrait of Ferdinand in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, as a production of the man who has been proposed for the honor, the Flemish Master of the

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[21] Vol. IV, p. 48.

[22] *Archivo español de arte*, XXVII (1954), 260–261.

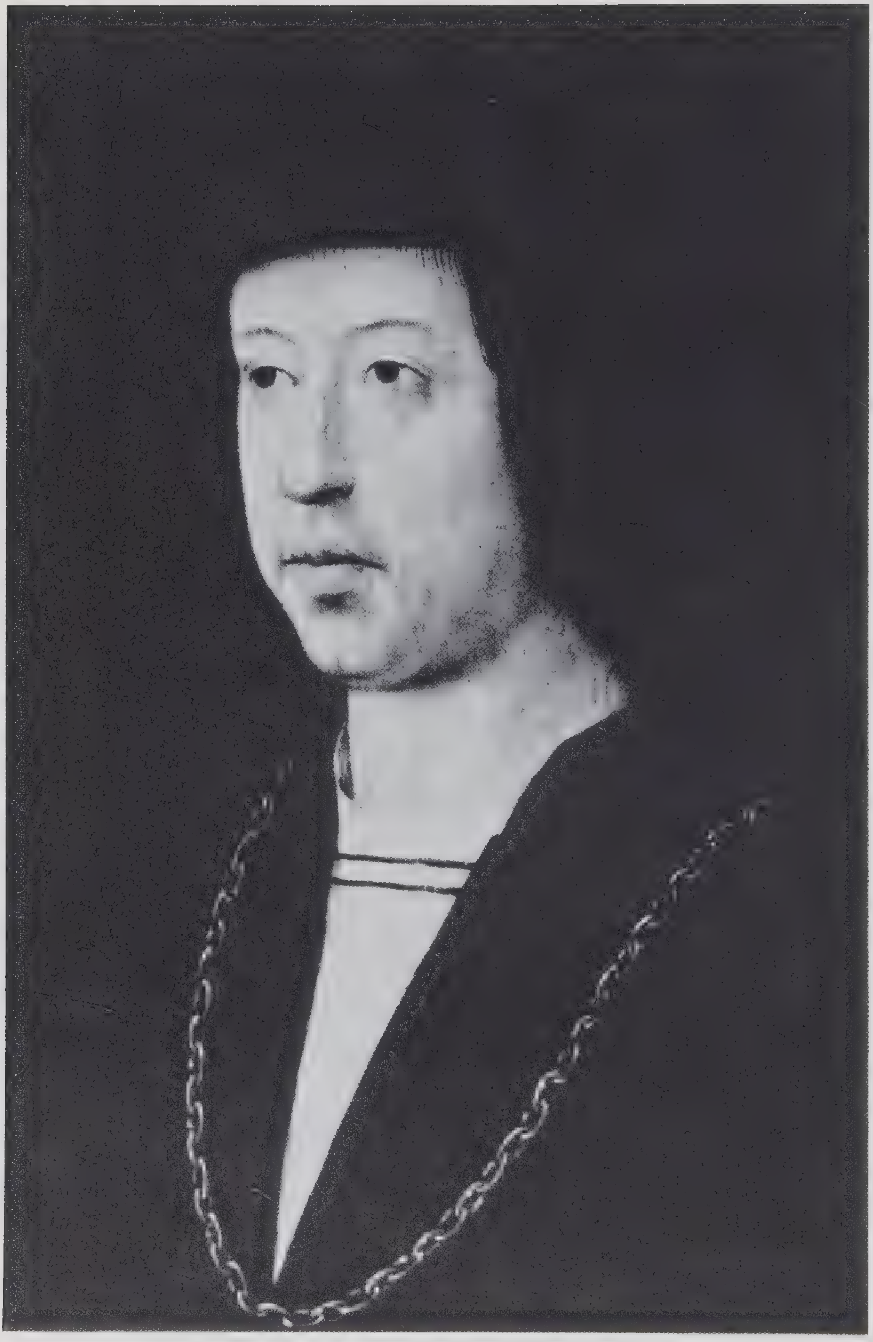

Fig. 268. JUAN DE FLANDES (?). FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC. MUSEUM, POITIERS
(*Photo. Plessis*)

Magdalene Legend, who then would have to be supposed (without evidence from any record) to have visited Spain. If this artist of the Low Countries was really the author of the Berlin portrait, Angulo once [23] advanced as the merest possibility his identification with Isabella's still mist-enveloped court-painter, Melchior Alemán [24] (since the adjective *alemán* was employed at the time to cover also the Low Countries). My present desire is to concur with Jean Babelon [25] that the Berlin version, whoever its author, was suggested by the Poitiers portrait.

The next question arising is whether the Bromley-Davenport and Poitiers portraits could be the originals from which the infinitesimally varied but weaker copies at Windsor Castle were soon made in the sixteenth century by an as yet unrecognized hand, which Angulo considers to be possibly that of a Spaniard. One of the arguments for believing the Poitiers picture to have been a companion-piece to the Bromley-Davenport Isabella is that Ferdinand, who was his wife's junior by a year, seems to be depicted at about the same age as she; but an objection is that the sitters in both portraits direct their glance to the left, whereas in paired likenesses, for instance in the two at Windsor, they would be expected to face each other. Angulo ingeniously supposes, therefore, that the Windsor copies might have been made from originals, conceivably the Bromley-Davenport and Poitiers paintings, which had not in the first place constituted a pair but were executed independently of each other, and that the Windsor Isabella had been inverted to look towards the right in order to form a balance, in the usual way for coupled portraits, to her consort.[26]

It is not impossible that the puzzles in regard to either the Poitiers or Windsor pictures are solved by the information which the scholar Antonio de la Torre [27] has gleaned from the archives to the effect that in 1489 Ferdinand and Isabella had in their employ a highly valued painter called Antonio Inglés who is definitely recorded as having done portraits of their children and who, although no authenticated achievement of his has come to light as a touchstone, might be guessed to have practised the north-European manner which the works in question incorporate.

In an article,[28] admirable for its scholarship and for its thorough conversancy with all the aspects of Juan de Flandes, Haverkamp Begemann has made out a strong case for assigning to this painter the portrait of Isabella at a more mature age which others, as well as I,[29] had believed to be only a copy of the one in the Royal Palace at Madrid tentatively attributed to Bermejo and which, also once in this Palace but now removed

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[23] *Archivo español de arte*, XXIV (1951), 260.

[24] See my vol. IV, p. 33.

[25] *Bulletin* of the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Poitiers, No. 7, May & July, 1952, pp. 2–3.

[26] For Angulo's former ideas about the Windsor pair, see *Archivo hispalense*, 1951, pp. 333–335; and *Clavileño*, II (1951), no. 12, p. 25.

[27] *Arte español*, 1955, primer *cuatrimestre*, 105–110.

[28] *Archivo español de arte*, XXV (1952), 237.

[29] Vol. V, p. 208.

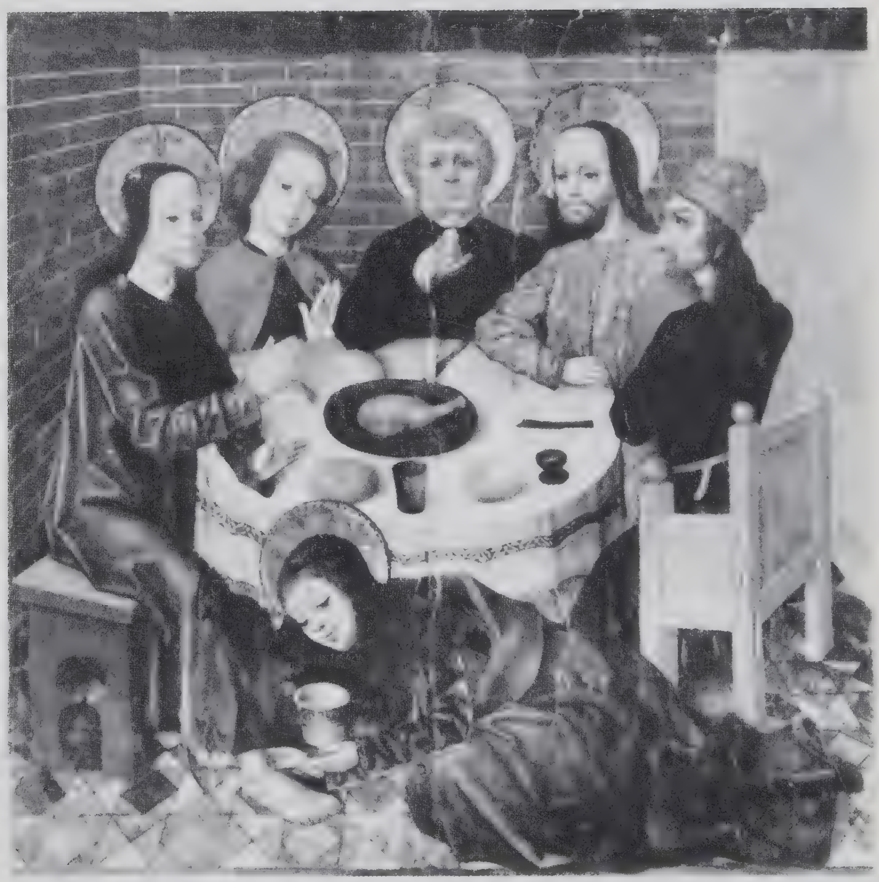

FIG. 269. THE ROBREDO MASTER. THE MAGDALENE WASHING CHRIST'S FEET. AMATLLER COLLECTION, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

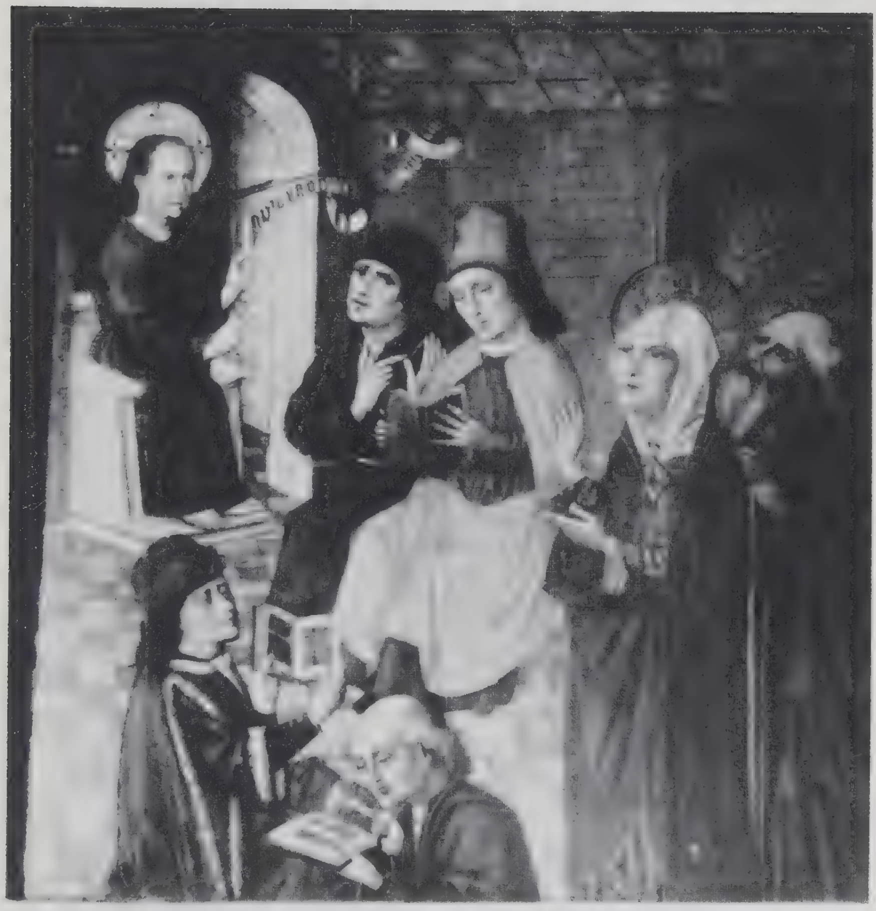

Fig. 270. THE ROBREDO MASTER. THE YOUNG CHRIST AMONG THE DOCTORS. PERDIGÓ COLLECTION, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

to the former winter residence of the kings, near Madrid, named El Pardo, he quite as persuasively argues to be the original, relegating the "Bermejo" version to a copy's status. It is less easy to follow him in his contention that the portrait in El Pardo was a posthumous representation of the Queen. There is much to be said also for Puyvelde's [30] recognition of the craft of Juan de Flandes in a charming portrait of a very little girl, holding a dead bird, in the Brussels Museum, whether or not he is right in identifying her as the Margaret of Austria who subsequently was married to Isabella's son, the ill-starred Prince John. Since, after all, Flemish art, even in Spain, is not the essential theme of my volumes, I refuse the task of attempting to decide the vexed question [31] as to which is the original and which the copy (by the master himself?) in the case of the portrait of an adolescent maiden, once belonging to the Marqués de Santillana at Madrid and now in the Thyssen Collection at Lugano,[32] and a version owned by Mr. Francis M. Sedgwick of Santa Barbara, California.

With entire impossibility Juan de Flandes has been made responsible for a Via Dolorosa in the De Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco. Michael Sittow,[33] his rival at Isabella's court, is a more likely candidate, but I should hesitate to champion the attribution even to him.

The Robredo Master

To my list of works by the painter of Burgos whom I have called the Robredo Master [1] and who, at least eventually, closely resembled the St. Nicholas Master in style, Gudiol [2] has added a few productions probably done at an earlier moment in his career, when his procedure was more like that of Jorge Inglés. Inasmuch as two of these derive from a retable of the Magdalene, he prefers to dub him the Magdalene Master, but I see no reason for changing to this less specific title. The two panels are an effigy of the Magdalene, probably the retable's centre, in the Collection of the Vizconde de Roda, Madrid, and a narrative piece, representing her washing of Christ's feet, in the Amatller Collection, Barcelona (Fig. 269). After careful examination, it seems impossible to doubt that Gudiol is right in claiming for our Master a panel of the Magdalene's levitation once in the De Miró Collection, Madrid, which I catalogued in volume IV [3] as questionably a creation of the St. Nicholas Master and which must come from another retable dedicated to her that may very well have included

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[30] Leo van Puyvelde in *Les arts plastiques*, 1948, p. 267.

[31] Otto Benesch, *The Art of the Renaissance in Northern Europe*, Harvard University Press, 1945, pp. 75 and 152; Catalogue of the exhibition of *Holbein and his Contemporaries*, John Herron Art Museum, Indianapolis, 1950, no. 27; and Haverkamp Begemann, *op. cit.*, 240.

[32] See my vol. IV, p. 48.

[33] Vol. IX, p. 792.

[1] Vol. VII, p. 854.

[2] *Pintura gótica*, p. 319.

[3] Fig. 96.

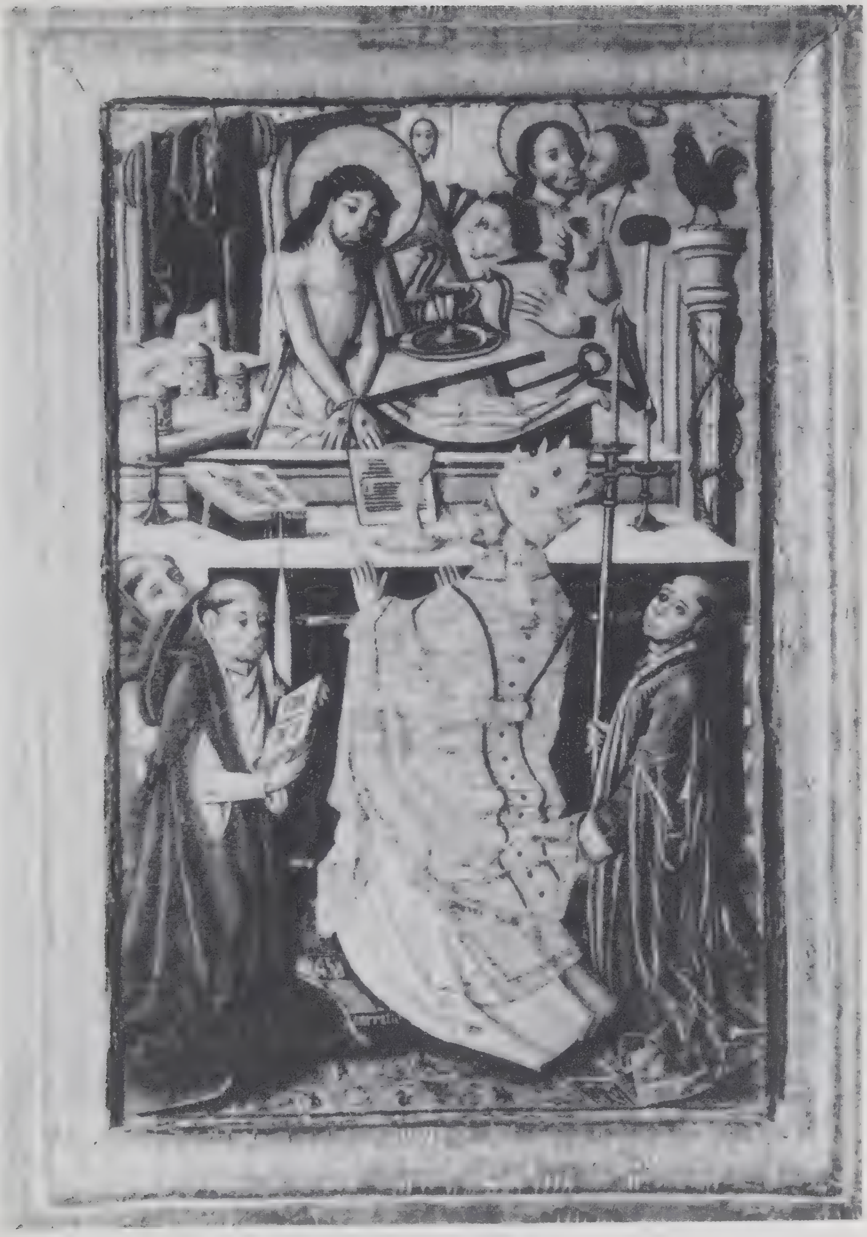

FIG. 271. CARILLO. MASS OF ST. GREGORY. GALLERY OF THE PALACE OF THE LEGION OF HONOR, SAN FRANCISCO
(*Photo. Schiff*)

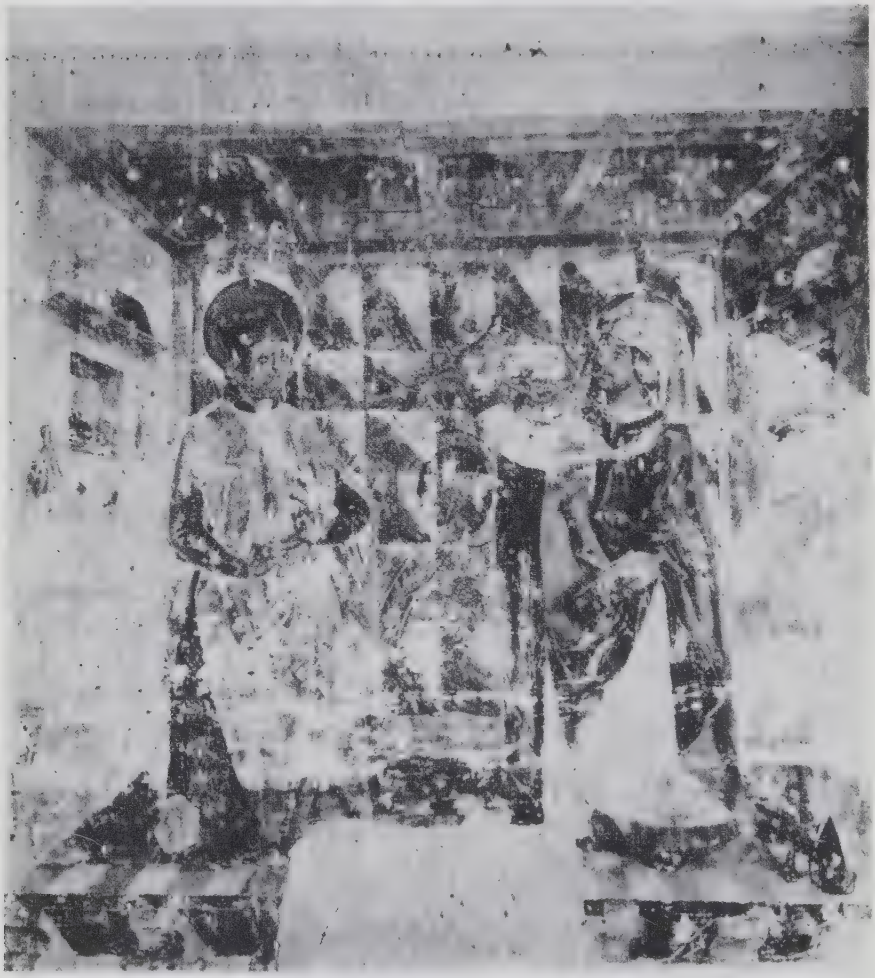

FIG. 272. CARILLO (?). STS. COSMAS AND DAMIAN, FRESCO.
PARISH CHURCH, BARCIENCE
(*Photo. Mas*)

the picture in the Prado,[4] thus to be interpreted as a fragment of a representation of the feast in the house of the Pharisee from which the figure of the Magdalene penitent at the Saviour's feet has been lost. On my own account I dare to increase the Robredo Master's presumptive early period with a panel of Christ in the Temple in the Perdigó Collection, Barcelona (Fig. 270), the links with the painting in the Amatller Collection being especially intimate. The words on the young Redeemer's scroll are taken from Luke II, 49.

CARILLO

The likelihood that the name *Carillo* or *Carrillo* occurring on several extant Hispano-Flemish pictures should be interpreted as the signature of a painter active in the general region of Toledo is increased by the emergence of another panel apparently so inscribed, a Mass of St. Gregory (Fig. 271) which has now been acquired by the Gallery of the Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco, California, and which constitutes only a variant of the rendering that exhibits the same word, in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England.[1] Whereas in the two apposite panels known to me, the Cambridge Mass of St. Gregory and the Berlin Madonna, the spelling is *Carillo,* it is written in the San Francisco version in the more usual Spanish form *Carrillo;* but Mayer [2] seems to say that in the specimens with which he was familiar it appeared with the double *r*, and I see no adequate reason for questioning the authenticity of the inscription on the San Francisco painting. Moreover, in 1476 a painter, Alonso Carrillo, is recorded at Guadalupe,[3] in the part of Spain where another inscription on the Cambridge picture shows that it was installed, namely in one of two towns, either Torrico or Torrijos; [4] and it is possible that the letters which in the signature I read as *AC* before *Carillo* are in reality *AO,* standing for Alonso. The existence of two treatments of the Mass of St. Gregory would imply that "Carillo" made a specialty of plaques of this subject, which were hung in churches as supplicatory memorials for the dead.

The panel at San Francisco broadens our knowledge of the painter's range in human types enough to make it possible that he executed the frescoed Sts. Cosmas and Damian which I recorded in volume VI [5] as in the church of the *granja* at Barcience (Fig. 272). The cardinal in the front at the left in the panel is recalled by the St. Cosmas, also at the left, and the server with the candle at the right resembles in upturned

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[4] Vol. VII, fig. 347.

[1] See my vol. IV, pp. 327–332. The dimensions of the San Francisco panel are (including the frame) 18 inches in height by 15 in width.

[2] See my vol. IV, p. 330.

[3] Fray Germán Rubio, *Historia de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*, Barcelona, 1926, p. 398.

[4] My vol. IV, pp. 328–329.

[5] P. 644.

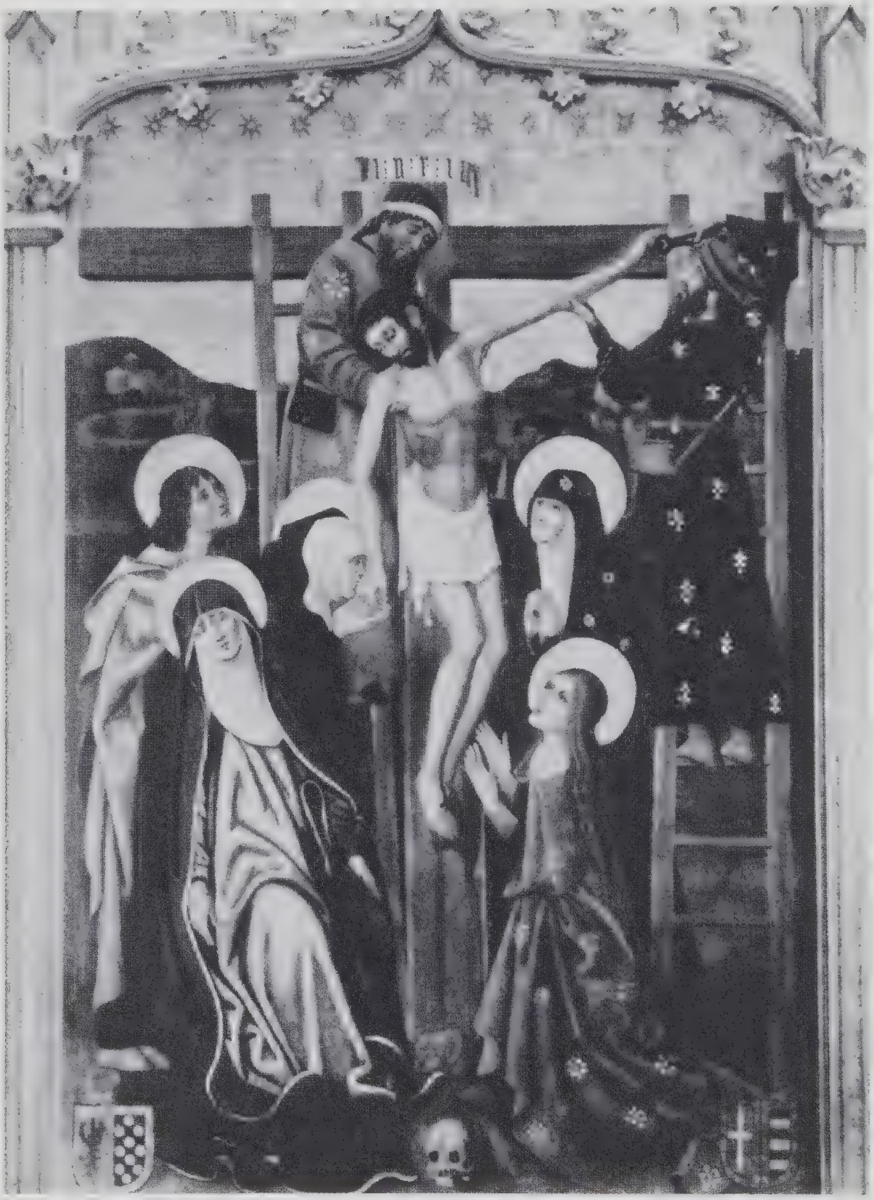

FIG. 273. THE PAYÁ MASTER. DEPOSITION.
PAYÁ COLLECTION, MADRID
(*Photo. Moreno*)

countenance the St. Damian. It is to be noted furthermore that the fixed glance of St. Cosmas is repeated in the acolyte in the Cambridge rendering of the Mass of St. Gregory, which in the case of the halo of the Christ appearing above the altar exhibits, save for the enclosed cross, a figuration identical with that of the nimbuses of the two patrons of medicine. If after all we should read *Torrijos* instead of *Torrico* as the place for which the Cambridge rendering was made, we should have an additional reason for ascribing the fresco to Carillo since Barcience lies very close to the former town; but even Torrico and Barcience are within the range of a single painter as situated in the western part of the province of Toledo.

The Payá Master and Works of Other Hispano-Flemish Masters in Andalusia

A small and patently Andalusian Deposition in the Collection of Don Joaquín Payá, Madrid (Fig. 273) resembles stylistically to so pronounced a degree the Pietà in the church of S. Juan de los Reyes, Granada [1] (Fig. 274) as strongly to suggest execution by the same artist and as thus to justify tentatively the isolation of a new personality in the art of southern Spain to whom the sobriquet of the Payá Master may reasonably be given. In human types analogies should be noted between the following figures: first and foremost, the St. John Evangelist of the Pietà and the Magdalene of the Deposition; the two Christs, even in the queer schematization of the strained cords of the necks; the Granada St. John Baptist and the Payá Saviour in the treatment of the heads; and the two representations of Our Lord's mother. The fine susceptibility to landscape manifested in the Granada picture is reiterated in the very similar vista behind the actors in the Payá Deposition; and even the figuration of the haloes, with the stress upon rays in their designs, is much the same. The pattern of decorated squares in the diapering of the gold above the landscape in Señor Payá's picture is characteristically Andalusian. There are no accurate means of determining whether the painter, with such a reputation as to obtain the commission to do a work in S. Juan de los Reyes into which the two recent royal conquerors of Granada were introduced, was a native of the city or the Juan Sánchez Izquierdo from Seville whom I have suggested in my volume V [2] as a possibility for the authorship of the Pietà. We might be helped in the problem if the escutcheons at the base of the Payá panel could be identified.

A Pietà, once in the Cepero Collection at Seville, certainly displays close links with the manner of Pedro Sánchez I, but on the whole I am disposed to ascribe it rather to some intimately allied painter (Fig. 275).[3]

Precisely the same kind of unusually imposing landscape reappears in a Deposition belonging to a private collection in southern France, which

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[1] Vol. V, p. 25.

[2] P. 26.

[3] The dimensions are 105 centimetres in height by 104 in width.

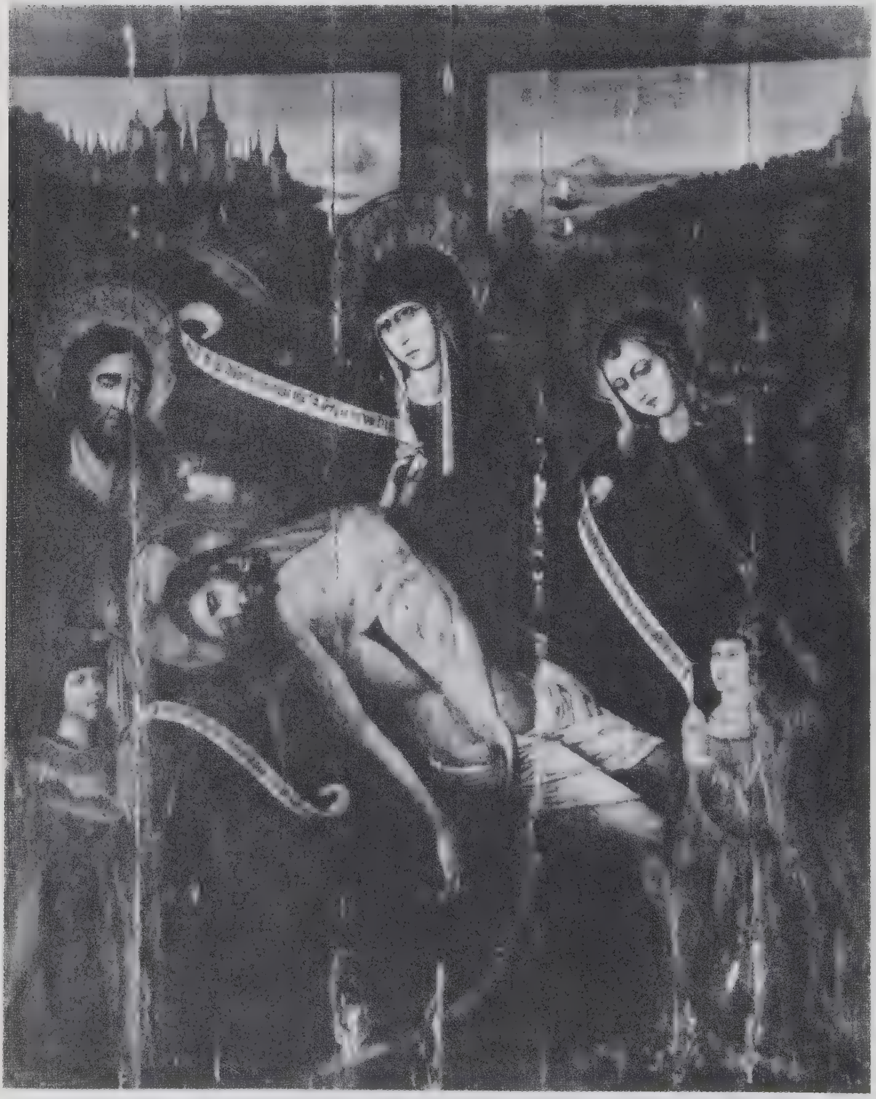

FIG. 274. THE PAYÁ MASTER (?). PIETÀ. S. JUAN DE LOS REYES, GRANADA
(*Photo. Mas*)

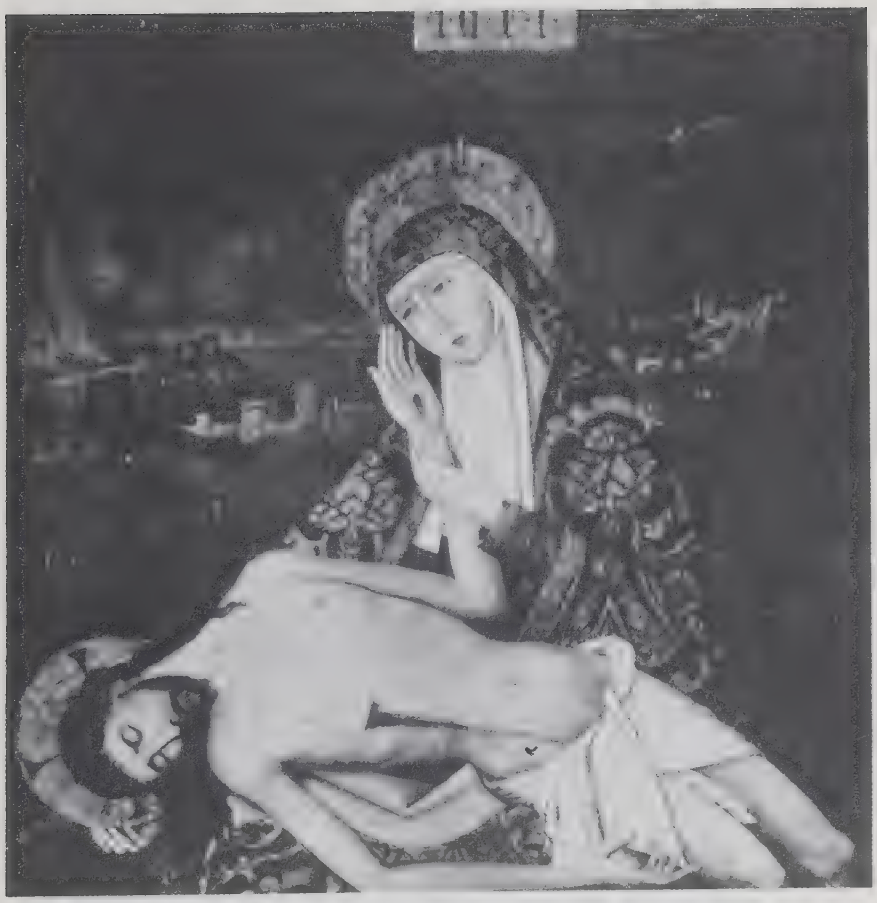

Fig. 275. CIRCLE OF PEDRO SÁNCHEZ I. PIETÀ.
CEPERO COLLECTION, SEVILLE
(*Courtesy of Don Raimundo Ruiz*)

has been classified as a French primitive (Fig. 276); [4] but, while I should not entirely exclude this possibility, the affiliations with the modes of Pedro Sánchez I and Juan Sánchez II [5] seem to me decidedly tangible, and I may perhaps plead my general feeling, bred by long familiarity with the late Gothic art of Spain, that the panel is of Andalusian provenience. In looking at the picture one remembers a work that I have tentatively placed in the circle of Pedro Sánchez I, the Lamentation over the Dead Christ in the Mariscal de Gante Collection at Burgos,[6] and it is to be observed also that the brocades of the garments are rendered somewhat sketchily as in the central compartment of the Ruiz triptych by the artist in the circle of Pedro Sánchez whom we have succeeded in segregating, the Harris Master; [7] but the author does not appear to be the same as the painter of either of these panels, and indeed I have found no Andalusian, as yet defined, to whom I should dare to assign the Deposition, not even the painter of the Cepero Pietà. Moreover, we cannot entirely overlook similarities to the scant remains of the retable from San Cugat del Vallés, now in the Museum of Catalan Art and the Muntadas Collection, Barcelona, in all probability executed by the German, Anye Bru.[8]

By a process of gradual elimination we are driven to the school of Seville during the second half of the fifteenth century and, in that school, to the vicinity of Pedro Sánchez I for the attribution of a small panel [9] of the Lamentation over the Dead Christ in the Collection of Professor Luigi R. Selva at Turin (Fig. 277), a piece that was once the centre of a triptych the wings of which have been sold to an unascertained purchaser. An ascription to Pedro Sánchez himself is not absolutely unthinkable; but, since the analogies are not quite concrete or extensive enough to bolster an assignment to him and since there are recorded the names of many Sevillian painters of the period whose styles are a blank to us because only a comparatively few productions of the school from this time are preserved, it is wiser to surmise that we owe the panel to some one of these as yet undefined artists who was in immediate contact with Pedro's attainments. The single known painter in his entourage, however, the Harris Master,[10] must be rejected as a candidate, nor dare we advocate a unity of authorship with a separate anonymous work apparently affiliated with Pedro's manner, another version of the Lamentation over Christ, in the Mariscal de Gante Collection at Burgos.[11] In the Selva rendering, the

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[4] The dimensions are 122 centimetres in width by 97 in height.

[5] Vol. V, fig. 7.

[6] Vol. IX, fig. 342.

[7] Vol. VIII, p. 701, and VII, fig. 354. After my indecisive groping (vol. VII, p. 868), Gudiol Ricart (*Pintura gótica*, 390) has clearly led us into a definite ascription to the Harris Master of the architecturally framed Madonna in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

[8] Vol. IX, p. 848.

[9] The dimensions are 54 centimetres in height by 29 in width.

[10] See the preceding paragraph.

[11] See the preceding paragraph.

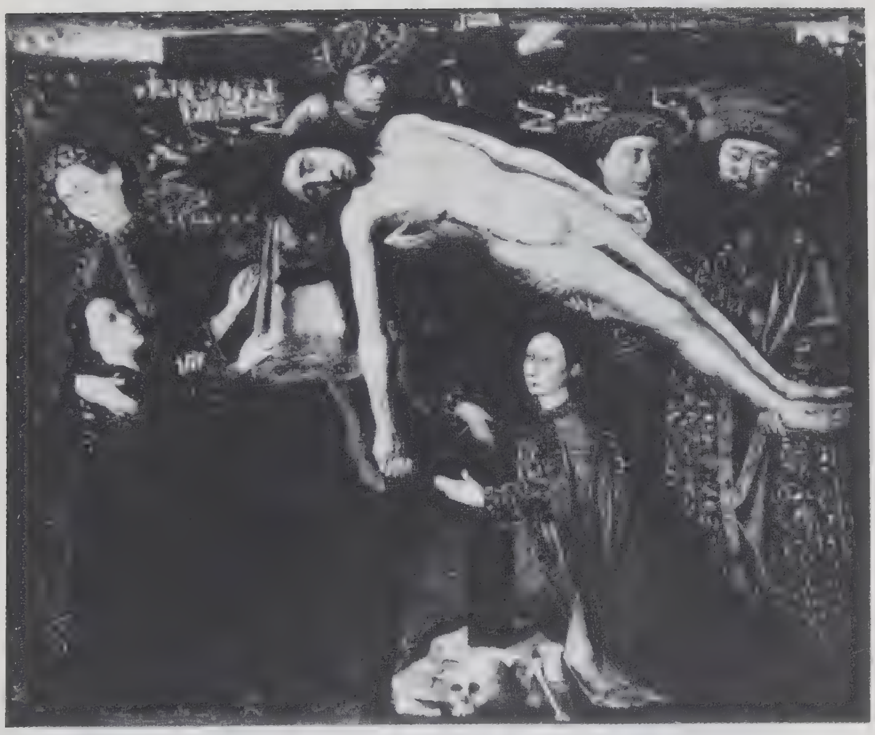

FIG. 276. CIRCLE OF PEDRO SÁNCHEZ I (?). DEPOSITION.
PRIVATE COLLECTION, SOUTHERN FRANCE
(Courtesy of Mr. Harry G. Sperling)

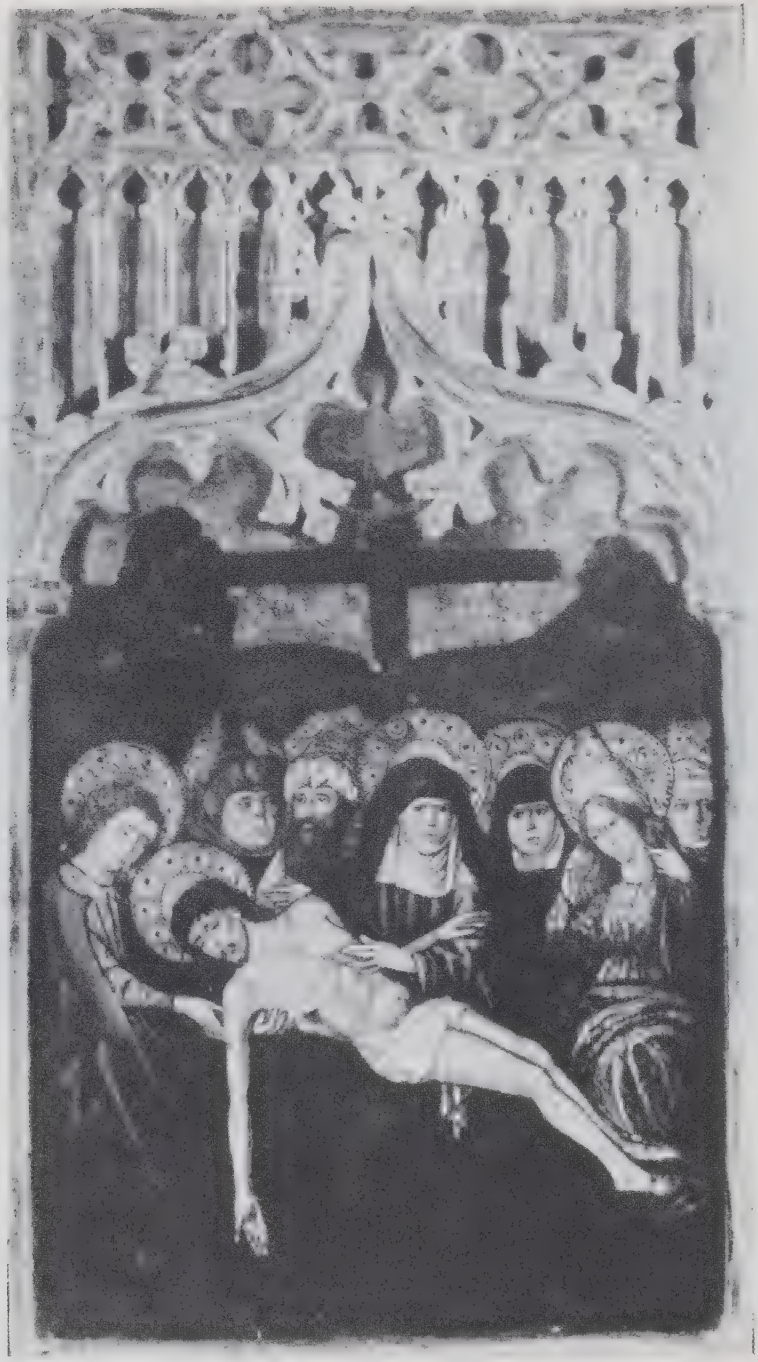

Fig. 277. CIRCLE OF PEDRO SÁNCHEZ I. LAMENTATION OVER THE DEAD CHRIST. SELVA COLLECTION, TURIN
(*Courtesy of the owner*)

two figures most significant for a classification in the neighborhood of Pedro Sánchez are the Joseph of Arimathaea and the Nicodemus (above Christ's head), since they impressively resemble, not only in features but also in addiction to exotic hats, the two Hebrew clerics at the upper left in his Crucifixion which I catalogued in volume V [12] as in the Galerie Heinemann, Munich, but which now belongs to Mr. Ludwig Losbichler at Barcelona. The unbearded Joseph of Arimathaea finds a singularly close counterpart in the same personage in the painting of Pedro's circle in the Mariscal de Gante Collection, and the Christ, the Virgin, and the holy woman next to her are not too far removed from Pedro's own norms. A whimsical headcovering decidedly similar to that of Joseph of Arimathaea is worn by Pilate in the Ecce Homo in the Ruiz triptych by the Harris Master.[13] For partial analogies to the St. John in the Turin Lamentation, we may look at the representations of the same Apostle in the signed Entombment by Pedro at Budapest and in his panel of the Crucifix and saints in the Lázaro Collection, Madrid. The realistic definition of the tears on several countenances also conforms to Pedro's modes, and he likes this crowded density of the composition. I must confess that I am somewhat troubled by the considerations that the figuration of the haloes is only approximated, among the extant paintings of Seville at the period, in the nimbus of Christ in the Cepero Pietà [14] and that the sort of lightly incised foliate design in the gold background does not seem to occur at all in these paintings, but I comfort myself with the realization that too few specimens have come down to us to establish any regularity of practice. The Virgin and several of the other sacred personages exhibit precisely the intense glance of the Child held by the Madonna in a panel of the Ibarra Collection, Seville, which should probably be catalogued as a still anonymous work of the school of this city rather than as a production of a Flemish immigrant.[15]

With the keenness of perception to which he has habituated us, Angulo [16] has justly recognized in a high, narrow [17] panel of St. Bartholomew, belonging to Don Julio Varela Vázquez at Cadiz but lent to the Museum of the city, the painter who did the Nativity in the church of Sta. María del Águila at Alcalá de Guadaira, a precious achievement that perished in the civil war; and he adduces both objective and internal evidence for the hypothesis that it could even have belonged to the same original assemblage. In volume V [18] I have ventured the mere suggestion that the Nativity might conceivably have been done by Juan Sánchez de Castro; and the

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[12] P. 8 and fig. 3.

[13] Vol. VII, fig. 354.

[14] See above, p. 635.

[15] Vol. IX, p. 814.

[16] *Archivo español de arte*, XIX (1946), 243. Consult also the full and illuminating discussion of the panel by Don César Pemán in his wholly admirable Catalogue of the Museum, published at Cadiz in 1952, p. 16, no. 301b.

[17] The dimensions are 2.14 metres in height by .56 in width.

[18] P. 44.

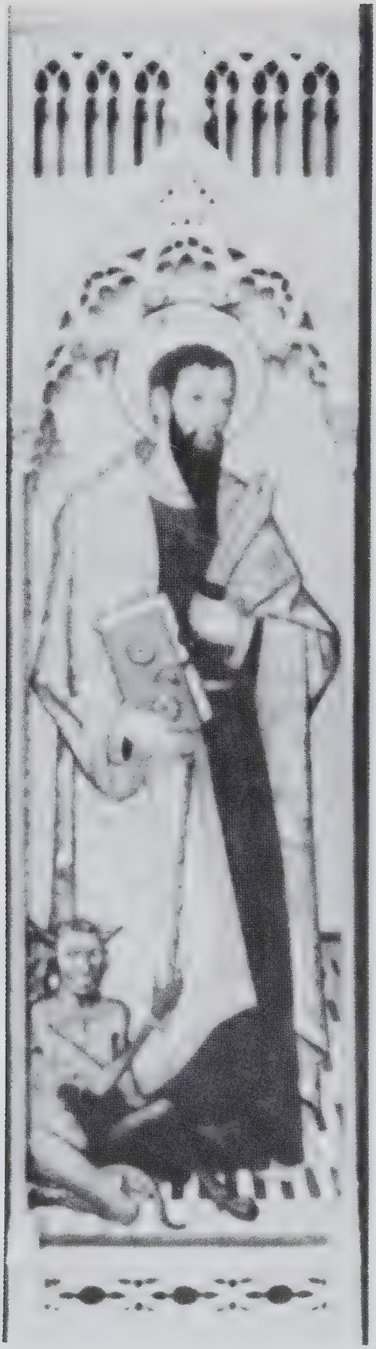

FIG. 278. HISPANO-FLEMISH SCHOOL OF SEVILLE. ST. BARTHOLOMEW. VARELA-VÁZQUEZ COLLECTION, CADIZ
(*Courtesy of Don César Pemán*)

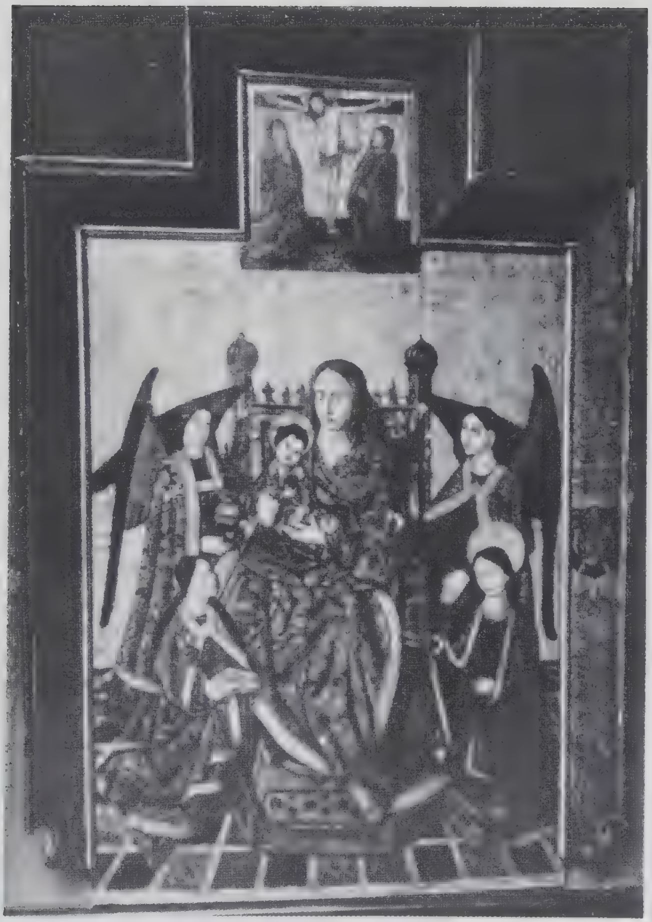

Fig. 279. CIRCLE OF JUAN SÁNCHEZ DE CASTRO.
RETABLE OF MADONNA, SAINTS, AND ANGELS.
PARMEGGIANI COLLECTION, REGGIO EMILIA

Cadiz panel (Fig. 278) casts further light neither upon this problem nor upon the desperately perplexing question whether we ought to ascribe to him the productions in which in that volume and in the appendices of succeeding volumes I have indicated some affiliations with his manner, or whether we should realize that there were a number of painters in Seville at the time, many of them still unidentified but all working in hardly distinguishable styles. It is especially to be regretted that the St. Bartholomew does not assist in the solution of the enigma of the relation of the Alanís retable [19] to the members of the group..

Since I have never been able to accept August L. Mayer's [20] allocation to a place where Valencian and Aragonese influences met and since the proper classification of the work has long puzzled me, I have refrained from publishing an altarpiece (Fig. 279) in the Parmeggiani Collection at Reggio Emilia, although my volumes have given space to a number of other paintings in this Museum which constitutes a kind of island in Italy, enshrining specimens of the art of Spain; but I have finally reached the conclusion that it was executed in the school of Seville during the second half of the fifteenth century by a craftsman probably familiar with the achievements of Juan Sánchez de Castro. The whole main body of the large altarpiece, as in a few other Spanish instances at the period, consists of a single theme, the Madonna and Child enthroned between the kneeling Sts. Catherine [21] and Barbara and two standing angels carrying vases of lilies; but the retable admits also a small pinnacle of the Crucifixion. The *guardapolvos* are also preserved, embellished with a pious inscription and escutcheons the charges of which I cannot identify.

The links with Seville seem to me convincing. The triangular, Flemish composition of the Madonna's form and richly brocaded, spreading mantle recalls very definitely Juan Sánchez de Castro's Virgen de la Gracia in the cathedral of the city and Our Lady in the repainted panel ascribed to him at Santiponce.[22] In the latter work there can be discerned analogies even in the types, and the similarity between the two representations of the winsome Child is arresting. Fully clothed treatments of the Infant Saviour in this mode are characteristic of the late Gothic in Andalusia, and for another example we may refer (even in the detail of the bared soles of the projecting feet) to the Virgen del Pópulo offered for sale in 1925 at the Anderson Galleries, New York,[23] in which the correspondence of the Mother who holds Him to the Parmeggiani Madonna should also be noted. The figuration of ornamented squares in the gold background of the Crucifixion and at the adjoining ends of the upper border of the likewise gold backgrounds in the principal compartment practically necessitates an assignment of the picture to Andalusia, since it is only here and

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[19] Vol. IX, p. 814.

[20] *Revista española de arte,* IV (1935), 331.

[21] With the emblem only of the sword, as not infrequently in Spanish iconography.

[22] Vol. V, fig. 14.

[23] *Ibid.*, fig. 55.

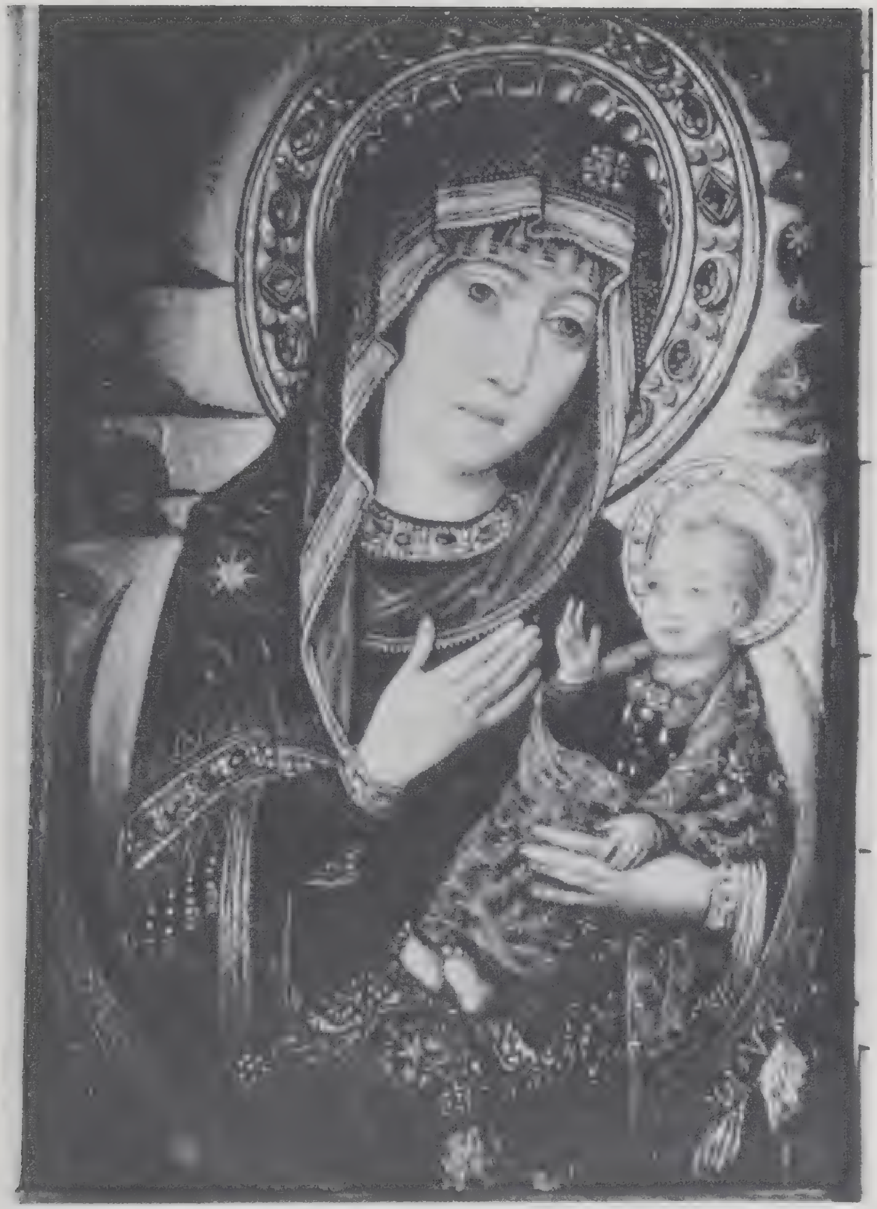

FIG. 280. HISPANO-FLEMISH SCHOOL OF ANDALUSIA. VIRGEN DEL PÓPULO. COSTA COLLECTION, PLAINFIELD, NEW JERSEY

in the province of Leon that such designs are generally found in these spots in Spanish painting of the period and since the style of the panel excludes it from the latter district of the peninsula.

The Andalusian series of very similar representations of the Virgen del Pópulo, which includes the version sold at the Anderson Galleries and just mentioned, can be augmented by an example in the Costa Collection at Plainfield, New Jersey (Fig. 280), like the others not attributable definitely to any known hand and somewhat inferior, as in the case of the panel in the Collection of Don Raimundo Ruiz, Madrid,[24] to the Anderson rendering.

The Altura Master

I have long known in a photograph made by Bertaux a panel that constituted the pendant, in the original retable, to the pinnacle in the Provincial Museum, Valencia,[1] by the Altura Master, who in the middle of the fifteenth century seems to have fused strains from the Valencian, Catalan, and Aragonese schools; but I have never called attention to it because I have been unable to discover the place where the great French scholar saw it nor what its present resting-place is. I will not take the reader's time with outlining the reason that I have to think that he may have found the picture in some private collection on the east coast of Spain, nor must I longer delay the publication since the Master's sparsely preserved works suffered a capital loss in the destruction or at least disappearance of his principal achievement in the Spanish civil war, the altarpiece at Altura from which he derives his pseudonym. Not only is the subject of the panel seen by Bertaux (Fig. 281) strangely almost identical with that of the pinnacle at Valencia, the decollation of a virgin martyr, but even the composition, types, and setting are scarcely varied, the desire having evidently been, as a pronounced example of the emphasis in mediaeval Spanish art upon formal symmetry, to create an absolute counterbalance on each side of the retable. If we were right[2] in guessing that the compartment in the Valencian Museum was a lateral pinnacle from the retable in which a standing effigy of St. Catherine of Alexandria in the same institution formed a central piece, the fact that the martyr in the Bertaux panel wears a crown very like that upon the head of the effigy may be taken for what it is worth as an indication that it is the decollation of the princess St. Catherine which is here depicted and that the victim of similar butchery in the compartment of the Museum is another hallowed maiden, whose (lost) large cult-figure would have been coupled, according to a frequent custom in Spanish retables, with the standing virgin of Alexandria in the middle of the original structure.

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[24] *Ibid.*, p. 228.

[1] Vol. VI, p. 132.

[2] *Ibid.*

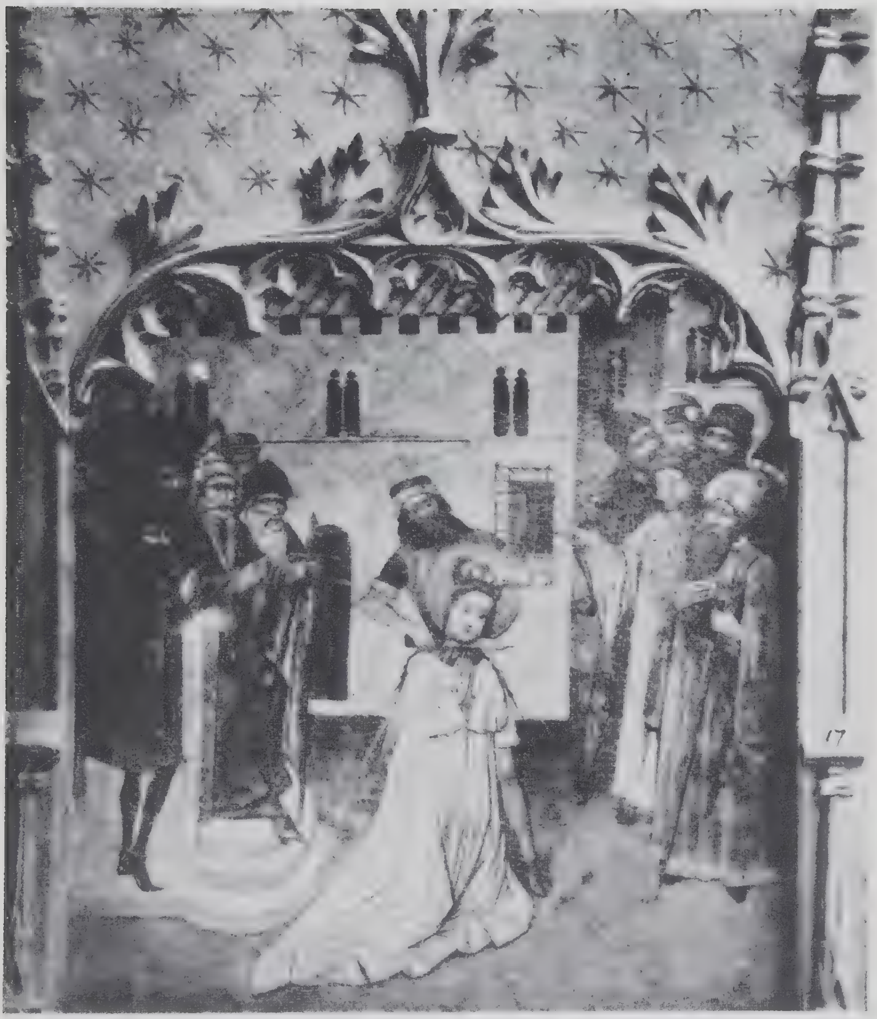

Fig. 281. THE ALTURA MASTER. DECOLLATION OF A VIRGIN MARTYR. PRIVATE COLLECTION, SPAIN
(*Photo. Bertaux*)

THE MASTER OF THE VALENCIAN HOSPITAL

Those who have taken the pains to plod through my volumes will have wearied of my constant and laborious isolation of anonymous personalities in Spanish painting and of my struggle to devise for them distinctive names, but none of my readers can be wearier than I of the process; and yet I feel it my duty once more to indulge in the task by defining an artist of Valencia because he embodies a trend in the school of which not enough account has been taken, a dependence upon the manner of the Van Eycks, in the present instance probably derived from Luis Dalmáu's imitation of these Flemings. Once more also I am driven into a cumbersome sobriquet, the one that I have set at the head of this section of the appendix and that finds its *raison d'être* in the presence of panels of three Evangelists by the painter which I have already published [1] as in the church of the Hospital General of Valencia and which have survived the civil war.

The other work that I judge to be by the same hand consists in a series of six Apostles in the Navarro Alcácer Collection, Valencia, Peter, Andrew, James Major, John, Bartholomew, and Thomas [2] (Fig. 282). One of the very few points in which I venture to disagree with my mentor in Valencian art, Don Leandro de Saralegui, is his discernment [3] of a relation of the series to the Altura Master, for they seem to me very clearly to have been executed by the author of the Evangelists in the Hospital. In the midst of the general similarities, especially in the debt of the types and draperies to the Van Eycks and probably to Dalmáu, I submit that two different painters could not have done heads so virtually identical, particularly in the half-closed eyes, nose, and beard, as the St. Luke and the St. Bartholomew. The analogy of the two St. Johns to each other is not so conspicuous but yet tangible. A subordinate, Morellian, but not negligible bit of proof lies in the fact that the heads in both assemblages meet the large haloes at corresponding spots.

A strain from the Van Eycks had already been introduced into the Valencian *milieu* by the probably native Fleming, the Master of the En-

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[1] Vol. VI, p. 251 and fig. 98.

[2] St. Thomas holds as an emblem the fuller's club, the regular attribute of St. James Minor, but there are other examples, in Spanish art, of similar confusions of the emblems of the Apostles, the fuller's club, for instance, being given to St. Philip in an *Apostolado* by the Arguis Master in the Ferrando Collection, Majorca: see my vol. XI, p. 399. It is quite possible, however, that the later "restorer," who has seriously tampered with the inscriptions in the banderoles which surround the haloes, ignorantly altered the name of James to Thomas, since he has made illegible practically all the verses of the Apostles' Creed that, in addition to the saints' appellations in Latin, are included in the scrolls. The single verse decipherable is that of the so-called St. Thomas, "Descendit ad inferos, tertia die (resurrexit a mortuis)," but St. Bartholomew must have originally displayed "Credo in Spiritum Sanctum" (the sentence that he regularly bears in such assemblies of the Twelve) inasmuch as the word *Credo* can still be read and the verse declaring belief in the Holy Spirit is the only one of the Creed containing this word except the passage generally assigned to St. Peter, "Credo in Deum Patrem, etc."

[3] *Archivo español de arte*, XXIII (1950), 192.

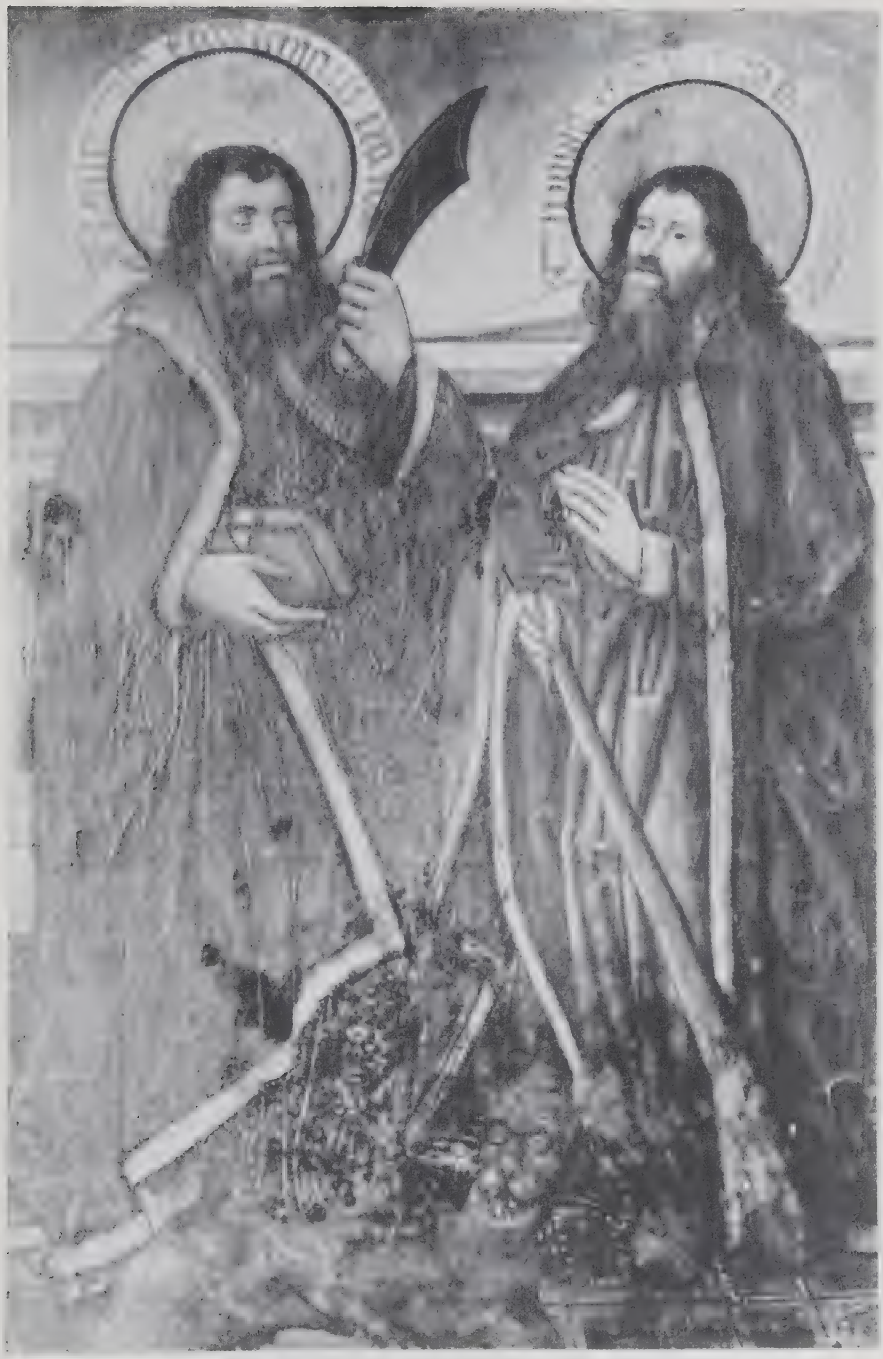

FIG. 282. THE MASTER OF THE VALENCIAN HOSPITAL. STS. BARTHOLOMEW AND THOMAS. NAVARRO ALCÁCER COLLECTION, VALENCIA
(*Photo. Mas*)

carnación,[4] and was continued by a more indigenously minded painter who was perhaps his son and who did the retable of St. Luke in the Diocesan Museum, Segorbe.[5] The activity of this painter in the middle of the fifteenth century would be about contemporary with the Master of the Hospital; but I get the impression that our Master owed his style rather to the interpretation of the Van Eycks' manner by Dalmáu, who, after his determinative visit to Flanders in 1431, did not cease to dwell and produce in Valencia at least until February 5, 1438, and who, subsequent to his establishment in Barcelona by 1443, maintained his artistic connections with the more southerly city.[6] We must throw into the discard my former suggestion [7] that the Evangelists in the Hospital might have something to do with Rodrigo de Osona the elder.

Rodrigo de Osona the Younger

Among the many discoveries and penetrating observations incorporated in Diego Angulo's important book, *La mitología y el arte español del Renacimiento*,[1] there are several that enlarge and illuminate our understanding of works that I have already published.[2] In the younger Rodrigo de Osona's Epiphany in the National Gallery, London, I have commented [3] on the simulated sculptural group of Hercules and the hydra decorating a cornice in the right background as one of the indications of his somewhat precocious participation in the Renaissance; and Angulo [4] relates the subject to the general popularity of Hercules in the iconography of the period, especially in Spain, where, as he discusses at length, there was a deeprooted mythological tradition that the Greek champion had come to the Iberian peninsula as a civilizing monarch, proving himself a mirror of all virtues and in his labors a victor over evil, so that he was deemed a prototype of the emperor Charles V. It is even Angulo's belief that the theme in the Valencian picture is not merely a piece of decoration but is united to the representation of the infant Christ by the idea that the ancient hero, in his human degree, was a counterpart of the Saviour. Like me, Angulo is puzzled by the manifestly pagan subjects of the two simulated reliefs near the group of Hercules and the hydra, but he thinks that, according to a common tendency of the Renaissance [5] to give allegorical inter-

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[4] See my article in the *Gazette des beaux-arts*, March, 1943, p. 153.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 159.

[6] See my vol. VII, pp. 10–13 and 23.

[7] Vol. VI, pp. 251–254. I find it difficult to follow Saralegui (*El Maestro de Sta. Ana y su escuela*, Valencia, 1950, p. 53, n. 1) in his hypothesis that there is a significant kinship between the Evangelists and the panel of the Virgen de la Esperanza belonging to the circle of Rodrigo I and now in the Museum of Catalan Art, Barcelona (my vol. VI, fig. 99).

[1] Madrid, 1952.

[2] See, for instance, below, p. 730.

[3] Vol. VI, p. 203.

[4] P. 93.

[5] See my book on *Mediaeval Spanish Allegory*, Harvard University Press, 1915, pp. 17, 204, and 253.

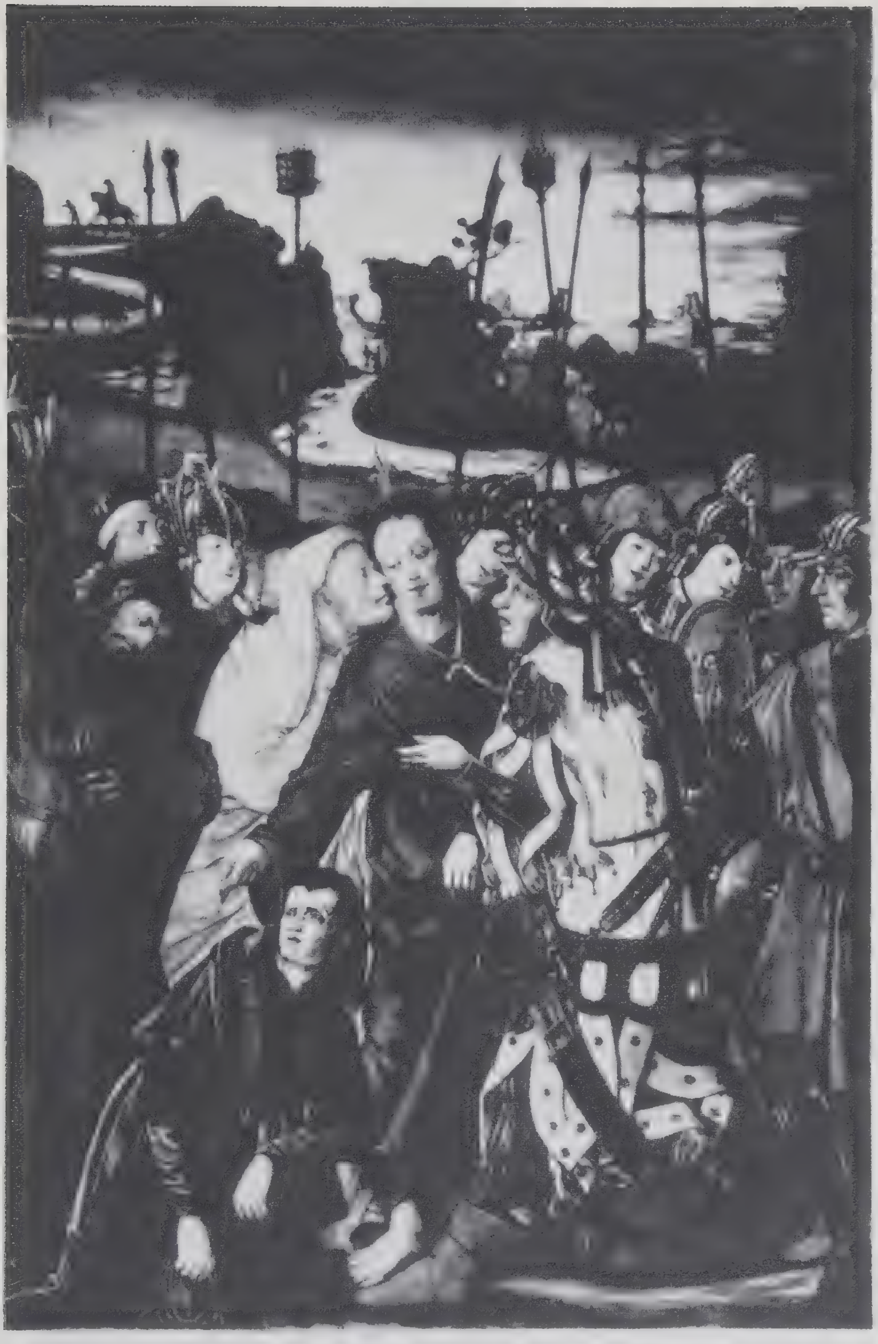

Fig. 283. RODRIGO DE OSONA THE YOUNGER. BETRAYAL.
COLLECTION OF THE CONDE DE CASA ROJAS, MADRID
(*Courtesy of the owner*)

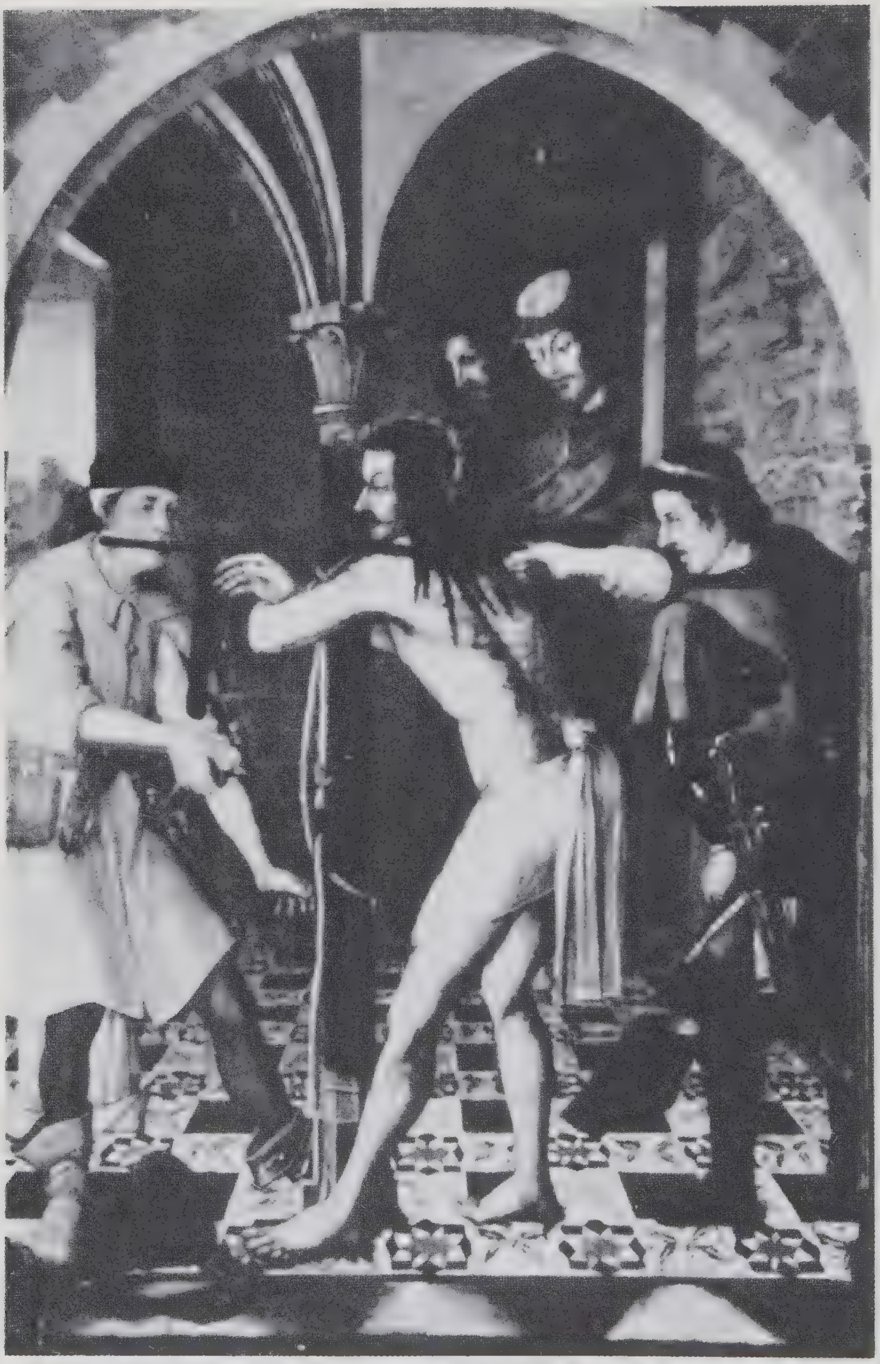

FIG. 284. RODRIGO DE OSONA THE YOUNGER. CHRIST AT THE COLUMN. COLLECTION OF THE CONDE DE CASA ROJAS, MADRID
(*Courtesy of the owner*)

pretations to classical myths, they may embody, whatever they definitely depict, concepts of justice and chastity.

Angulo [6] has also augmented our deposit from Rodrigo II with a cycle of works that are likely to enhance our already not unfavorable estimation of his talents, a series of six panels depicting episodes of the Passion in the Collection of the Conde de Casa Rojas, Madrid, with which I have only recently become acquainted through the noble owner's generous gift to me of photographs at the kind solicitation of Don José Camón Aznar. The reasons for their superiority to the general run of his production are, at least in part, that they were manifestly early works, though executed, so far as I can detect, without his father's collaboration, and that he shows no signs of lapsing into the dryness which comes from the weariness of later life or from no higher ambition than to rest upon one's laurels and merely to supply the pious trade. Reported to derive from Játiva, a likely place for Rodrigo's employment, and so adding supererogatory evidence for the attribution, the series represents: the Agony in the Garden; the Betrayal (Fig. 283); Pilate weighing the accusations of the Jews against Our Lord; Pilate washing his hands, thus, extraordinarily for a cycle of the Passion, making two scenes of the Roman governor's connection with Christ's martyrdom; another departure from the usual themes in such a cycle, the Saviour still bound to the column after the flagellation [7] instead of the scourging itself (Fig. 284); and the Crowning with Thorns.[8]

The absolute conformity with the younger Rodrigo's types, costumes, landscapes, and the other factors in his paintings is so patent to anyone who has at all studied the Valencian school as to dispense me from substantiating Angulo's attribution, authoritative in itself; but in comparison with the majority of his preserved works, the draughtsmanship is more painstaking, the outlines sharper, the characterization more incisive, and the approach to his task more like that of an artist consciously taking pleasure in the possibilities of his craft. The more primitive tightness of the execution combines with the youthful enthusiasm suggested by all these qualities to impart the effect of production at the beginning of Rodrigo's career. The difference is brought into vivid relief by contrasting the representation of the scene of Pilate washing his hands with the master's version in the Provincial Museum, Valencia.[9] Furthermore, a pristine moment in Rodrigo II's development is betokened in the Agony in the Garden by the close similarity of Christ and the rock before which He kneels to these details in the rendering in the Johnson Collection, Philadelphia,[10] in which

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[6] *Archivo español de arte*, XIV (1940–1941), 87. I have already (vol. IX, p. 827, n. 1) accepted his attribution here to Rodrigo II of panels of Sts. John Baptist and Anthony of Padua in the Collection of the Marqués de Casa Argudín, Madrid.

[7] Vol. IX, pp. 838–840. The dimension of each panel is 78 centimetres in height by 45 in width.

[8] This and the Agony in the Garden are illustrated as plates 29 and 70 by José Camón Aznar in his book *La Pasión de Cristo en el arte español*, Madrid, 1949.

[9] Vol. VI, p. 205.

[10] *Gazette des beaux-arts*, November, 1943, p. 282, fig. 12.

I have been unable to decide for the authorship between Rodrigo the elder, the son, or the two in collaboration. The more than customary vigor of the series belonging to the Conde de Casa Rojas and the lesser evidence of subjection to the bland influence of the Italian Renaissance may have been caused also by the contact with the style of Schongauer that is concretely demonstrated by the Valencian's use of *motifs* taken from the German in the Crowning with Thorns, the washing of Pilate's hands, and the Agony in the Garden. Rodrigo's borrowings, however, are very free, and his invention is impressively exemplified in the treatment of the scene of Christ at the Column. The scourging is over, as the bleeding, lacerated body of Our Lord reveals, and the picture illustrates the second part of the prophecy of Isaiah, LI, 6, "I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair." The bravo at the right is savagely yanking at one of the Redeemer's locks, while his quite as brutal comrade at the left holds in his mouth some instrument of torture (a flail?), so that his hands may ominously roll up his sleeves in preparation for his sinister business. Both tormentors are powerfully characterized, and, as a matter of fact, Rodrigo's various works are purposely full of even uglier types of humanity approximating caricatures like Leonardo's grotesques, illustrated, in the cycle of the Conde de Casa Rojas, by the soldier grasping Our Lord in the Betrayal, by the obese henchman holding the rope that binds Him as the Jews make their accusations before Pilate, and by the loathsome blackguard offering the reed in the episode of the Crowning with Thorns. But the cycle comprises characterizations of a different sort and more subtle than Rodrigo later in life regularly essayed, as, in the Betrayal, of the scheming malice of Judas or the pain on the face of the wounded servant of the high priest.

With the critical acumen to which Saralegui has accustomed us, he recognizes [11] the hand of Rodrigo de Osona the Younger in: an Epiphany in the Navarro Alcácer Collection, Valencia, somewhat less ambitious than almost all his other versions of the theme and manifestly a bit impaired by repaint; and a panel depicting St. Bernard receiving the Virgin's milk, which, coming from the town of Altura, now graces the Collection of Don Julio Iranzo at Valencia.

My own accretion to the roster of the master's extant achievements consists in a panel of the dead Christ supported by an angel in the possession of Kleinberger and Co., New York, a work whose right to be numbered among the finest demonstrations of his capabilities is not commensurate with its small size, about 9¾ inches in height by 7⅝ in width, including the frame, which is a part of the original panel (Fig. 285). Both figures are recurrent types in his production, the Christ, for instance, in the Saviour of the Crucifixion in the Provincial Museum, Valencia,[12] and the angel in the members of the celestial host accompanying the Madonna

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[11] *Archivo español de arte*, XXIII (1950), 193, and XXVI (1953), 245.

[12] Vol. X, p. 362.

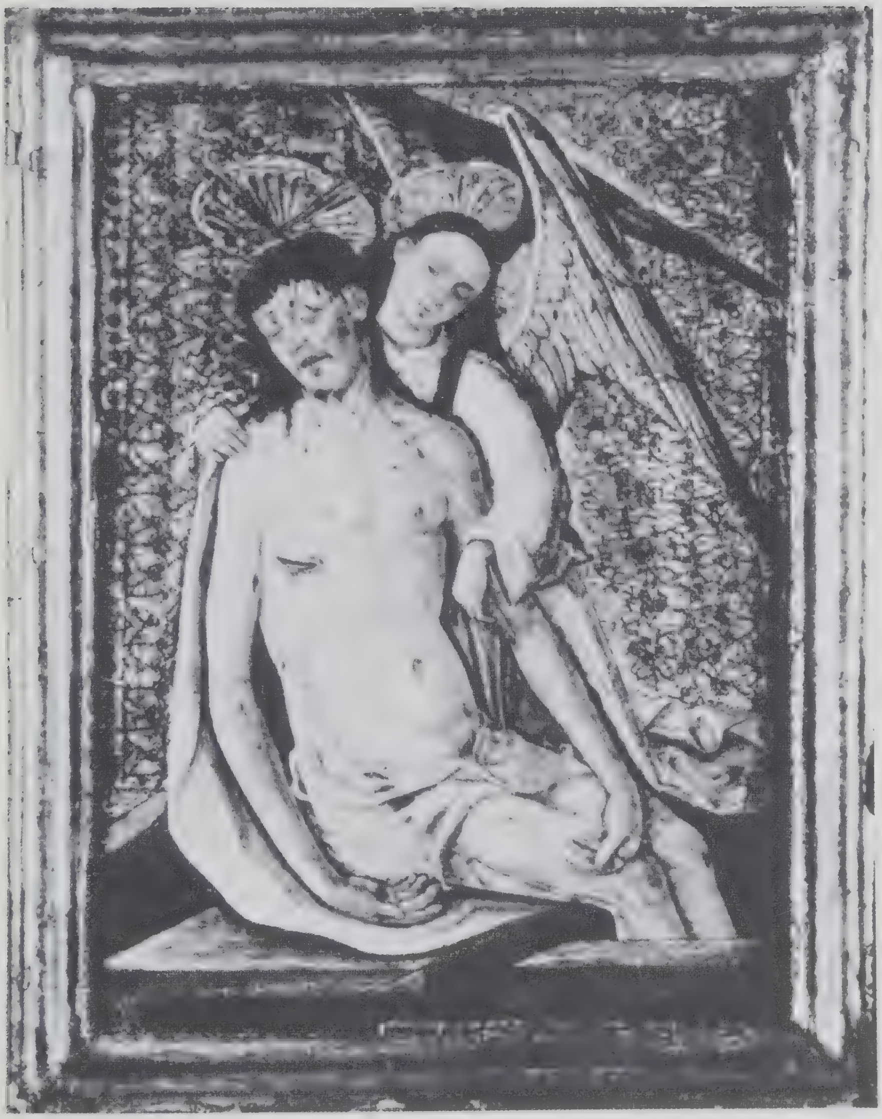

FIG. 285. RODRIGO DE OSONA THE YOUNGER. THE DEAD CHRIST.
KLEINBERGER AND CO., NEW YORK
(*Courtesy of the owners*)

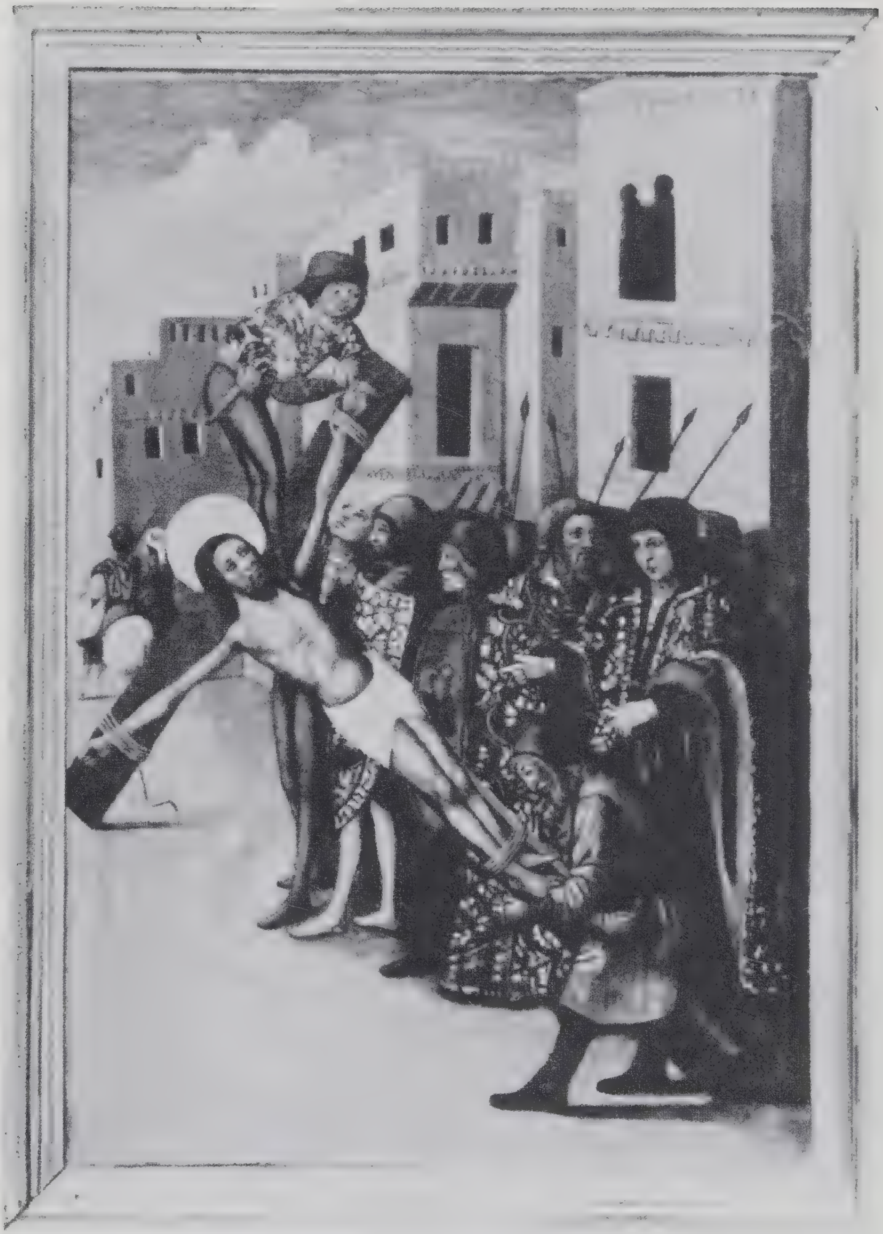

Fig. 286. THE PEREA MASTER. CRUCIFIXION OF ST. ANDREW, SECTION OF RETABLE. CHABÁS COLLECTION, VALENCIA
(*Photo. Grollo*)

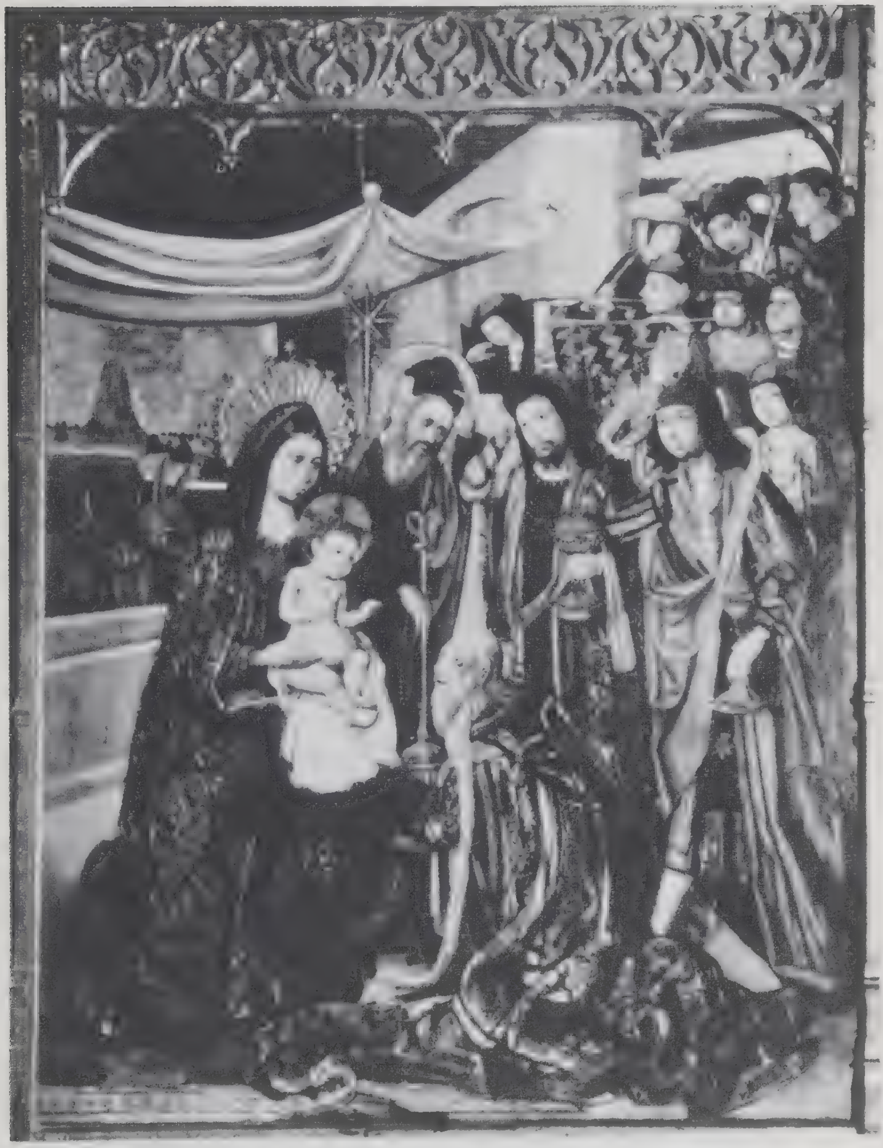

Fig. 287. THE PEREA MASTER. EPIPHANY.
PRIVATE COLLECTION, PARIS

in a fragment in a private collection, Barcelona.[13] The predella of paired saints that until the civil war existed in the Valencian cathedral and is generally supposed to have been a part of his retable of St. Dionysius [14] affords examples of the halo of corrugated plaques employed in the Kleinberger picture.

The Perea Master

Having recognized the hand of this never dull and by good fortune copiously preserved Valencian artist in an illustration of a panel from the story of St. Andrew included in volume III [1] of Manuel González Martí's monumental work, *Cerámica del Levante Español*, in the indispensable section which deals with paintings where ceramics of the eastern Spanish littoral are depicted, I communicated my attribution to Don Leandro de Saralegui, who kindly replied encouraging me by accepting my opinion and at the same time generously sending me a photograph of another piece obviously from the same retable, of which I myself was unaware. Of the two compartments, both of which were once in the Collection of the Valencian scholar, Don Roque Chabás, but have now strayed into unascertained possession, the one reproduced in González Martí's book displays the scene so often represented in Spanish art, St. Andrew saving the bishop from the allurements of the she-devil, and the other the Apostle's Crucifixion (Fig. 286). To be convinced of the authorship, the reader need do no more than thumb through the illustrations of the Perea Master's pictures in my volume VI and the appendices of the succeeding volumes, even discovering practically the same dishes and food on the bishop's table and the same dog on the floor (perhaps a pet of the painter's household, according to Saralegui) as in the panel of the meal at which the Magdalene washes the Saviour's feet in a private American collection.[2]

A large [3] and handsome panel of the Epiphany, privately owned at Paris (Fig. 287), constitutes one of those happy instances, too seldom falling to the scholar's lot, in which, as in the panels of St. Andrew, the attribution is so obvious as to leave him in no possible doubt and as to require of him the expenditure of little or no effort in arriving at the truth. Every touch and virtually every figure can be verified in the Perea Master's other works — to select just one example, the St. Joseph who is a replica of the foster-father of Our Lord in the version of the theme in the retable that gives the painter his name. Indeed the whole composition and its participants form not much more than a decentralized variant of the Master's Adoration of the Wise Men once in the Esclasans Collection,[4] Bar-

[13] *Ibid.*, fig. 148.

[14] Vol. VI, p. 209.

[1] P. 558, fig. 742.

[2] Vol. VII, fig. 368.

[3] The dimensions are two metres in height by 1½ in width.

[4] Vol. VII, fig. 370.

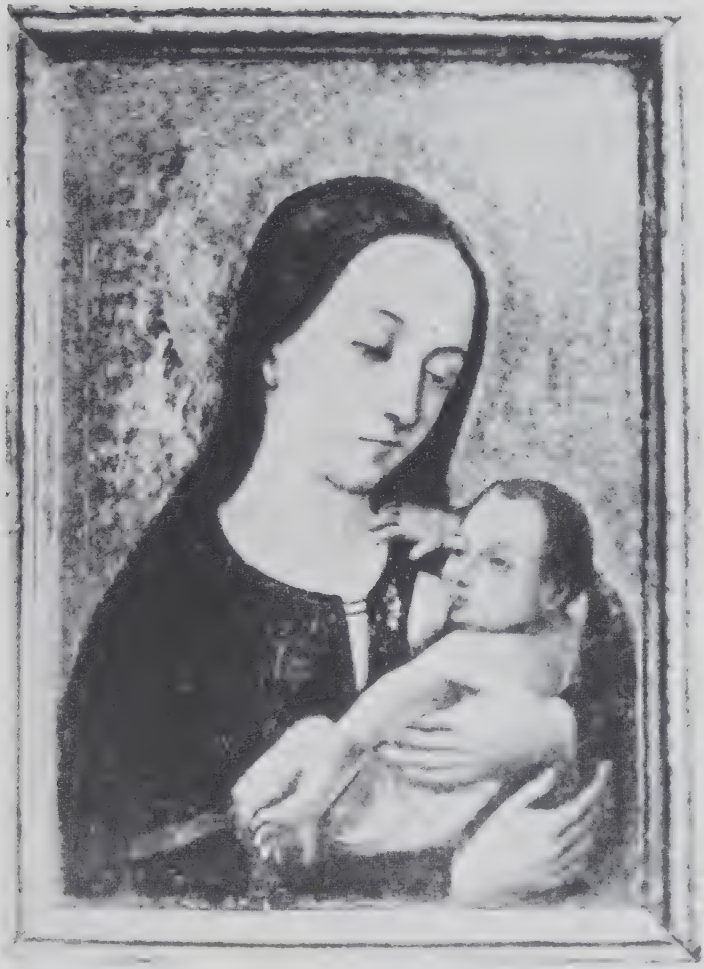

FIG. 288. THE PEREA MASTER. MADONNA AND CHILD. FORMERLY IN THE ÉMILE PARÈS COLLECTION, PARIS

celona, even in the embossing of the Virgin's halo and of the Star of Bethlehem. Moreover, the panel at Paris is one in which nobody would raise the question of execution, not by the Perea Master himself, but by the personality whom Saralegui has proposed as his teacher, the Master of St. Anne.[5]

Obvious, too, I believe, would have been the Perea Master's claims to a panel of the Madonna in half length nursing the Child, once in the Collection of Émile Parès at Paris, if the picture had remained in its original condition [6] (Fig. 288). The figure of the Infant appears to be very largely unaltered and is quite enough in itself to establish the work in the Master's canon, since no other artist paints babies of just this oddly Hebraic cast of features, illustrated in a phase closest to the treatment in the Parès version by the Child in the Holy Family of the Koetser Gallery.[7] The Virgin gives the impression of having been prettified in modern times, so that she resembles the female types of the Osma Master,[8] but she must have looked originally like such a plainer and sturdier woman by the Perea Master as Our Lady in the *Anna selbdritt* in the predella of the retable from which he takes his title. It is to be noted that in this section of the predella the pattern in the incising of the gold background is much the same as in the Parès panel. Separate half-lengths of the Madonna with the Child are conspicuous by their rarity in Spain of the fifteenth century, but the Perea Master did at least one other, now in the Provincial Museum at Valencia.[9]

I can see no reason for not ascribing to the Master himself rather than to a contemporary imitator a panel of St. Peter Martyr in the Mateu Collection, Barcelona (Fig. 289).

In two large companion-pieces of Sts. Bernard and Benedict which by a strange peregrination have found a home in the cathedral of Périgueux and came to my attention because included in the exhibition, Saint Bernard et l'Art des Cisterciens, in the Museum of Dijon in 1953,[10] we encounter one of those cases that should compel the critic to acknowledge frankly that he cannot honestly decide, in the matter of attribution, between the claims of two closely interrelated painters, in this instance, the Perea Master and the Játiva Master (Fig. 290). Both saints are standing, Bernard represented, in the subject called the Lactatio, as receiving the milk from the Madonna who is seen in much smaller scale through one

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[5] See my vol. XI, p. 421.

[6] The dimensions are 17¼ inches in height by 12½ in width.

[7] Vol. IX, fig. 150.

[8] See especially, vol. X, fig. 282.

[9] Vol. VI, fig. 112.

[10] Catalogue of the exhibition, nos. 137–138, and plate XII for the St. Bernard. The dimensions are 158 centimetres in height by 85 in width. In his distinguished book, *Iconografía española de San Bernardo* (Poblet, 1953, p. 49 and plate XXXIV), Father Rafael M. Durán has clearly seen that the two panels belong in the Perea Master's circle, but he conditionally selects in this group the Castellnovo Master (cf. my article in the *Art Bulletin*, XXIV, 1952, p. 280), who, in my opinion, neither reveals very specific analogies nor was equal to the sound craftsmanship that they embody.

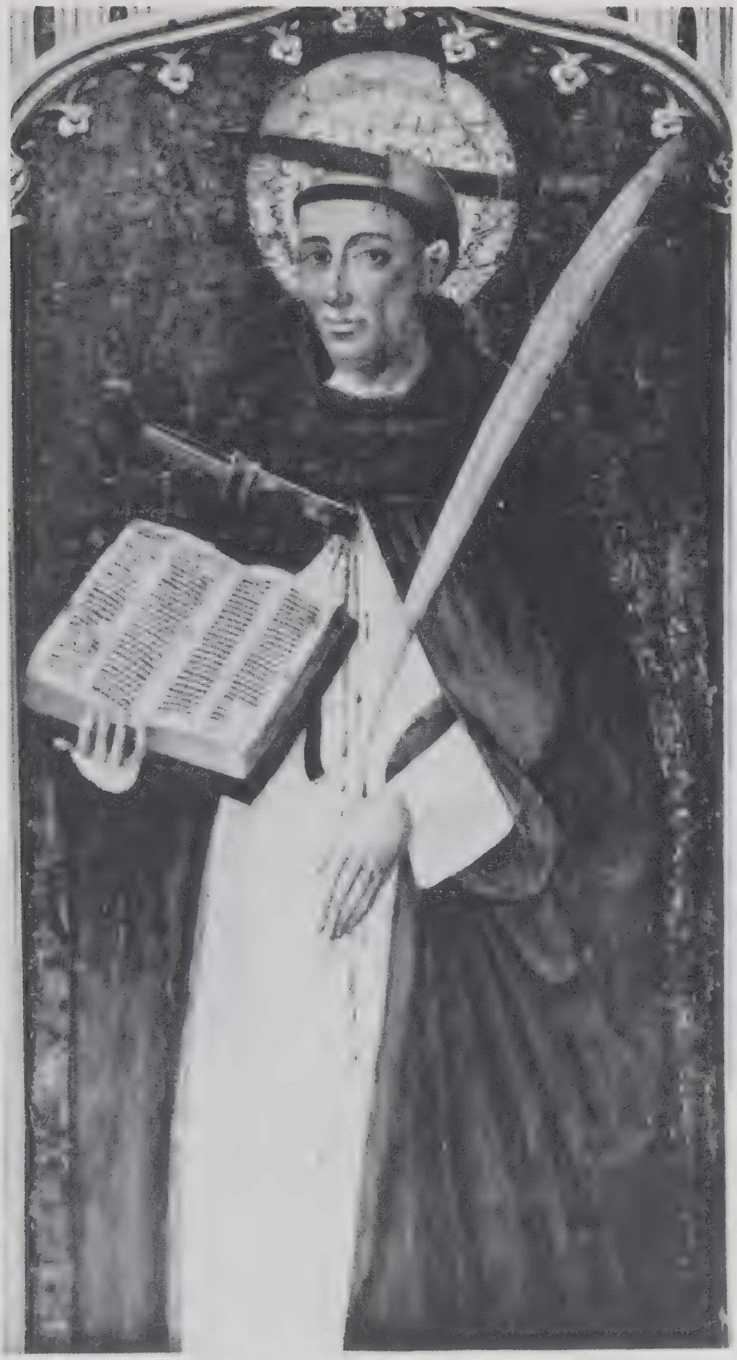

FIG. 289. THE PEREA MASTER. ST. PETER MARTYR.
MATEU COLLECTION, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

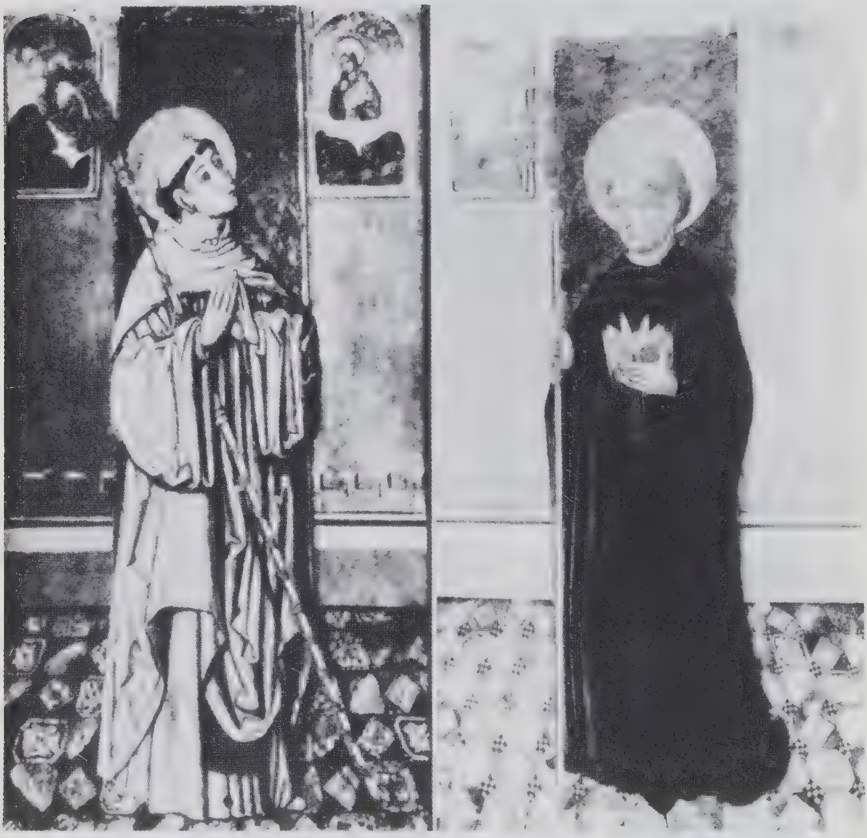

FIG. 290. THE PEREA MASTER OR THE JÁTIVA MASTER.
STS. BERNARD AND BENEDICT. CATHEDRAL, PÉRIGUEUX

of the little windows that open high up at either side of the simple architectural background. I will not weary the reader by setting down the many laborious comparisons that I have made in veering now to the Perea Master, now to the Játiva Master as a choice, for example, the similarity of the Madonna and Child to these figures both in the former's Epiphany at Paris, which I have just discussed, and in the latter's version of this theme at Toledo, Ohio.[11] The heavy draperies of the St. Bernard suggest the Perea Master, but, on the other hand, the nature of the countenance, especially of the nose, accords better with certain types of the Játiva Master, as of the risen Christ in the set of panels built round the Virgen del Pópulo in the Colegiata at Játiva.[12] The subject of the Lactatio, however, is treated by the Játiva Master rather differently, even in the character of the St. Bernard, in the retable in the church of S. Pedro in the same town.[13] The Benedict is too little distinctive to afford aid in the vexed problem, but the figure does illustrate the homogeneous continuity of the school of Valencia in the compositional resemblance to the effigy of the same saint in the cathedral of the city ascribed to Jacomart.[14]

JAIME HUGUET

In an ably and elaborately reasoned article,[1] containing the results of his exhaustive and admirable research in the documents of the town of Valls in the province of Tarragona, Pablo Mercadé Queralt has established a number of facts in regard to this artist's early biography. He has proved that Jaime was a native of Valls belonging to a numerous clan of the surname Huguet there resident, and that the painter Pedro Huguet was not his father but his uncle who at least by 1421 became the guardian of the boys Jaime and his brother Antonio, eventually a priest, after the decease in 1419 of their real father, Antonio, who had married in 1414 but was already a widower. With persuasive arguments he shows that Jaime must have been slightly the elder and in all probability born nearer to 1415 than to 1420; and with much plausibility, partly on the ground that Jaime, in distinction from his brother Antonio, cannot in the archives be demonstrated to have been dwelling in Valls subsequently to 1424, Mercadé contends that he must have then accompanied to Tarragona his uncle, who is recorded there by 1424, and under the same tutelage to Barcelona, where Pedro was active by 1434.[2] In their great monograph on Jaime Huguet,[3] José Gudiol Ricart and Juan Ainaud de Lasarte had already stated that the idea of another brother of the painter with the same Christian name as he himself [4] was to be blamed on the misreading of the documents by Sanpere y Miquel.

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[11] See my volume VIII, fig. 342.

[12] Vol. VI, p. 350.

[13] *Ibid.*, fig. 142.

[14] *Ibid.*, fig. 10.

[1] *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, IX (1951), 19–66.

[2] See my vol. VII, p. 47.

[3] Pp. 10 and 12.

Amongst the well-nigh fabulous wealth of documents by which José María Madurell Marimón is constantly enriching our knowledge of Catalan art, he has recently published [5] a receipt of Huguet dated December 5, 1465, for a payment for his labor on the retable of the Constable, thus further corroborating his authorship.[6] He includes in the notice also a receipt of the woodcarver Pedro Durán, given on December 10 of the same year, for remuneration for his activity on the retable's frames.

Like so much else, I owe to conversations with Ainaud the important knowledge [7] of the discovery of the present resting-place of the long lost Flagellation that I [8] have joined the general consensus of critical opinion in declaring Huguet to have painted. Now belonging to the Collection of the Vicomte Duhesme, Paris, and shown in this city as of the Bavarian school (!) in an exhibition of 1952–1953 at the Galérie Charpentier entitled "Cent tableaux d'art religieux du XIV ^{e} siècle à nos jours," it was recognized by the keen eye of Don Julián Gallego as the Flagellation by Huguet that had disappeared from Barcelona at least by the beginning of the twentieth century, and the panel was so published by him in the Barcelona newspaper, *El Destino* of April 11, 1953. Since I wrote my volume VII, it has definitely been established [9] that the Flagellation was not a predella but the antependium of the altar of the chapel of St. Mark, under the patronage of the guild of shoemakers in the cathedral of Barcelona. In all probability, therefore, the panel was executed for the altar over which there still rose the retable that Martorell in 1437 had painted for this destination. Gudiol and Ainaud [10] date the antependium between 1450 and 1456, but I see nothing against Rowland's [11] guess that it might have been made in 1459 when the shoemakers moved from one chapel to another in the cathedral, taking Martorell's altarpiece with them and not, according to Rowland's other surmise, at this time ordering a new (lost) retable. The discovery of the frontal throws no further light upon the problem [12] of the relation of Gabriel Guardia's painting of Sts. Anianus, Crispin, and Crispinian to the works in the chapel.

A panel of Sts. Justa and Rufina, last known to me as in the possession of a London dealer (Fig. 291), obtrudes one of the frequent instances in which the arguments for assignment to several artists are so neatly balanced that the conscientious critic must refuse the task of a categorical

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[4] My vol. VII, pp. 46–47.

[5] *Archivo español de arte,* XXIX (1956), 74.

[6] My vol. VII, p. 66.

[7] Afterward recorded in his recent, short book on Huguet, Madrid, 1955, p. 20.

[8] Vol. VII, p. 135.

[9] Gudiol and Ainaud, monograph on Huguet, 107.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] Benjamin Rowland, *Jaime Huguet*, Harvard University Press, 1932, p. 163.

[12] My vol. VII, p. 139. The panel at last report was in the Plandiura Collection of Barcelona.

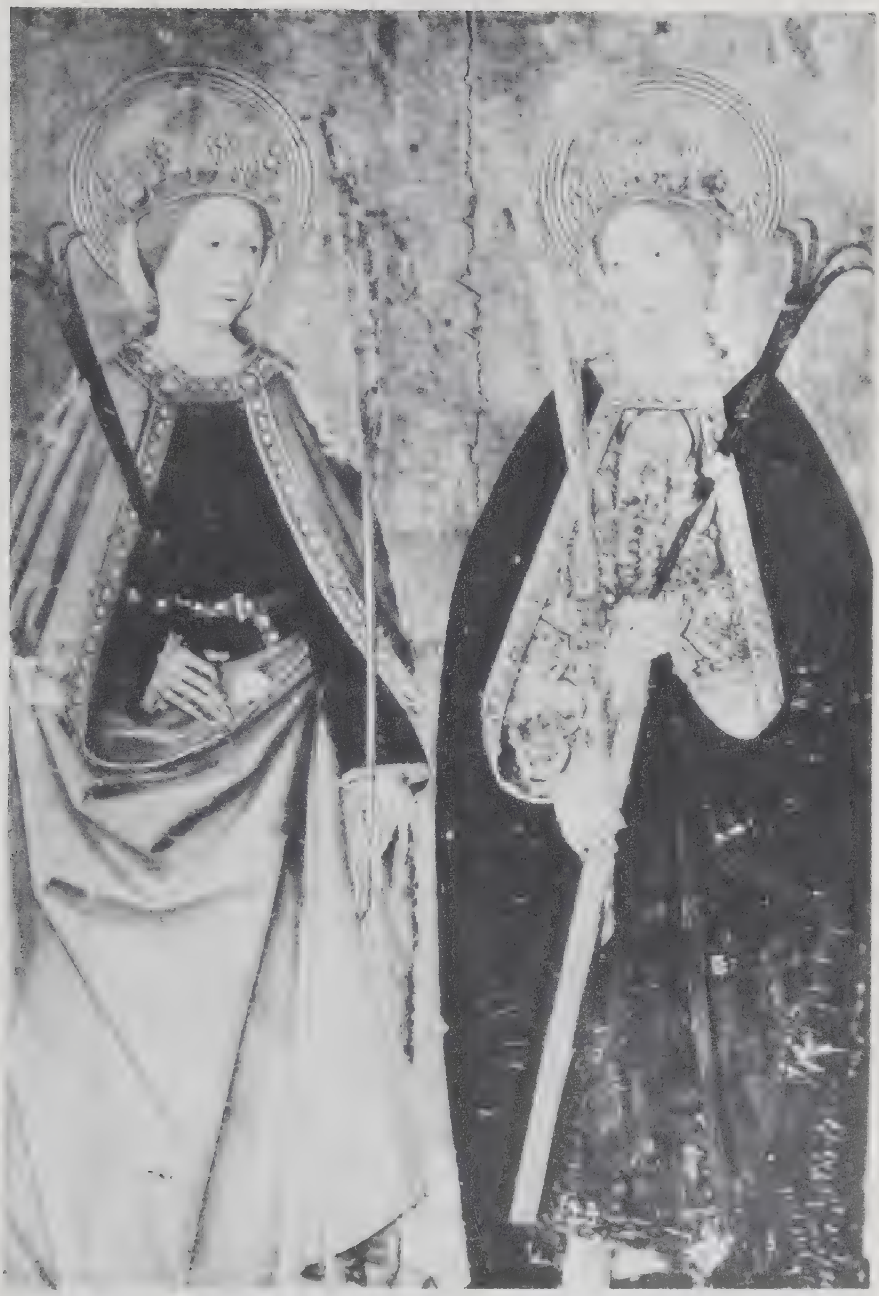

FIG. 291. JAIME HUGUET OR A FOLLOWER. STS. JUSTA AND RUFINA. DEALER, LONDON

decision. The style is very plainly that of which Huguet was the chief exponent, but it is not impossible that the picture was executed, at a more than usually felicitous moment, by one of those who fell under his influence. It seems hard to deny the panel to Huguet when we remark the close approximation to his feminine types, as embodied especially in the retable of the Revendedores (now deposited in the Museum of Catalan Art, Barcelona); and the appurtenances partially agree with his practices. St. Rufina, for instance, wears beneath her mantle a fabric that is peculiarly Huguet's own, as more than once in the retables of Sts. Abdon and Sennen and of the Guardian Angel and St. Bernardine; and the embossed pattern in the borders of the two canonized sisters' garments is precisely repeated on Our Lady's cope in the compartment of the altarpiece of the Revendedores where she is enthroned between virgin martyrs. If Huguet indeed painted the panel, we probably ought to date it early in his career because the design in the gold background is merely incised and not rendered in raised stucco. In the authenticated examples where he uses such flat backgrounds, the design is not so light and delicate, and it is Huguet's Aragonese follower, Martín de Soria, in whose works an unembossed diaper of the sort that appears behind Sts. Justa and Rufina is characteristic, as well as the exact figuration of the haloes. Indeed, it is by no means out of the question that we owe the panel to Martín, who in his best achievements attains very similar types, e.g., in the princess who accompanies the St. George of the Museum of Catalan Art. The very pointed nose of St. Justa is a distinguishing trait of his countenances, whereas Huguet never stresses this feature so far, not even in the St. Michael performing the miracle of Mont St. Michel in the retable of the Revendedores. The drawing of the hands, moreover, would be unworthy of Huguet. In Martín's Madonna in the Hispanic Society, New York, we even discover virtually the same pattern in the edges of her mantle.

Another disciple of Huguet, Francisco Solibes, depicted paired effigies of the two maidens at the centre of a retable dedicated to them at Maluenda [13] in Aragon, but a comparison appears to me to demonstrate that he could not have done the rather fresh and charming London picture even before he became more petrified and provincial in his Aragonese period.

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[13] Vol. VII, p. 356. Gudiol Ricart (*Pintura gótica*, 315) actually assigns the London panel to Solibes. If it was the centre of a retable, the dimensions, 1.27 by .77½ metres, would have made the altarpiece a small one. The virgin martyrs carry the same emblems as at Maluenda, the rakes by which their bodies were lacerated. In the retable of Sts. Justa and Rufina in the Diocesan Museum, Barcelona, which I have ascribed to Rafael Vergós, the narrative scene that has baffled not only me (vol. VII, p. 470) but also De Gaiffier (vol. X, p. 383, n. 2) has been elucidated by Professor André Lubac as one of the twain passing wine through a sieve and as thus miraculously separating water from the adulterated product foisted upon them by a dishonest innkeeper. In an article in the *Archivo Hispalense*, X (1949), 33–46, he identified the subject in a baroque retable at Prats-de-Mollo (in the part of Catalonia now belonging to France); but, like me, he was unable to ferret out the tale in hagiological literature and found it preserved only in the oral tradition of the region. Subsequently to his article, he realized that it was the same theme which was depicted in

GABRIEL GUARDIA

Like several other painters who seemed at first to have few extant offspring, Gabriel Guardia has gradually revealed to us more of his creations. The general style and gold appurtenances of a Nativity in the Collection of the Viuda de Castillo-Baquero at Seville (Fig. 292) obviously fall within just the phase of Huguet's following that he incorporated (the haloes, for instance, analogous to those of the Sts. George and Christopher in the Juñer Collection, Barcelona [1]), and the seal is put upon the attribution by a number of specific conformities. Most convincing perhaps is the arresting similarity of the bevy of adoring angels to the celestial galaxy who surround the Eternal Father in a panel in a private collection at Milan, [2] but almost as much significance attaches to the accordance of the Virgin with one of Guardia's recurrent types, illustrated, for instance, by the two angels accompanying the First Person of the Trinity in the compartment of the emergence of Eve from Adam's side in the documented retable at Manresa.

ARNALDO GASSIES

The Catalan painters of the middle of the fifteenth century resemble one another so closely that it is often a delicate problem of connoisseurship to distinguish their individual hands; but after prolonged study I have come to the conclusion that the painter whose real name we have recently discovered, Arnaldo Gassies,[1] is the most likely, though not surely winning, candidate for the authorship of a large Crucifixion [2] belonging to the Calvert Foundation, Chicago, a panel that must have been the pinnacle of one of the huge retables which embellished the apses of the churches of Spain (Fig. 293). Among the contemporaries of Gassies, those whom I am excluding from election with most qualms are his rival in his province of Roussillon, the Vidre Master, and the artist active, strangely enough, at the opposite end of the region where Catalan influence was felt, Valentín Montolíu. In view of the stylistic interrelations of the Catalan painters of the period and by reason of the paucity of works by Gassies and especially of any Crucifixion for comparison, the specific evidence, in the midst of a general concordance in manner, for assigning the Calvert picture to him must be essentially Morellian. There are two such proofs, either one of which might not be significant but the combination of which in the panel is fairly determinative, the big, unpleasant, projecting noses of the Virgin and St. John and the employment of prominent hands in arbitrary posi-

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the retable at Barcelona, and with great kindness he has communicated to me in a letter his very interesting discovery.

[1] Vol. VIII, fig. 352.

[2] Vol. IX, fig. 369.

[1] Vol. XI, p. 433.

[2] The dimensions are approximately 40 inches in height by 28 in width.

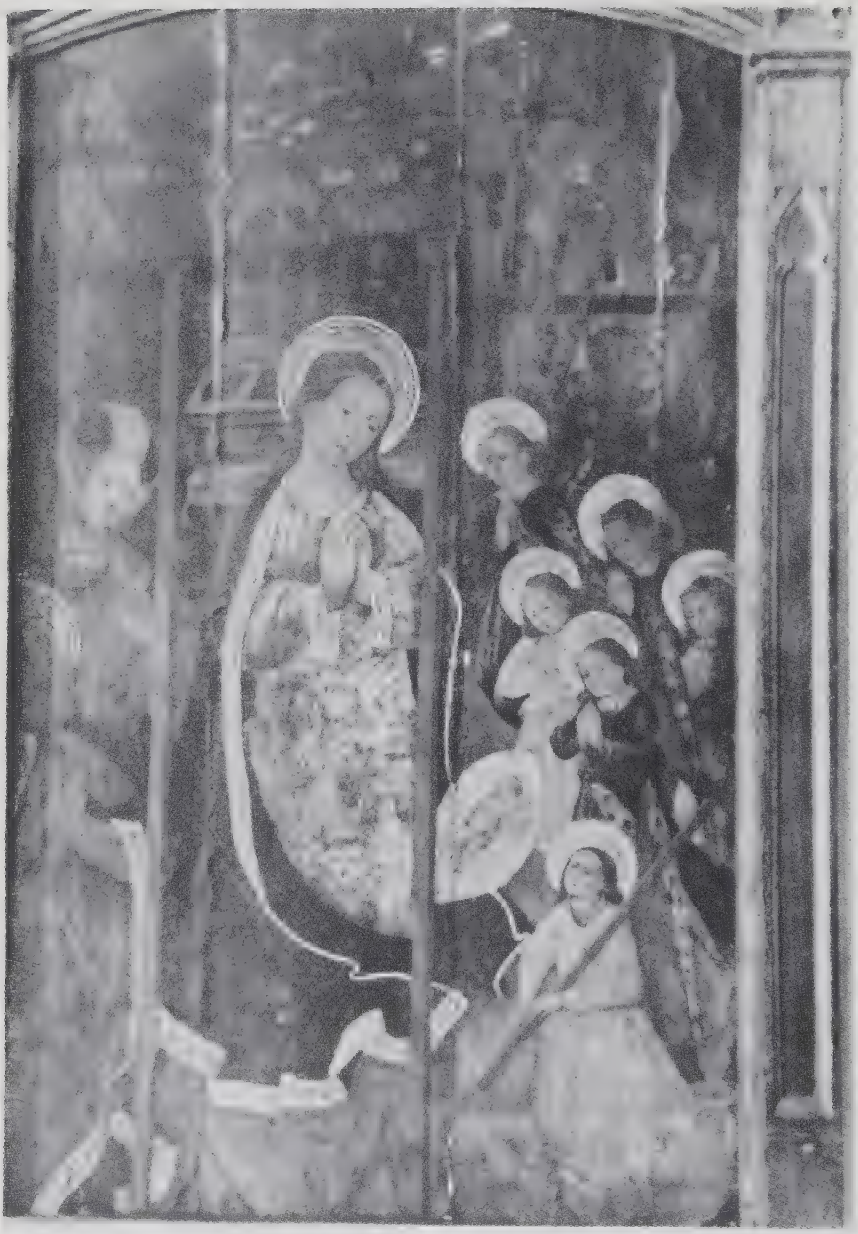

Fig. 292. GABRIEL GUARDIA. NATIVITY. CASTILLO-BAQUERO COLLECTION, SEVILLE
(*Courtesy of Professor Martin S. Soria*)

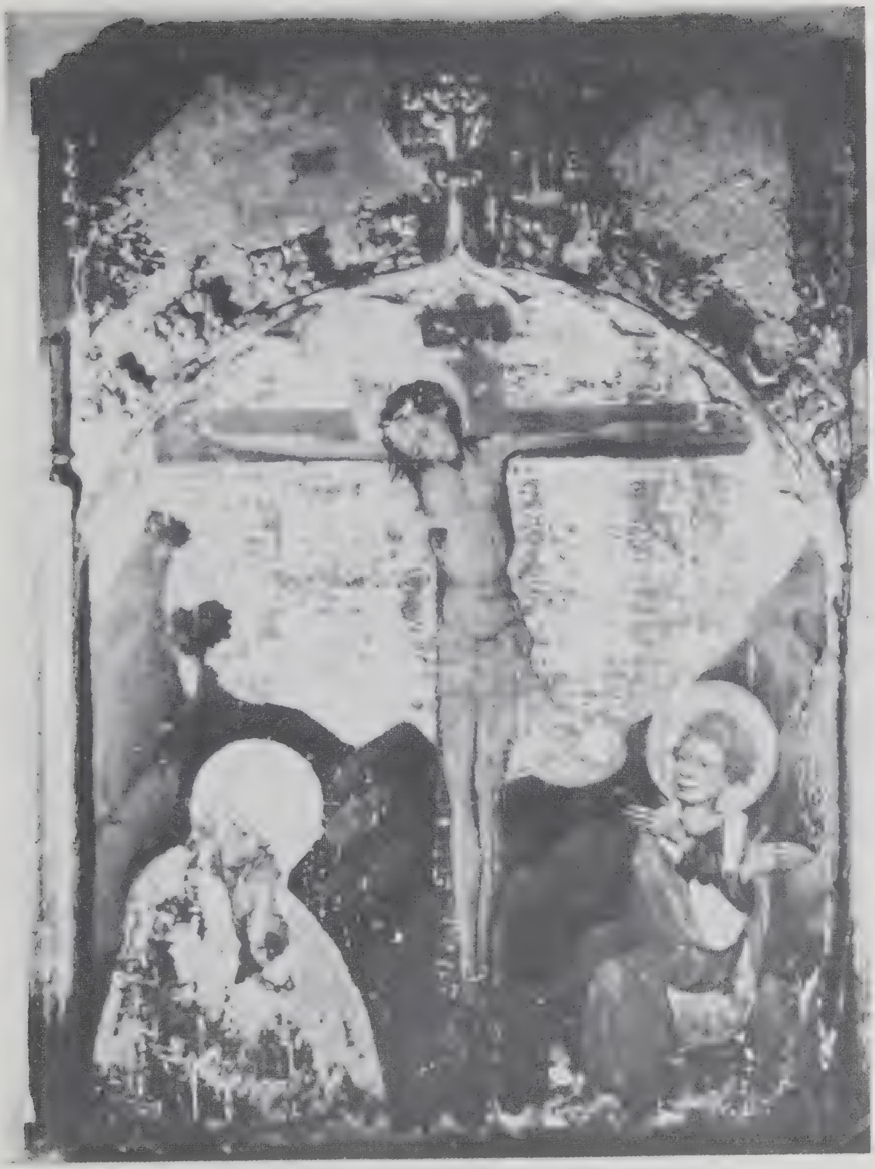

Fig. 293. ARNALDO GASSIES (?). CRUCIFIXION.
CALVERT FOUNDATION, CHICAGO
(Courtesy of the Foundation)

tions, as again in the case of the latter figure, a peculiarity illustrated especially in the Pentecost[3] that has passed from the Mengin Collection, Paris, to the Gallery of Sacred Art in Bob Jones University, Greenville, South Carolina. Furthermore, the hands are drawn in conformity with Gassies's mode; the almost phrenetic expression of St. John is characteristic of several of the Apostles in the Pentecost; and his type of head is approximated in the St. Hippolytus, dragged by horses, in the retable at Palau del Vidre and in the assistant of St. Eloy at the extreme right in the panel at Elne.

The Marinyans Master

The emergence of a hitherto uncharted work often results in the isolation of a new personality in art through its attachment to some long known and not specifically ascribed production and thus through the definition of his style by two achievements; and in this way we may add another painter to the annals of the school of Roussillon by assigning with a high degree of probability to the author of the cycle of Sts. Cosmas and Damian at Serdinya[1] a large panel, depicting St. Margaret in prison, in the church at Oreilla, a little farther to the west (Fig. 294). I take the title of the painter from the fact that the pieces of Sts. Cosmas and Damian once were to be seen in the now destroyed church at Marinyans, not very distant from Serdinya.[2] The work at Oreilla is curious, forming in itself a whole retable with its own *guardapolvos*, which contain a synchronous inscription of the name of St. Margaret, who is represented not, as customarily, subduing the dragon but merely receiving in prison the consolation of one of her visions of God mentioned in the *Golden Legend*, the divine presence being symbolized in the older mediaeval manner as a Hand emerging in a cruciform nimbus from schematized clouds.

The evidence for the assignment to the author of the scenes from the story of Sts. Cosmas and Damian is not very concrete; but the lacuna is to a great extent filled by the vivid feeling of anyone who has long studied the scenes that at Oreilla he is in the presence of the same artist, and such inbred feelings must always be reckoned cogent factors in the matter of attributions. The most concrete proof for the ascription is the white, largely unmodelled face of St. Margaret, as in many of the countenances at Serdinya. It is to be noted also that her eyebrows are drawn in precisely the mode of the St. Damian (at the right) in the brothers' ordeal by fire, that she has their pious, upward glance in the episode of the demoniac attack upon their judge, and that her hands are weakly delineated in the mode of the Serdinya series. The landscape at the side of the virgin martyr's prison is very like the vista in the scene of the fire, and she and Sts. Cosmas and Damian before their judge are distinguished by similarly designed haloes.

[3] Vol. XI, fig. 187.

[1] See my vol. VII, p. 568 and fig. 211.

[2] F. Monsalvatje, *Obispado de Elna*, Olot, III (1913), 46.

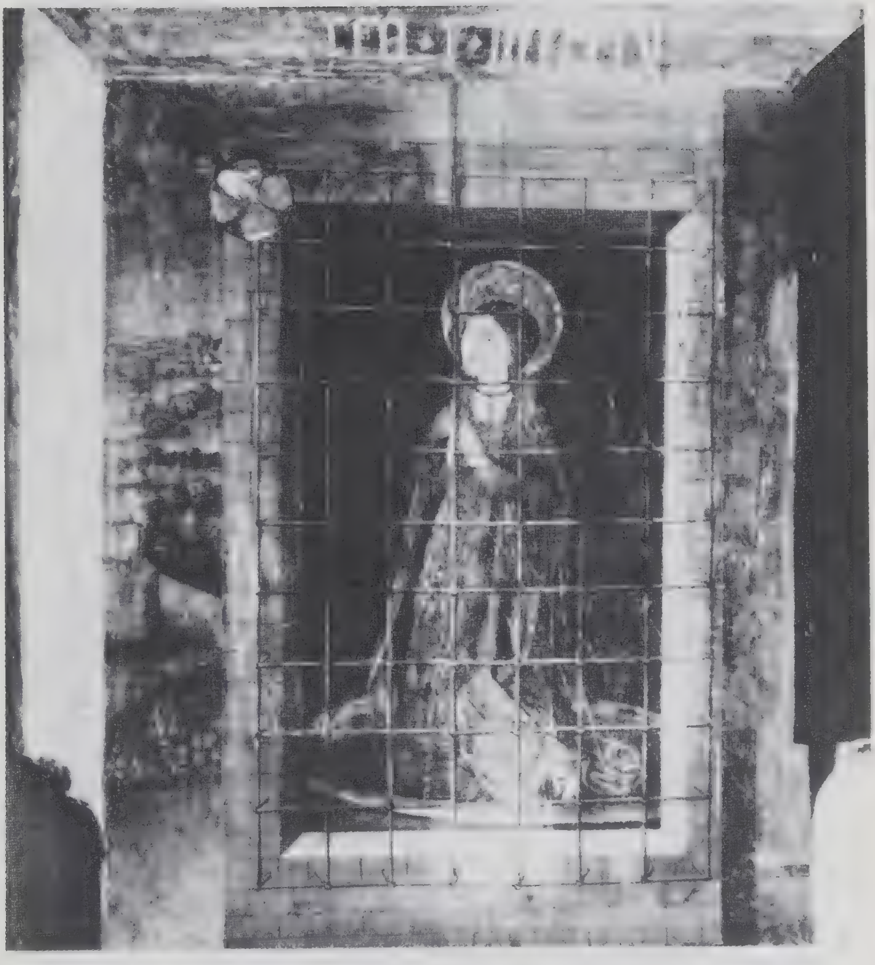

Fig. 294. THE MARINYANS MASTER. ST. MARGARET IN PRISON. PARISH CHURCH, OREILLA
(*Photo. Jauzac*)

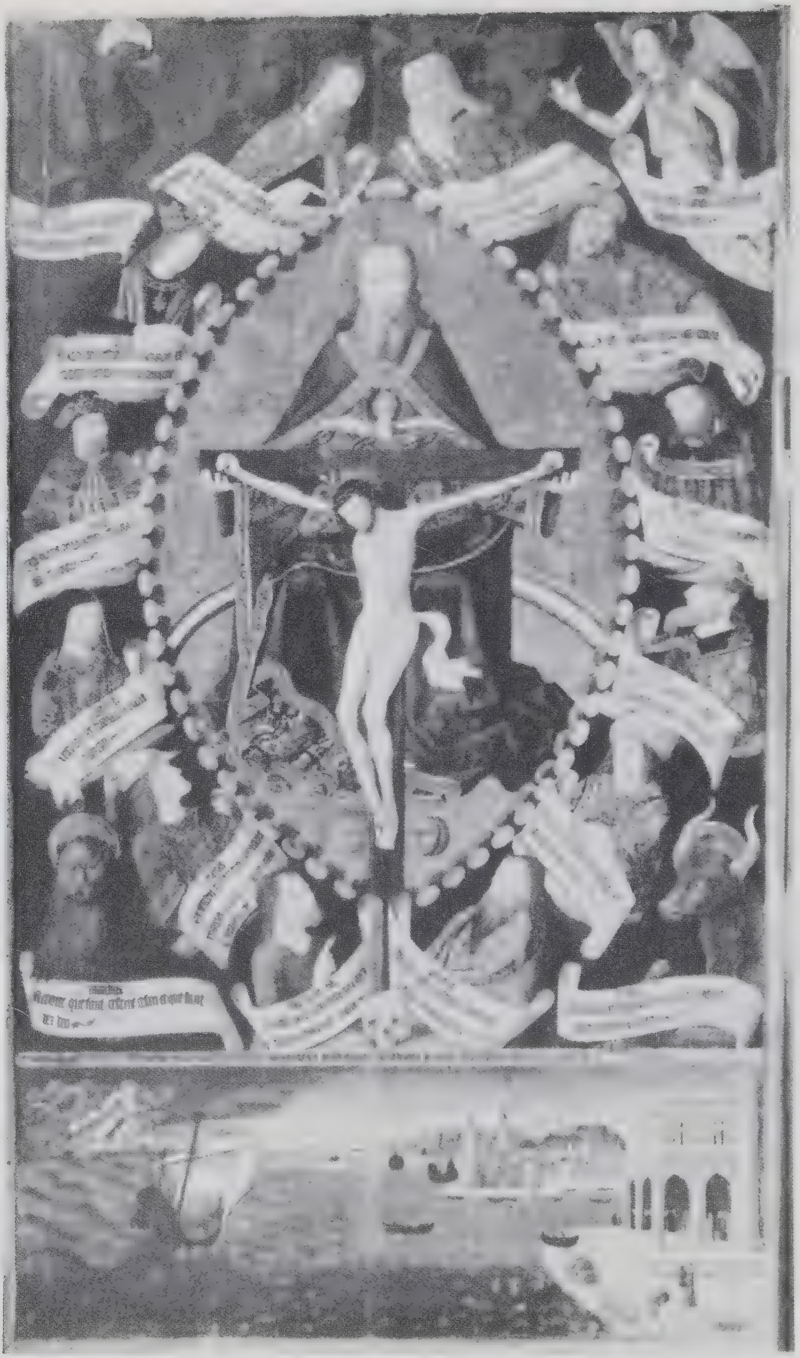

Fig. 295. THE CANAPOST MASTER. TRINITY.
ST. JACQUES, PERPIGNAN
(Courtesy of Professor Marcel Durliat)

THE CANAPOST MASTER

The admirable recent cleaning of the retable of the Trinity in the church of St. Jacques at Perpignan (Fig. 295) has brought a great and agreeable surprise, the revelation that it is a major production by the distinguished and all too sparsely preserved exponent of French influence in northern Catalonia, the Canapost Master. Historical and iconographic interests vie with aesthetic merit and the artist's alert invention in giving to the work its importance. Originally done for the Maritime Exchange (in Spanish, Lonja del Mar, or, in French, Loge de Mer) at Perpignan but eventually transferred to St. Jacques, it nobly places under the protection of the Blessed Trinity honesty and sound judgment in trade. Above the predella an inscription in Catalan dates the altarpiece in 1489 and gives the names of the two officials of the city, called Consuls of the Sea, in this year. The entire main body of the structure is devoted to a representation of the Trinity, exhibiting the tenacity of artistic tradition in that, according to the old Romanesque mode, the august figure of the Pantocrator is set in a mandorla, and the resulting spandrels are filled by the signs of the Evangelists. Anomalously, however, the old symbols of the sun and moon in the iconography of the Crucifixion are retained because of the Second Person of the Trinity upon His cross, and still more strangely they are placed, not in the heavens, but at Our Lord's feet. To the whole treatment of the theme of the Trinity, moreover, there is added a unique element, the girding of the mandorla with as many as twelve half-lengths of Prophets and other worthies of the old and new dispensations who carry banderoles with Latin excerpts from their writings or from other Biblical sources, practically all of which, like the scrolls held by the signs of the Evangelists, are calculated to inspire both to righteous dealings in commerce and to judicious decisions.[1]

Originality characterizes also the single, horizontal panel that forms the predella. Ostensibly it depicts one of the patrons of mariners, St. Nicholas, rescuing from a storm the sailors on the Aegean, or perhaps, instead, the great protector of Mediterranean travellers by sea, St. Erasmus (Sant' Elmo), or the special defender of Catalan navigators, St. Oldegar, performing a similar miracle;[2] but this event is relegated to small scope at the left, and with amazing precocity the artist uses virtually the whole space for one of the very earliest examples of a pure seascape (or for that matter even of an out-and-out landscape), thus rivalling his Venetian contemporary, Carpaccio, and prophesying Canaletto and Guardi. The expanse of water, with its foam-tipped wavelets and many small craft, stretches across the whole centre of the panel to the Lonja del Mar at the right as it then looked, behind which there is seen what may have been meant as the port of Perpignan, Collioure, which thus would constitute one of the very few representations of a recognizable town in the paintings of Spain at the period. The quays and the Lonja's arcades abound, again quite in Carpaccio's manner, with the activities of a maritime market.

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[1] The following are the sources: for Adam, Genesis IV, 7 (where, however, the divine admonition is addressed to Cain!); for Moses, Deuteronomy, XXIV, 17; for Isaac, Genesis, XXVI, 24, scarcely related to the sentiments expressed on the scrolls of the others; for Joshua, a passage from the book of Job, XII, 16, according to the not infrequent custom, in such assemblies, of applying to one personage a verse taken from another; for David, Psalm CVI, 3 (or in a different numbering of the Psalms, CV, 3); for Jeremiah, II, 35; for Zechariah, VIII, 16; for Hosea, X, 12; for Isaiah, XVI, 5; for Daniel, an adaptation of Isaiah, XI, 4; for St. John Baptist, the words of Our Lord in Luke, VI, 38; for St. Paul, Romans, II, 1; for S^{t}. Matthew, VII, 1; for St. Mark, XII, 17; for St. Luke, III, 14; and for St. John, VII, 24.

[2] Marcel Durliat, *Arts anciens du Roussillon, peinture*, Perpignan, 1954, p. 126.

The eminent scholar of Roussillon, Marcel Durliat, gives the well proven connoisseur of art in Catalonia, Juan Ainaud, the just credit of discerning the Canapost Master in the retable's creator. In view of the general stylistic analogies, the attribution is sufficiently attested by the astonishing similarity of the composition and forms, even in the case of the sailing vessel and rendering of the waves, in the scene of the maritime miracle to the corresponding subject [3] in the retable that bestows upon the Master his sobriquet and from Canapost has now been removed to the Diocesan Museum, Gerona. To press home the attribution, however, we may select some of the other points of contact. In emaciation of body, abnormally long arms, countenance, and flutter of the loin-cloth, the Second Person of the Trinity scarcely differs from the Christ of the Crucifixion in the Canapost altarpiece. The St. Bernard of this altarpiece provides a facial counterpart for the angel of St. Matthew, and the representations of the St. Nicholas resemble the David. In the fragments of a retable of St. Romanus in the Demandolx-Dedons Collection, Marseilles, by the Canapost Master,[4] the persecutor, Asclepiades, should be compared with the St. Paul as well as with the Moses, and the rearmost spectator at the left in the scene of the pyre with the Isaiah. Locks of hair straggle down upon the foreheads of the Eternal Father, Moses, the Baptist, and St. Paul according to the Master's predilection, exemplified, in the Canapost retable, by the angels in the principal compartment and by the St. John and the good thief in the Crucifixion. The haloes have the double, raised rings used at Canapost, and —to put the seal upon the ascription — in the embossed orphreys of the garments of the Canapost central Madonna and separate effigy of St. Nicholas we detect *precisely* the same pattern as upon the modelled borders of the Father's cope in the Perpignan Trinity.

It has eventually dawned upon me that we ought perhaps to ascribe two further works to the Canapost Master or to an intimately related, immediate predecessor. One of the works is a retable formerly in the great monastic church at San Juan de las Abadesas, a pictorial *ensemble* which before the Spanish civil war had been allowed to lapse into such abject ruin that, even if the crumbling shreds had survived the depredations of the strife, they would soon have disintegrated entirely. The principal compartment de-

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[3] Vol. VII, p. 604.

[4] Vol. VIII, fig. 358.

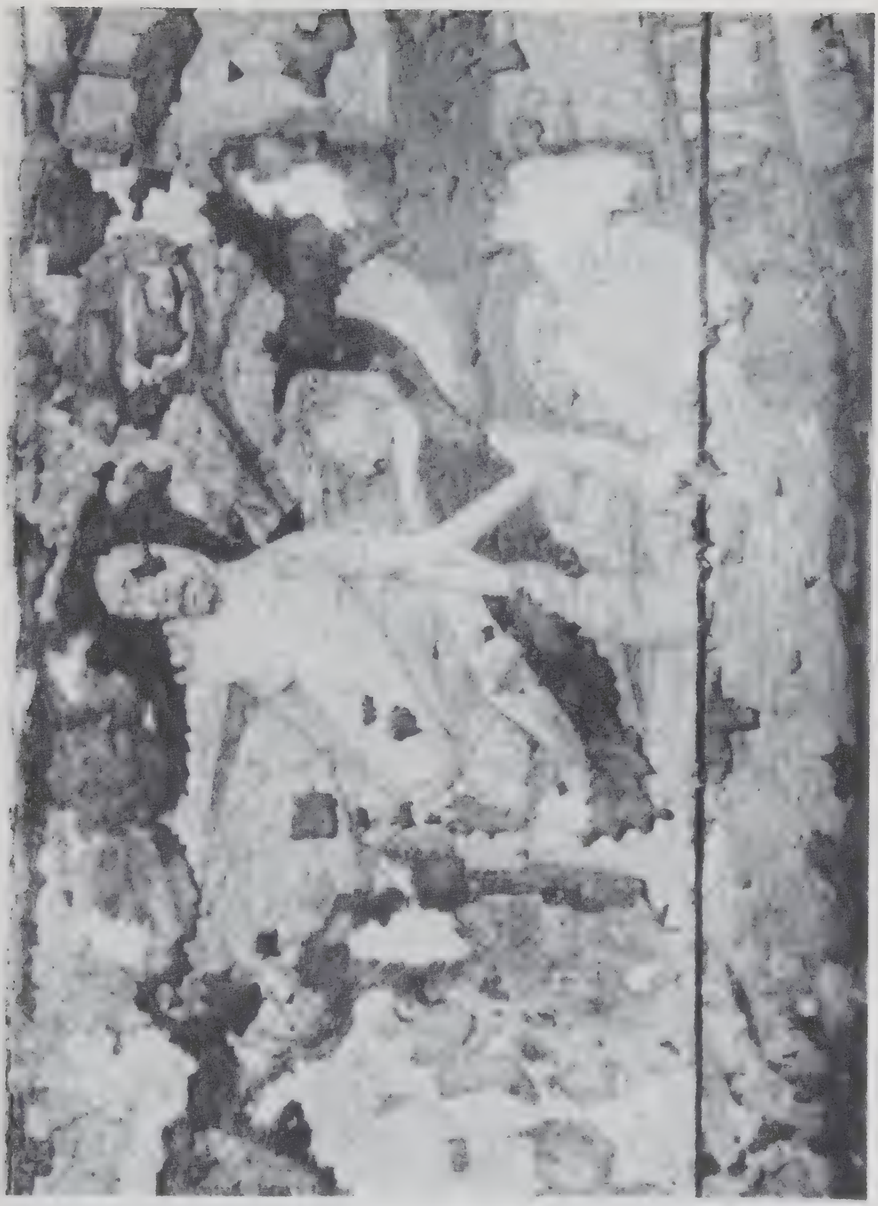

Fig. 296. THE CANAPOST MASTER (?). LAMENTATION OVER THE DEAD CHRIST, CENTRE OF RETABLE. MONASTIC CHURCH, SAN JUAN DE LAS ABADESAS
(*Photo. Mas*)

picted the Lamentation over the Dead Christ (Fig. 296) and was surmounted by the customary Crucifixion; in the two divisions at the left the Annunciation and Nativity could still be dimly made out in the tatters hanging to the panels, and at the upper right the Epiphany, but in the section at the lower right only the heads of the Mother and the Child that she held were detectable, perhaps vestiges of a representation of the Flight into Egypt; and, if more pieces were included in the original structure, they had disappeared before it came within my ken.

The retable's *general* Gallicized style could be accommodated to an attribution to the Canapost Master, but there are also some arresting concrete analogies to his achievements. The most persuasive bit of such evidence is unfortunately so far obliterated that it can be discerned in the photograph only with a magnifying glass and by straining the eyes, the very youthful St. John Evangelist at the left in the Lamentation, whose head is actually duplicated rather than approximated in the left of the two angels accompanying the Madonna in the central compartment of the retable of Canapost. In the Crucifixions of both retables and in the Perpignan Trinity, there is little difference between the treatments of Christ in the physique as well as in the head, from which in the two former instances the hair falls loosely upon the shoulders in the same way. In the Annunciation at San Juan de las Abadesas, Gabriel resembles in countenance the youth above St. Romanus suffering the extraction of his tongue in the fragment at Caldégas; [5] and the Child in the Virgin's arms in the ruined scene that I have tentatively called the Flight into Egypt is very like the Infant in the central panel of the Canapost altarpiece. Very important in the cumulative proof is the reappearance at San Juan de las Abadesas, particularly in the Saviour in the Lamentation, of the Canapost Master's peculiar delineation of the hair in separate strands in the fashion of Botticelli (which is not saying that the author or authors had seen the great Italian's creations!). Moreover, what little remains of the landscape in the Lamentation recalls the setting to the Crucifixion in the retable from Canapost. I do not know that we ought to resort to the argument that, since this retable has come down to us in a condition only less dilapidated than the wreck at San Juan de las Abadesas, the reason may have been the employment of poor pigments and the inexpert attaching of them to the panels, defects of which a single craftsman would have been guilty in both cases, although in his labor for the Maritime Exchange he aimed better at perpetuating his achievement. It is to be remembered, further, that both San Juan de las Abadesas and Canapost belong to the province of Gerona, that Caldégas and Perpignan are also in northern Catalonia (though now in France), and that what we know of the Canapost Master indicates this region as the centre of his activity.

In view of the compositional similarities in representations of the Pietà at the period, it is not absolutely necessary to suppose that the author of the retable of San Juan de las Abadesas had seen the celebrated version

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[5] Vol. VII, p. 608.

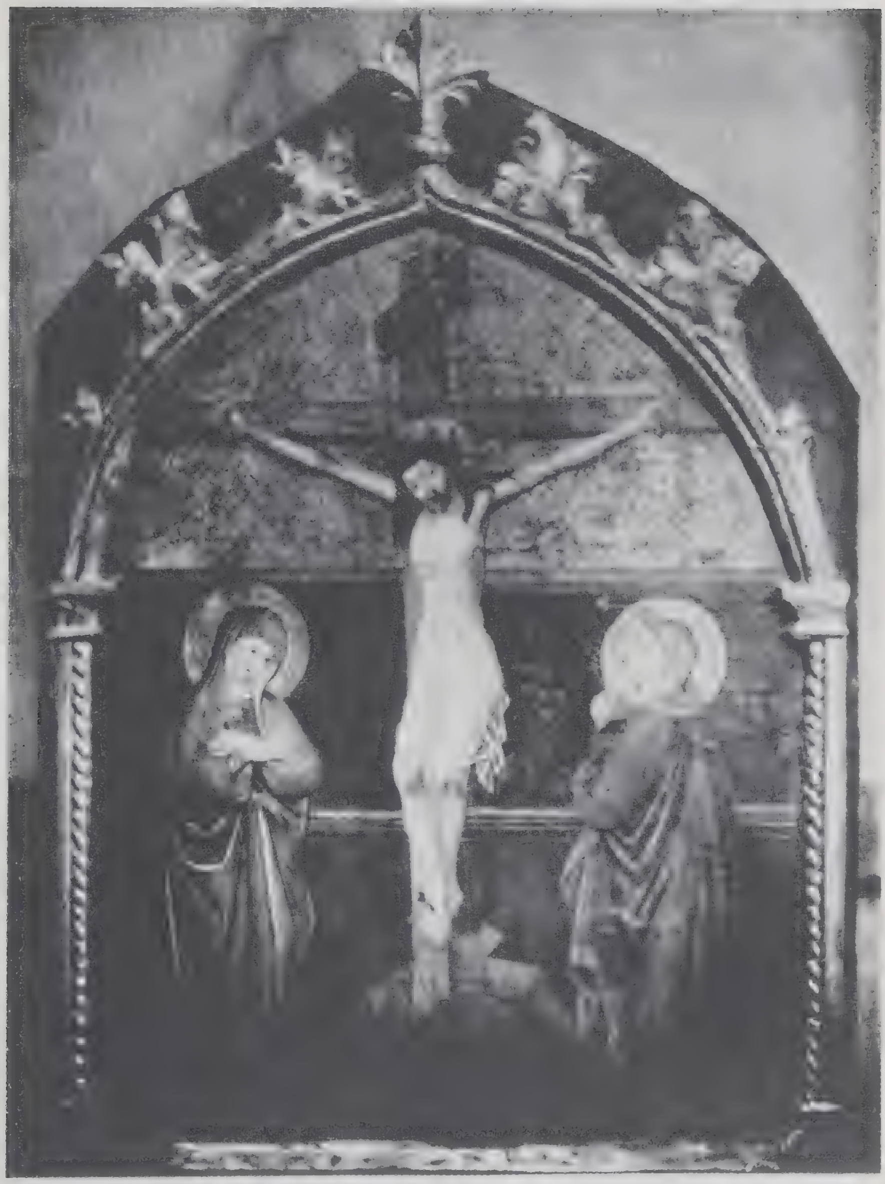

Fig. 297. THE CANAPOST MASTER (?). CRUCIFIXION. DEMANDOLX-DEDONS COLLECTION, MARSEILLES
(*Courtesy of the owner*)

of the theme from Villeneuve-lès-Avignon, now in the Louvre, which is perhaps to be dated about 1460. At any rate, if the author was the Canapost Master rather than a slightly antecedent manipulator of the same style, the general manner and the absence of embossings would imply that he executed the retable of the Lamentation prior to the works at Canapost, Caldégas, and Perpignan.

Whoever the artist of San Juan de las Abadesas was, he seems surely to have painted a retable's pinnacle, displaying the Crucifixion, in the Demandolx-Dedons Collection at Marseilles (Fig. 297). No other conclusion appears possible when we observe the practical identity of the face of Christ, a dour type not native to the Catalan school, and the corresponding stylization of His hair in the Lamentation at San Juan de las Abadesas, as well as the close analogy of the St. John in the Crucifixion to the Magdalene (at the right) clasping the lifeless arm of her Lord. The figure of the Redeemer in the Crucifixion of the retable of San Juan de las Abadesas is also very similar, and this means an analogy likewise to the Saviour on the cross in the Canapost altarpiece, a consideration that would be better evidence for the ascription of all these works to a single personality, if there were not one or two characteristics that give us pause. For instance, the draperies of the Virgin and St. John in the Marseilles Collection are not of the Flemish sort that we ordinarily meet in the Canapost Master's productions but in their breadth and folds look Italianate; and yet we must not forget that very few of his works have been recognized by which to estimate what his variations in this respect were. Indeed, other details could be selected in favor of the attribution, such as both here and in the Crucifixion of the Canapost retable the obliquity of the inscription INRI. The Demandolx-Dedons Collection possesses two panels of the Canapost Master's Caldégas altarpiece,[6] but the different figuration of the carved Gothic frame in the Crucifixion would be an obstacle to the hypothesis that it once belonged to the same assemblage.

In first glancing at the illustration of a Lamentation over the Dead Christ in the Suntag Collection at Barcelona (Fig. 298), the reader will have the same feeling that I myself have experienced: he will balk at the idea that the picture could have any connection with the group of works that we have just been discussing. If, however, he will subject the panel to a long examination, he will gradually perceive that such a connection may possibly exist and that a more tangible similarity to the Canapost Master's sure and hypothetical productions is perhaps hidden by the detrition which many of their surfaces have suffered. In the main outlines of the composition, in the types of the Virgin and Magdalene, and, above all, in the head of Christ with its falling mass of hair, the rendering at San Juan de las Abadesas is analogous. The emaciated body of Our Lord incorporates precisely the physical conception that we have seen in the Crucifixions which we have studied, and His loin-cloth is disposed in the Flemish folds more characteristic of the Canapost Master than the draperies of Mary and John

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[6] Vol. VIII, p. 748.

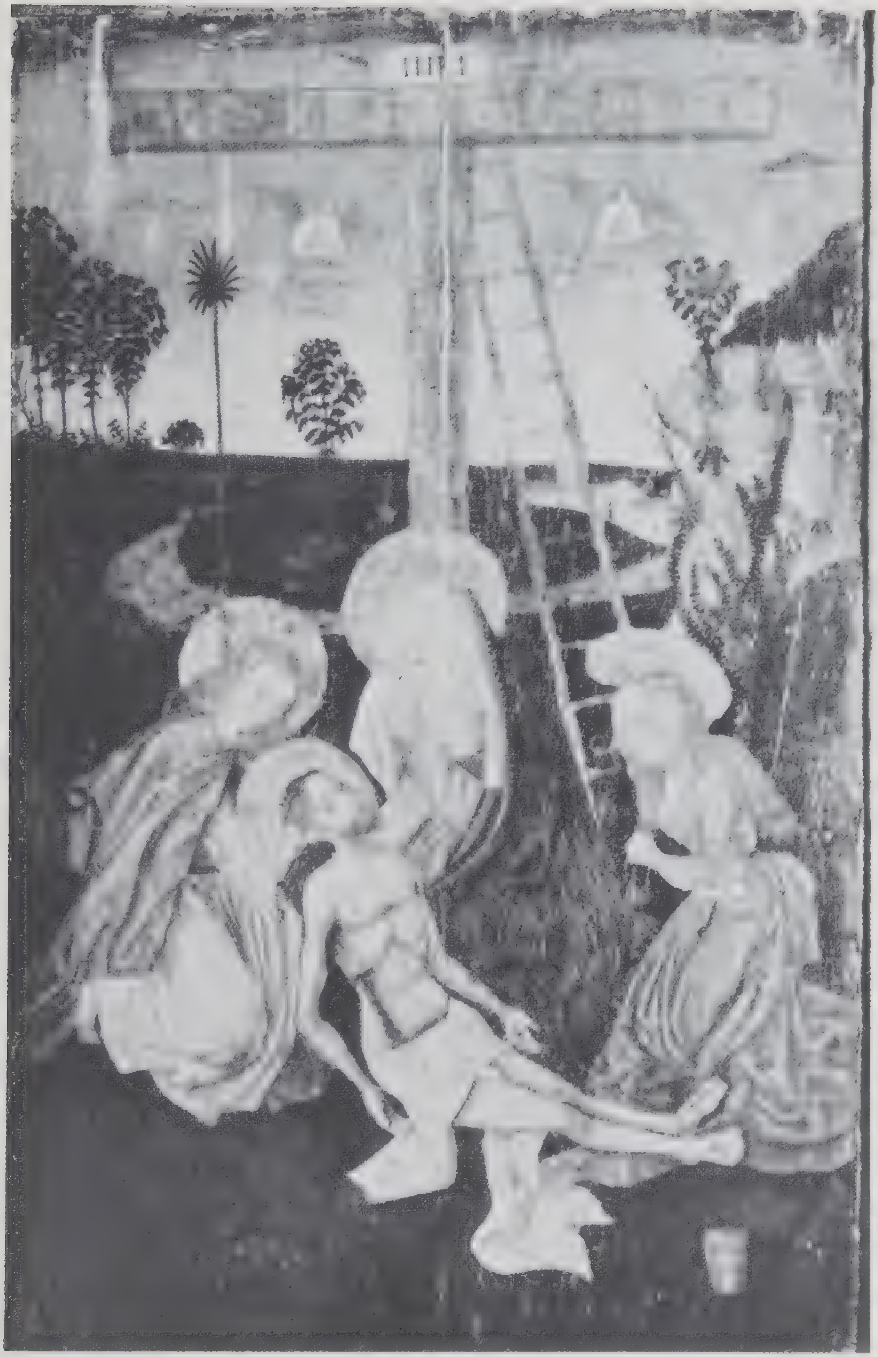

FIG. 298. THE CANAPOST MASTER (??). LAMENTATION OVER THE DEAD CHRIST. SUNTAG COLLECTION, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

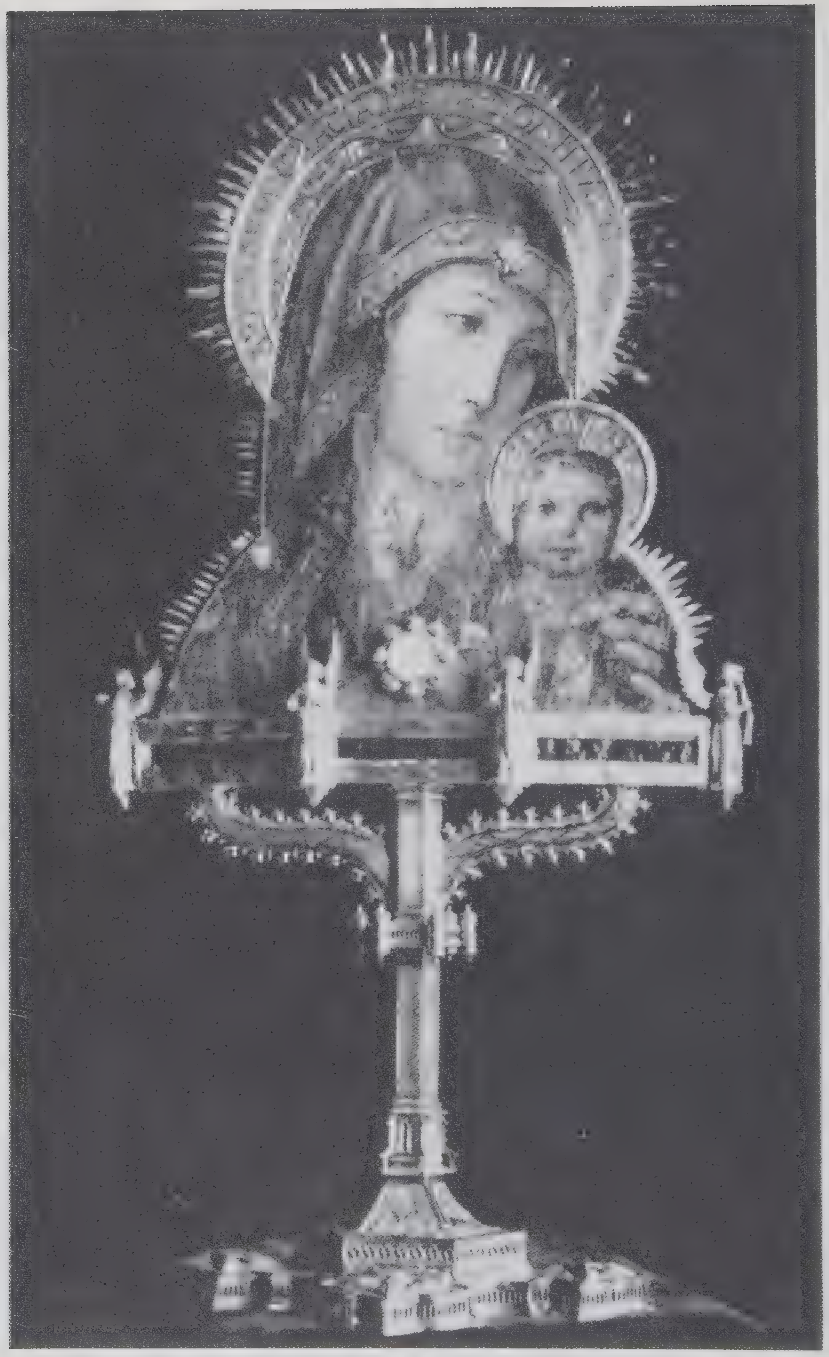

FIG. 299. MADONNA AND CHILD, OBVERSE OF RELIQUARY.
ASCRIBED TO THE CANAPOST MASTER.
CATHEDRAL, GERONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

in the panel of the Demandolx-Dedons Collection. The Master's schematization of the hair into strands is not so apparent, but here again the original effect of the tresses may have been partially lost through the wearing away of the pigments in the Suntag panel. As we have compared the treatments of the INRI in the Crucifixions of the Demandolx-Dedons Collection and the Canapost retable, so it should be pointed out that in the Suntag panel the upper corners of the inscription are clipped as in the Crucifixion at San Juan de las Abadesas. Nevertheless, despite all these links with the Canapost Master, the general impression which we get from the Lamentation in the Suntag Collection is so diverse, at least in its present condition, from the effect made upon us by his certain and even doubtful paintings that I propose the attribution for little other purpose than to find what the reaction of other investigators will be.

Gudiol Ricart [7] ascribes to the Canapost Master a lovely reliquary of gilded silver in the form of a double veronica, the Madonna with the Child on the obverse (Fig. 299) and the Salvator Mundi on the reverse, now in one of the Salas Capitulares of the cathedral of Gerona; but, although I can propose none of the other candidates who were working in the French or Flemish manner that the object displays and who were active in the region at about the time, the evidence does not seem to me sufficiently concrete to support definitely the Catalan scholar's opinion. It is stated by Gudiol, on what authority I do not know, that the reliquary was presented to the cathedral in 1496, but it does bear on its base the escutcheon of the bishop Berenguer de Pau, who ruled the see from 1486 to 1506, as well as, curiously enough, *perhaps* the shield also of his immediate predecessor, the cardinal Juan de Margarit, 1462–1484.[8]

ANTONIO DE LLONYE

Madurell's extensive and inestimably valuable publications of the Catalan documents on art have revealed to me a fact which I should have perceived long ago and which indeed has subsequently been detected by Spanish scholars, namely that the painter from Savoy, Antonio de Llonye,[1] was the author of the retable from Miralles, now divided between the Museum of Catalan Art, Barcelona, and the Mateu Collection, Peralada, which I registered in volume VII [2] as a prime example of the French strain in the northeastern part of the Iberian peninsula during the second half of the fifteenth century. With unpardonable stupidity I failed to note, when I wrote volume VII, that Sanpere [3] had already published enough extracts from the documents, which Madurell [4] quotes in full, to establish conclusively the attribution. It is apparent even in the extracts that on May 4, 1462, Antonio de Llonye, in payment of a debt to the embroiderer, Antonio Sadorní, ceded to him the rights of a sum of money owed to Llonye by the Augustinian monastery of the Domus Dei (in Spanish, Casa de Dios) for a retable that he had done for the institution; and, since Domus Dei is the name of the Augustinian monastery at Miralles, since the extant retable comes from this monastery, and since it was plainly painted not by a native Catalan but by an artist trained in the French school, it thus securely recovers for us Antonio de Llonye's personality. Inasmuch as in the document he is described as a dweller in the town of Villana (= Avigliana) in the duchy of Savoy and in the diocese of Turin, there was the possibility that stylistically he might have been related to the contemporary group of painters in Savoy really belonging to the Piedmontese division of the Italian school; but in a contract of June 13, 1460, to design stained glass for the church of Sta. María del Mar at Barcelona, a record not known to Sanpere but summarized by Madurell, he is called a "painter of the city of Toulouse in the kingdom of France," so that he must have gone from Toulouse to Savoy or *vice versa*, and in any case in Savoy would have cast his lot with the Gallicized coterie of artists. Moreover, he must have been chiefly living in Toulouse at this time, since still more recently a document has come to light,[5] a further contract, signed in this city on October 24, 1461, to do the glass of Sta. María del Mar.

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[7] *Pintura gótica*, 292.

[8] Lamberto Font, *Gerona, La Catedral y el Museo Diocesano*, Gerona, 1952, pp. 39 and XXI. Berenguer de Pau is mistaken by Font for Bernardo de Pau, who was bishop of Gerona from 1436 to 1459.

[1] It is not certain whether in the Catalan documents his name should be read thus rather than *Llouye* or *Lunyi*, but in the French document immediately to be mentioned, it is spelled *Lonhy*, showing that *Llouye* must be wrong. The Catalogue of the Exposition of Mediterranean Primitives at Barcelona in 1952 (p. 72, no. 112) points out that the surname Lognio is still found in Piedmont.

[2] P. 610. The two narrative panels of the visits to St. Augustine's tomb and the death of St. Monica, whose whereabouts I could not discover when I wrote volume

We have already had occasion, in volume VII,[6] to decry Sanpere's attempt, substantiated by no sound evidence whatsoever, to attach to Llonye the retable said to come from the suburb of Barcelona, San Martín de Provensals, also in the Museum of Catalan Art, and it turns out, as was to be expected, that the panels are entirely different in style from his now ascertained, real, and far superior attainments. The date of 1462 for the Miralles altarpiece still makes possible Llonye's acquaintance, which I sug-

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VII, are now in the Mateu Collection, Peralada. Mesuret (cf. note below) quotes Ainaud as rightly discerning St. Nicholas of Tolentino in the sacred personage I incorrectly called St. Dominic in the part of the retable in the Museum of Catalan Art, Barcelona. As an Augustinian, St. Nicholas of Tolentino properly fits into the retable, carrying his regular emblems of the star on his breast and the lilies; and the scene above embodies something much emphasized in his biographies, the efficacy of his masses in freeing souls from purgatory: see Guérin, *Les petits Bollandistes*, XI, 16.

[3] *Los cuatrocentistas catalanes*, I, 312.

[4] *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, IV, 1–2 (1946), 11–12, and notes at the bottom of these pages.

[5] See Robert Mesuret, in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, IX (1951), 13.

[6] P. 410. See also above, p. 272.

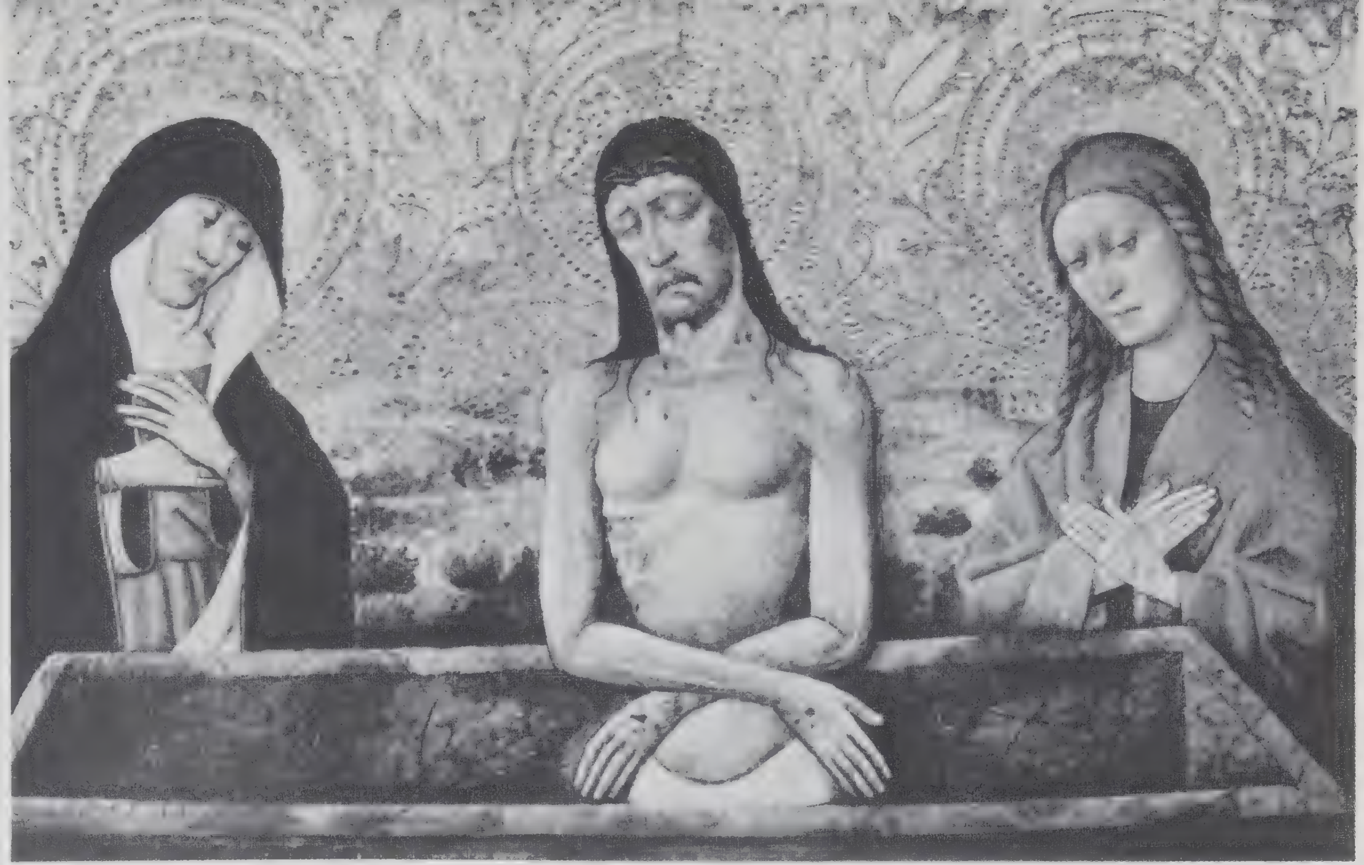

Fig. 300. VALENTÍN MONTOLÍU. PIETÀ. MELANDER SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY,
SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA
(*Courtesy of the Society*)

gested in volume VII,[7] with Huguet's retables dedicated to St. Anthony Abbot and (if we accept the chronology of Gudiol and Ainaud)[8] to St. Vincent, but the resemblance of the Miralles compartment of the Epiphany to the version of the subject in the great Catalan master's retable of the Constable, which belongs to the years 1464–1465, must be fortuitous and due to the almost necessarily analogous compositions of the theme current among the European artists of the period. The Catalogue[9] of the Exposition of Mediterranean Primitives at Barcelona in 1952 is probably right in interpreting the enigmatical monogram in the escutcheon at the bottom of the principal panel[10] in the Miralles retable as BN and therefore in identifying the kneeling figure as a posthumous portrait of the founder of the monastery in 1414, Bertrán Nicoláu,[11] rather than as the Augustinian Mateo Reya who commissioned the altarpiece.

Valentín Montolíu

It is after these many years since I treated in volume VII[1] this master, who carried the Catalan style of the mid-fifteenth century into the Maestrazgo, that I have come upon another work by his hand, which has the additional interest of constituting the only one of his achievements that I know to be in America, a Pietà, originally the centre of a predella[2] of some retable and now in the Collection of the Melander Shakespeare Society at Santa Barbara, California (Fig. 300). We are in the presence of one of those happy and not too frequent cases in which the attribution is so obvious as to require no itemizing and boring argumentation; but I will briefly delay to point out that the St. John practically duplicates the St. Lucy in the predella at La Mata, that the composition is no more than a variant of the same subject in the predella of the retable at Villafranca del Cid, that the landscape accords with Montolíu's norms, and that the figuration of the haloes is encountered in some of his productions. In the panel at Santa Barbara, however, he seems to have had more serious ambitions and to have drawn more carefully than in the majority of his commissions, definitely prophesying in the Saviour the tragic grimness of the statues of the Crucified in the Spanish seventeenth century.

[7] P. 614.

[8] *Huguet*, Barcelona, 1948, p. 123.

[9] P. 73.

[10] See my vol. VII, p. 611.

[11] C. Barraquer, *Las casas de religiosos en Cataluña*, Barcelona, 1906, vol. II, 208–209.

[1] Pp. 661 ff. On page 662 I quote Capdevila as stating that in 1435 Valentín was recorded as a painter of Tarragona, but the reference may well be a recently published document of June 4, *1437*, in which, denominated as a citizen of this town, he entered into an agreement of unspecified nature with the painter of Barcelona, Juan Cabrera: *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, VIII (1950), no. 361. Another new item in his biography is his recorded presence at Catí on November 29, 1457: *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura*, XX (1944), 58.

[2] The dimensions are 22 inches in width by 14 in height.

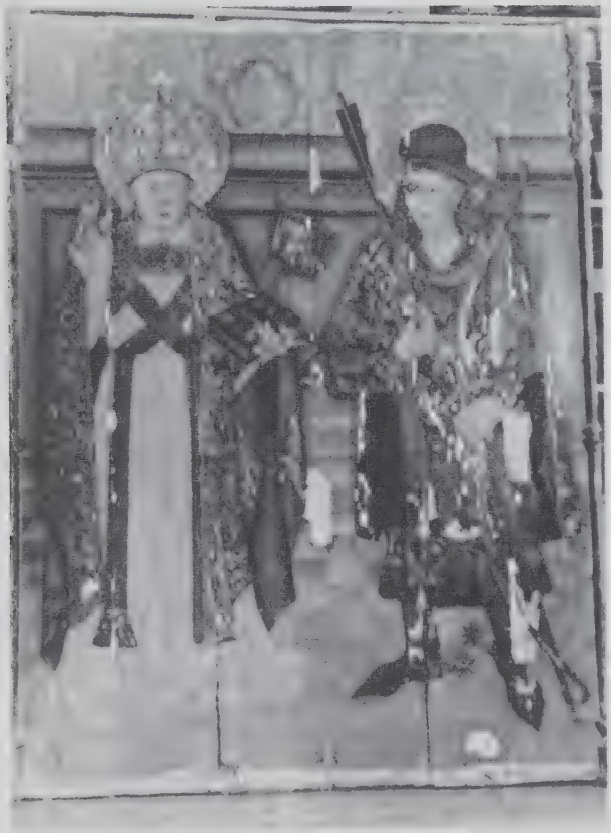

FIG. 301. MIGUEL DEL REY. STS. FABIAN AND SEBASTIAN. AUBÁ COLLECTION, SARAGOSSA
(Courtesy of the owner)

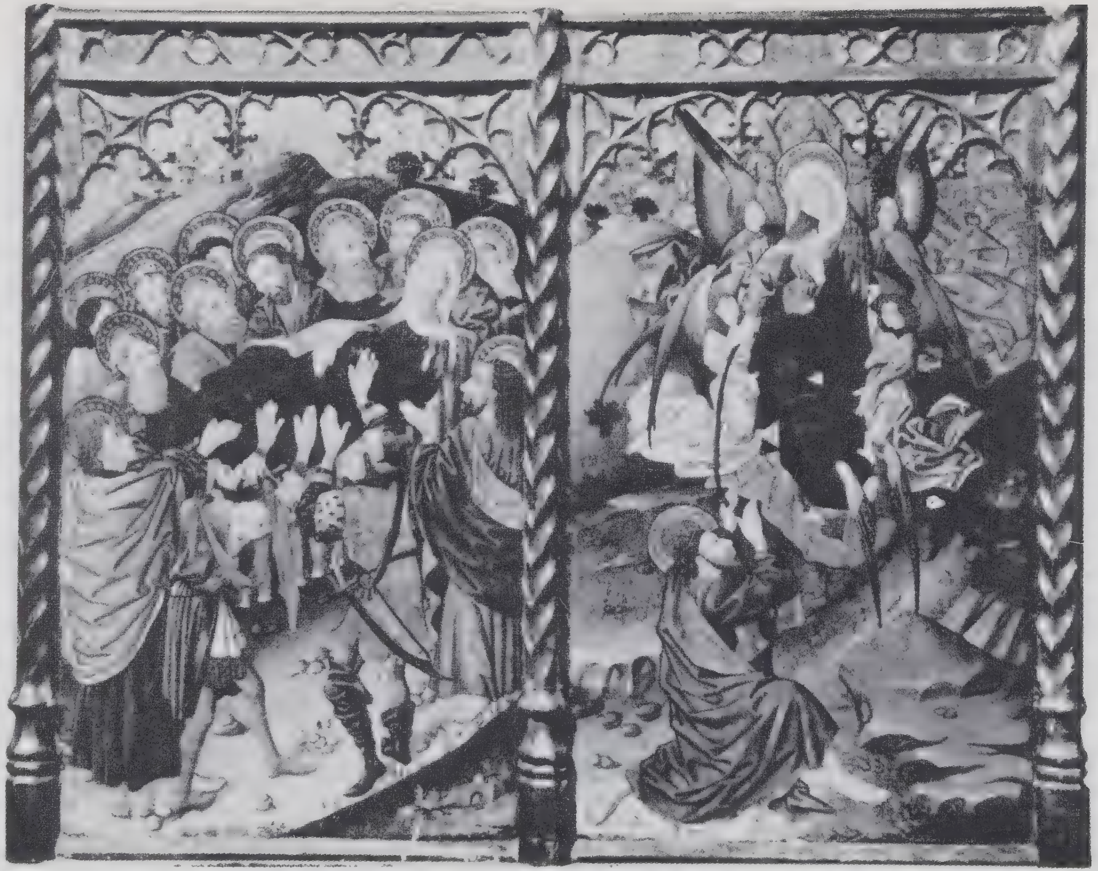

FIG. 302. THE BACRI MASTER. FUNERAL OF THE VIRGIN AND ASSUMPTION. PRIVATE COLLECTION, MOULINS-SUR-ALLIER

MIGUEL DEL REY

It seemed at first that the memory of this Aragonese painter, transitional between the modes of the first and second halves of the fifteenth century, was preserved to us only in his signed work, the retable of St. Nicholas at Maluenda; [1] but eventually I recognized two more productions by him, the Madonna and the St. Michael in the Lázaro Collection, Madrid,[2] and now I can add still another, a panel of the frequently paired iconographic companions, Sts. Fabian and Sebastian, originally the main section or one of the main sections of an altarpiece, in the possession of Don Enrique Aubá at Saragossa (Fig. 301).[3] No more absolute proofs of an attribution could be desired, since, in addition to the exact agreement in general style, the head and hair of St. Sebastian are cast in precisely the mold of the Lázaro St. Michael, and the fleshy face of St. Fabian appears unchanged more than once in the narrative scenes of the retable of St. Nicholas, as in the representation of this bishop himself in the compartment of his episcopal consecration or in the cleric gazing out at the extreme left in the panel of the angel appearing to the synod. Even the haloes are actually duplicated in the paintings in the Lázaro Collection.

THE BACRI MASTER

To a single retable of Our Lady by this other Aragonese painter who also leads into the style of the second half of the fifteenth century, we have already [1] assigned six now widely scattered panels, and the number can be augmented by four more handsome compartments in a collection in the environs of Moulins-sur-Allier, depicting the Nativity, Epiphany, the Virgin's funeral procession, and the Assumption (Fig. 302). The last panel, in particular, stresses the Master's acquaintance with Flemish art.

THE ALFAJARÍN MASTER [1]

It is a constant surprise to find how many paintings of the Middle Ages and Renaissance are still preserved in Aragonese churches, even despite the destruction wrought by the civil war, which struck with special violence in this part of Spain, and despite the riflings by dealers, who seem to have found it a particularly fertile region for their business. E.g., there have emerged to our knowledge two important assemblages of panels which the student will readily perceive could have been executed by no one else than the Alfajarín Master if he will do no more than turn over the pages of chapter XCVII in my volume VIII. One is a retable in the church at

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[1] Vol. VIII, p. 11.

[2] Vol. X, p. 387.

[3] The dimensions are 170 centimetres in height by 130 in width.

[1] Vol. VIII, pp. 32 and 35.

[1] I cannot accept the identification of the Alfajarín Master with Martín Bernat which Gudiol Ricart ventures in his *Pintura gótica*, 306.

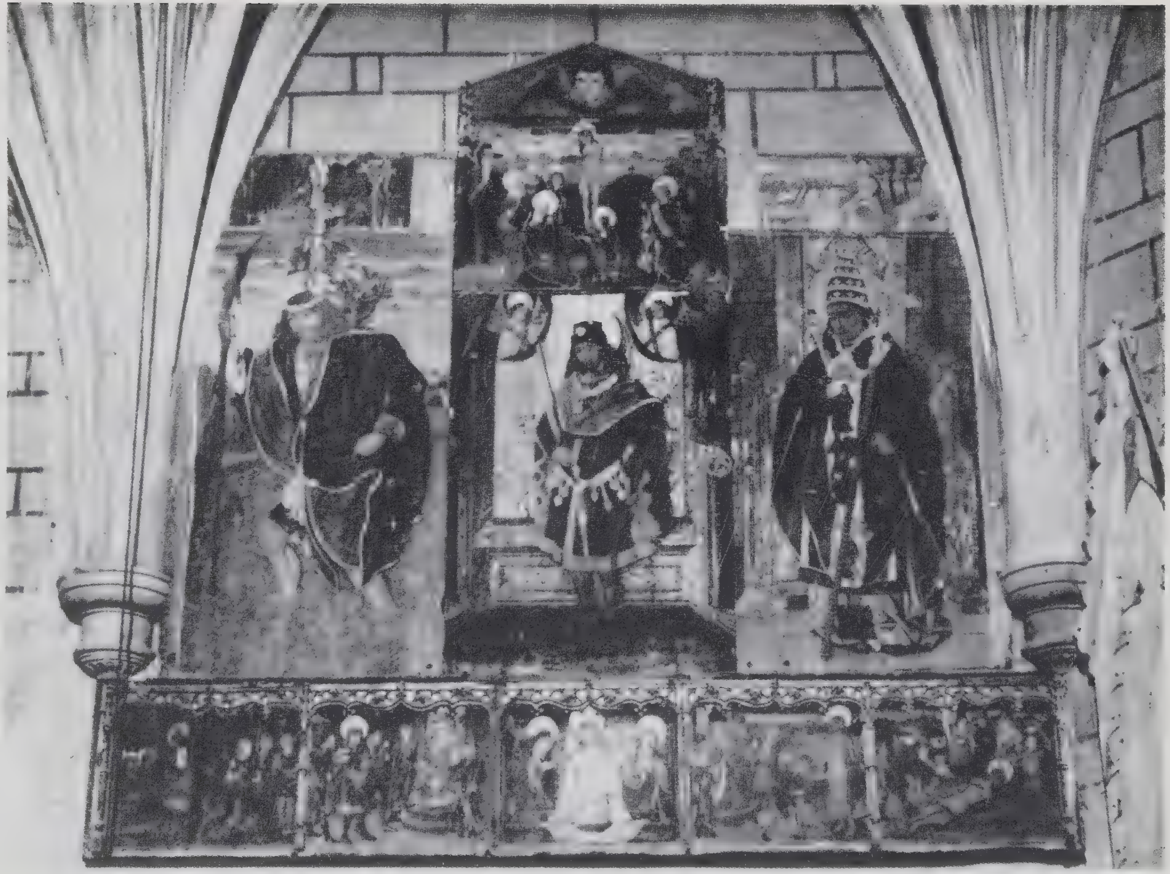

FIG. 303. THE ALFAJARÍN MASTER. RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, PIEDRATAJADA
(*Photo. Mas*)

Piedratajada, west of Huesca but in the province of Saragossa (Fig. 303). In the principal panel St. Sebastian stands in front of one of the Master's characteristic, ornate thrones, over the upper edges of which peer two angels; and above is the usual Crucifixion. The lateral compartments are occupied by Sebastian's regular iconographic companion, St. Fabian, and by St. Christopher. In the predella the Pietà at the centre is set between four scenes of Sebastian's story, his encouragement of the imprisoned Sts. Marcus and Marcellianus, his arraignment, the ordeal of the arrows, and the ignominy of the consignment of his corpse to a latrine. The little capping pieces of the retable are modern daubs. It has the adventitious significance of raising to the rank of an indubitable work of the Alfajarín Master a panel that in volume VIII [2] I was not entirely confident in ascribing to him, the representation of St. Sebastian in the Escudero Collection at Corella, which turns out to be a practical replica of the version in the central compartment at Piedratajada.

To realize the justice of attributing to the Alfajarín Master another work in a remote little village on the other side of Aragon, a predella now attached to the later retable over the high altar in the parish church at Lechón, just east of Daroca, one should stop, in my volume VIII, particularly at the illustrations of his paintings in the Parcent and Brimo Collections. Five saints are seated on further specimens of his complicated late Gothic thrones, all conveniently labelled for us by banderoles, one of the two virgin martyrs named Bridget,[3] Apollonia, a canonized youth described in Spanish as Quílez,[4] Barbara (Fig. 304), and Agatha.[5]

To the numerous Aragonese descendants of Bermejo's Sto. Domingo de

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[2] P. 174 and fig. 76.

[3] Vol. VII, p. 239.

[4] He must be identical with the saint so labelled in the retable of the Baptist in the Cloisters at New York, since the retable, as by Solibes, surely came from the general region in which Daroca and Lechón lie; and so the Bridget would be the same person in both altarpieces. I accepted, in vol. VII, p. 366, n. 2, the possibility that the last letter of the man's name is *m* or *n* instead of *z* and that therefore the word is a Spanish form of Kilian, the appellation of a duke who was martyred with his daughter Bridget among the multitude of St. Ursula's companions; but in both the New York and Lechón pictures he is represented as too young to have been the father of a grown daughter, and I now believe that the final letter in the New York example is indeed a *z* and that the Spanish for Achilles is meant, *Aquiles*, with the common substitution, in spelling at the time, of *z* for *s* and with the loss of the initial *A*, as again not infrequently and as actually in the *Polonia* on the banderole of St. Apollonia. No St. Achilles, however, is listed among St. Ursula's co-martyrs (to balance the St. Bridget, if the daughter of Kilian is intended in the predella), nor do I think St. Achilleus of Rome would be represented without his comrade, St. Nereus; and I imagine that we have to do here with some obscure local martyr of whom I can find no trace in any hagiographical literature at my disposal. The emblem that he carries at Lechón seems to be a stick or a bit of a wheel.

[5] I cannot agree with Abbad Ríos (*Archivo español de arte*, XXIV, 1951, p. 335) in ascribing the virgin martyrs to Bermejo and the San Quílez to a different artist, namely Martín Bernat.

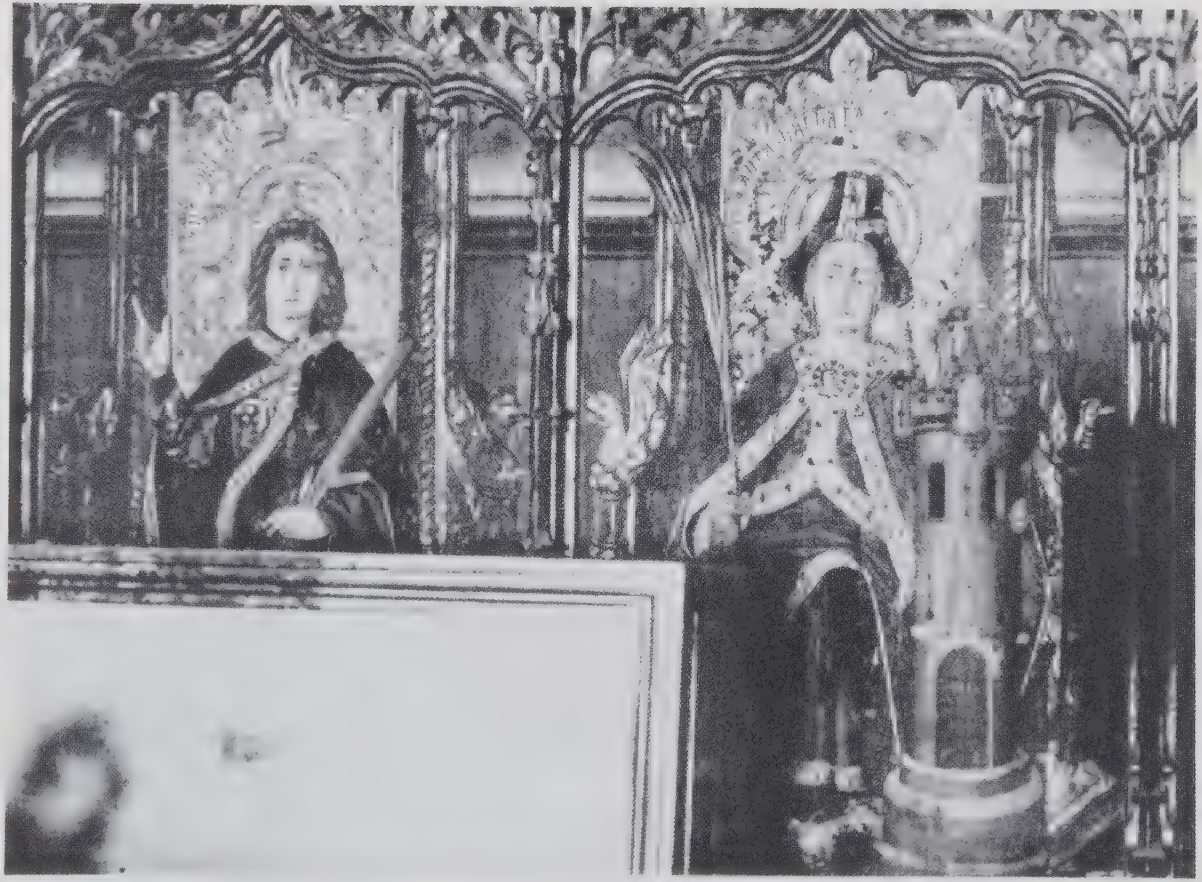

FIG. 304. THE ALFAJARÍN MASTER. A CANONIZED YOUTH AND ST. BARBARA, SECTION OF PREDELLA. PARISH CHURCH, LECHÓN
(*Photo. Mas*)

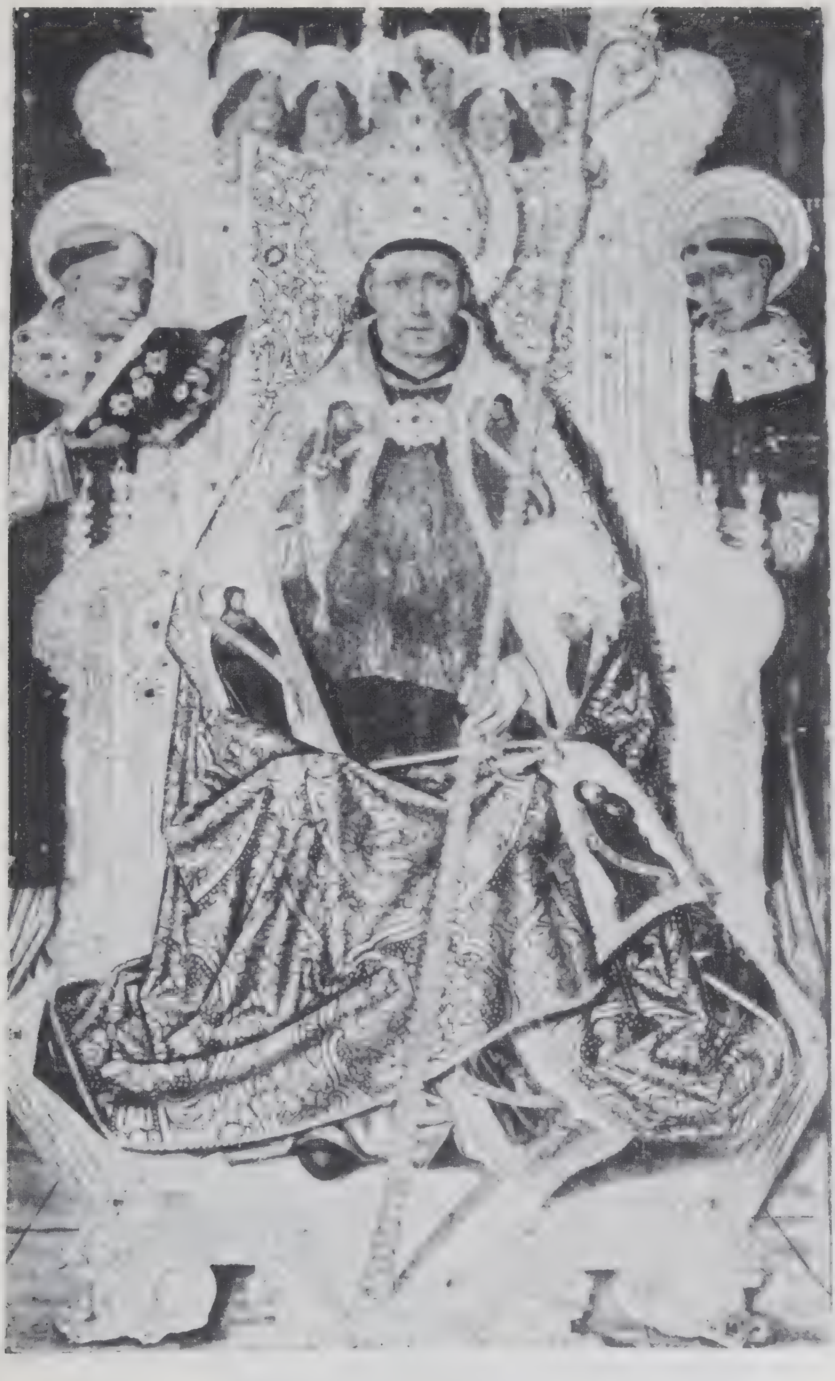

Fig. 305. THE ALFAJARÍN MASTER. ST. VICTORIANUS. CATHEDRAL, BARBASTRO
(*Photo. Mas*)

Silos, moreover, we must add an effigy of St. Victorianus,[6] very like several other representations of enthroned, canonized prelates done by the Alfajarín Master and constituting the gorgeous centre of a retable that from the high altar of the church of the monastery of San Victorián, where he had served as an outstanding abbot (east of Boltaña in the province of Huesca), has been transferred to the cathedral of Barbastro (Fig. 305). As usual in the Master's themes of this sort, the throne is flanked by two subordinate figures, here the disciples of St. Victorianus, Sts. Gaudiosus and Nazarius, vested as deacons, although eventually elevated to higher ecclesiastical dignities. The numerous other panels of the retable, as executed by a slightly later painter of the early Renaissance, will concern us in my next volume. The problem is whether the Alfajarín Master began a retable for the place that he completed no further than the central effigy, leaving the altarpiece to be finished in the succeeding generation, or whether he terminated a whole retable from which only the effigy was employed in the subsequent structure. Some slight support, however hypothetical, for the latter alternative, is afforded by the possibility that a narrative piece of the Alfajarín Master's retable is preserved, the panel by him in the Parcent Collection, Madrid, which depicts the meeting of a canonized monk with a king but of which the specific theme has caused considerable disputation.[7] The hypothesis would be that the subject is one of the encounters of St. Victorianus with the Visigothic monarch of the second quarter of the sixth century, Theudis, whose dependence upon the prelate's counsels is much stressed in the accounts of the latter's career. It is to be remarked that the subject is probably among those represented by the later painter in the retable from San Victorián, but a deterrent to recognizing the saint in the Parcent panel as Victorianus is, as in some other interpretations of the picture, his white robe, which ought rather to be a Benedictine's black.

In the delicate task of parcelling out among the closely interrelated Aragonese followers of Bermejo a rather large number of Crucifixions inspired by this painter,[8] we may choose without hesitation, I think, the Alfajarín Master as the author of a version once in private possession in Poland[9] but now in a dealer's hands, New York (Fig. 306), venturing the attribution more definitely than in the case of the example in the Gallery of the Fine Arts Society, San Diego, California.[10] The rendering with which we now have to do differs essentially from the others only in the exclusion of the two malefactors and in the use of a lightly incised gold background instead of a landscape.

Some countrified imitator of the Alfajarín Master was responsible for a panel of the coupled Sts. Sebastian and John Evangelist, the main compartment of an otherwise lost retable and now in the episcopal palace at Jaca.

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[6] For this saint, see my volume VII, p. 282.

[7] Vol. VIII, p. 167 and fig. 72.

[8] See especially vols. VIII, pp. 169–170, and X, p. 352.

[9] The dimensions are 49½ inches in height by 31 in width.

[10] Vol. VIII, fig. 73.

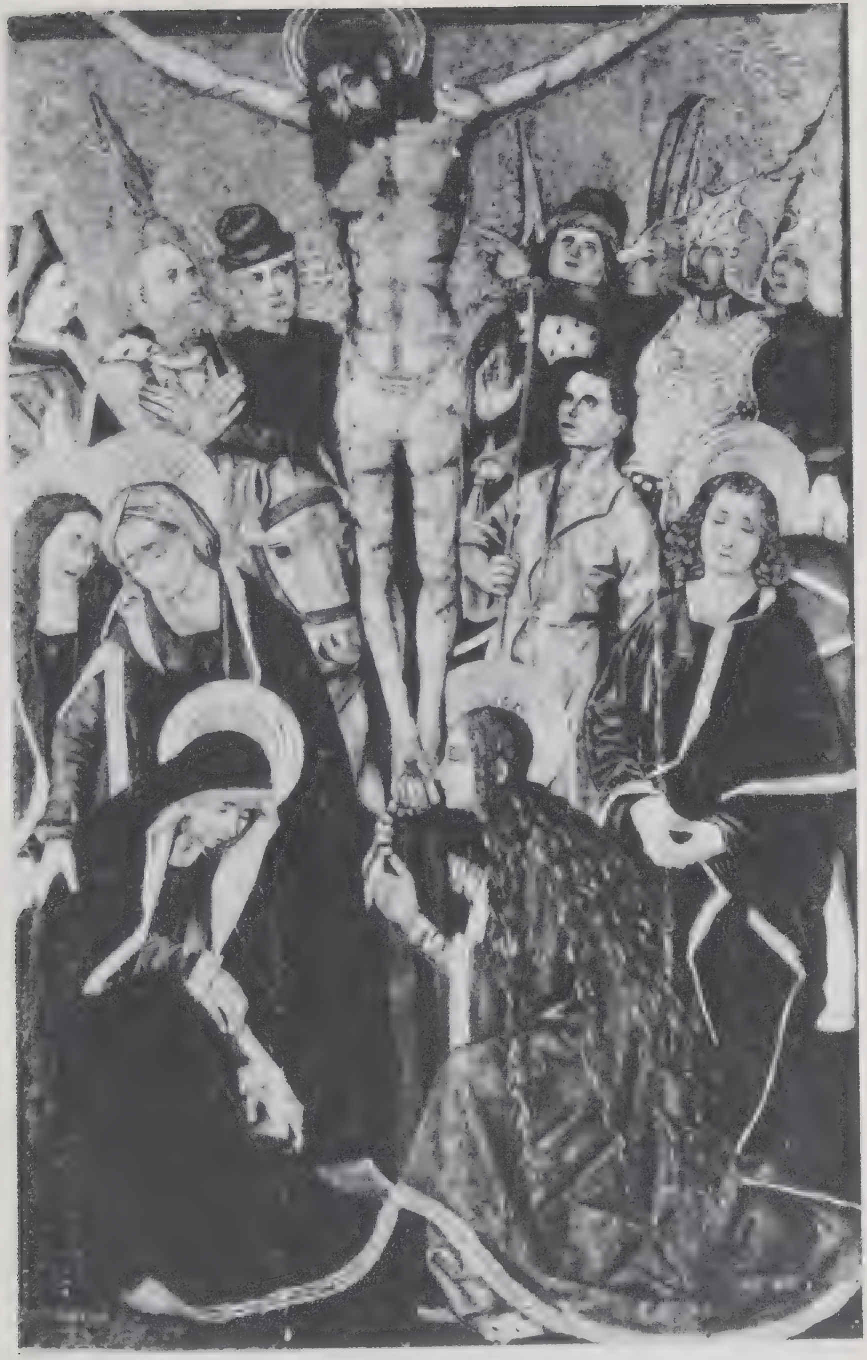

Fig. 306. THE ALFAJARÍN MASTER. CRUCIFIXION.
DEALER, NEW YORK

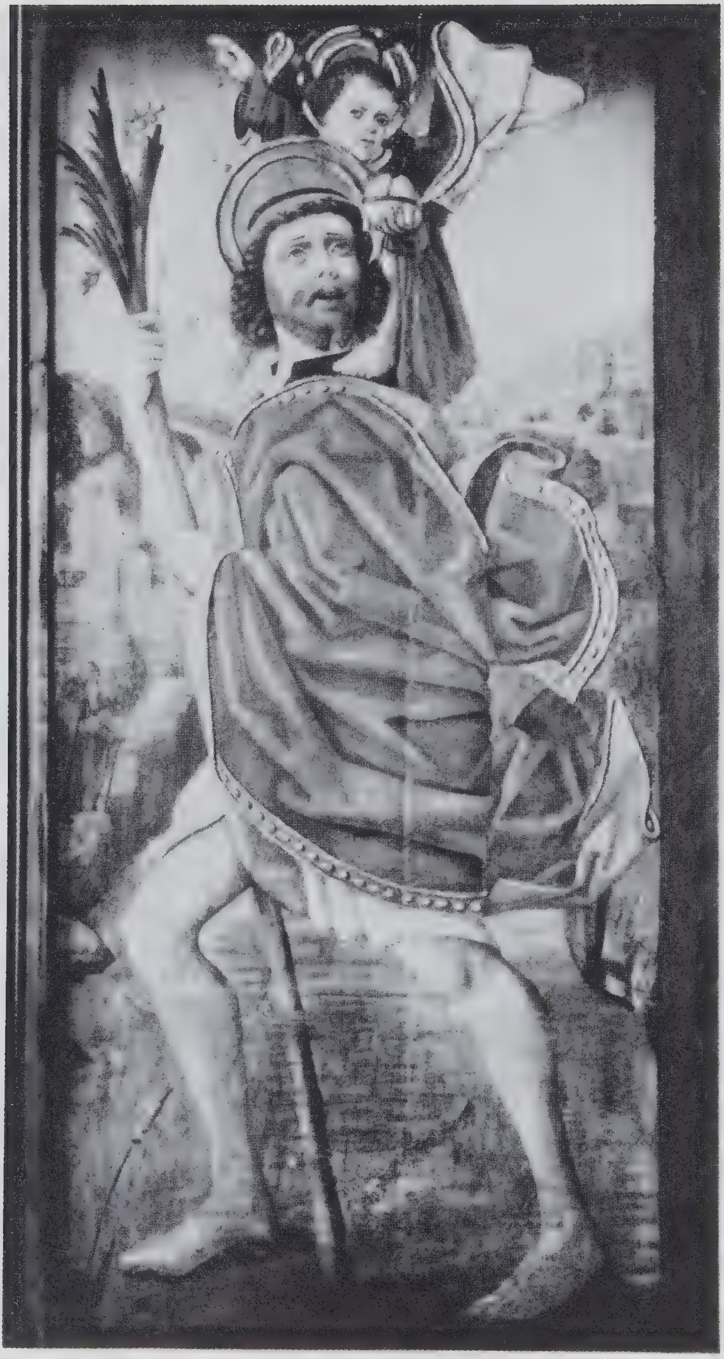

Fig. 307. THE OSLO MASTER. ST. CHRISTOPHER.
MUSÉE MAGNIN, DIJON

Coming from the town of Senegüé east of this city, it belongs to a small group of paintings that the bishop of Jaca has collected from the region for safekeeping.

THE OSLO MASTER

It has often happened in the course of my studies that, when I have succeeded in isolating a new personality in Spanish painting, he has turned out to be the author of some work whose precise attribution had long baffled me. So once again, the artist in Bermejo's following in Aragon whose existence I recognized in volume XI,[1] the Oslo Master, proves to have executed a rather large panel of St. Christopher in the Musée Magnin at Dijon (Fig. 307) which I was graciously allowed to examine in 1935, when the collection had not yet been made public, but which I have not until now been able to assign definitely to any member of this phase of the Aragonese school. The head of the canonized giant agrees with one of the Oslo Master's types, as exemplified particularly in the Apostle with crossed hands in the Pentecost of the Mengin Collection, Paris. Countless Spanish works of the end of the fifteenth century show the beard divided at the bottom, but the narrow, neat little triangle, with sharp points, that is thus formed in St. Christopher's beard belongs peculiarly to the Oslo Master's fashions. His hair spreads forth in the curling masses of the St. John in the lower left corner of the Mengin Pentecost, and the strained emotional expression distinguishes the Oslo Master among Bermejo's Aragonese disciples. The archaically spider-like hands of the Master's actors are not evident, but neither do all his other figures betray them. The haloes conform to his practices, especially in the curious shape that the ends of the cross assume in the nimbus of the infant Saviour, but St. Christopher exhibits the only instance of embossing of the borders of garments that I have yet encountered in the Oslo Master's productions. The landscape vies with that of the Kienbusch Resurrection in charm. Exasperatingly the Dijon panel, since, like the other discovered pictures by the Master, it is in a foreign collection, fails to reveal the precise centre of his activity in Aragon.

MARTÍN DE SORIA

In publishing, in the *Gazette des beaux-arts*,[1] a whole retable at Luesia in the northeastern part of the province of Saragossa by this exponent of Catalan modes in Aragon, I have commented upon the popularity which the constant discovery of works by him demonstrates that he enjoyed; and the present section of the appendix further emphasizes the phenomenon. In Saragossa itself there have come to light the extensive remains of one of his retables which have been transferred from the demolished church of S. Andrés to the new parish church of S. Valero. Two large lateral compartments are included, with standing effigies of Sts. John Baptist (Fig. 308)

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[1] P. 439.

[1] December, 1954, p. 334.

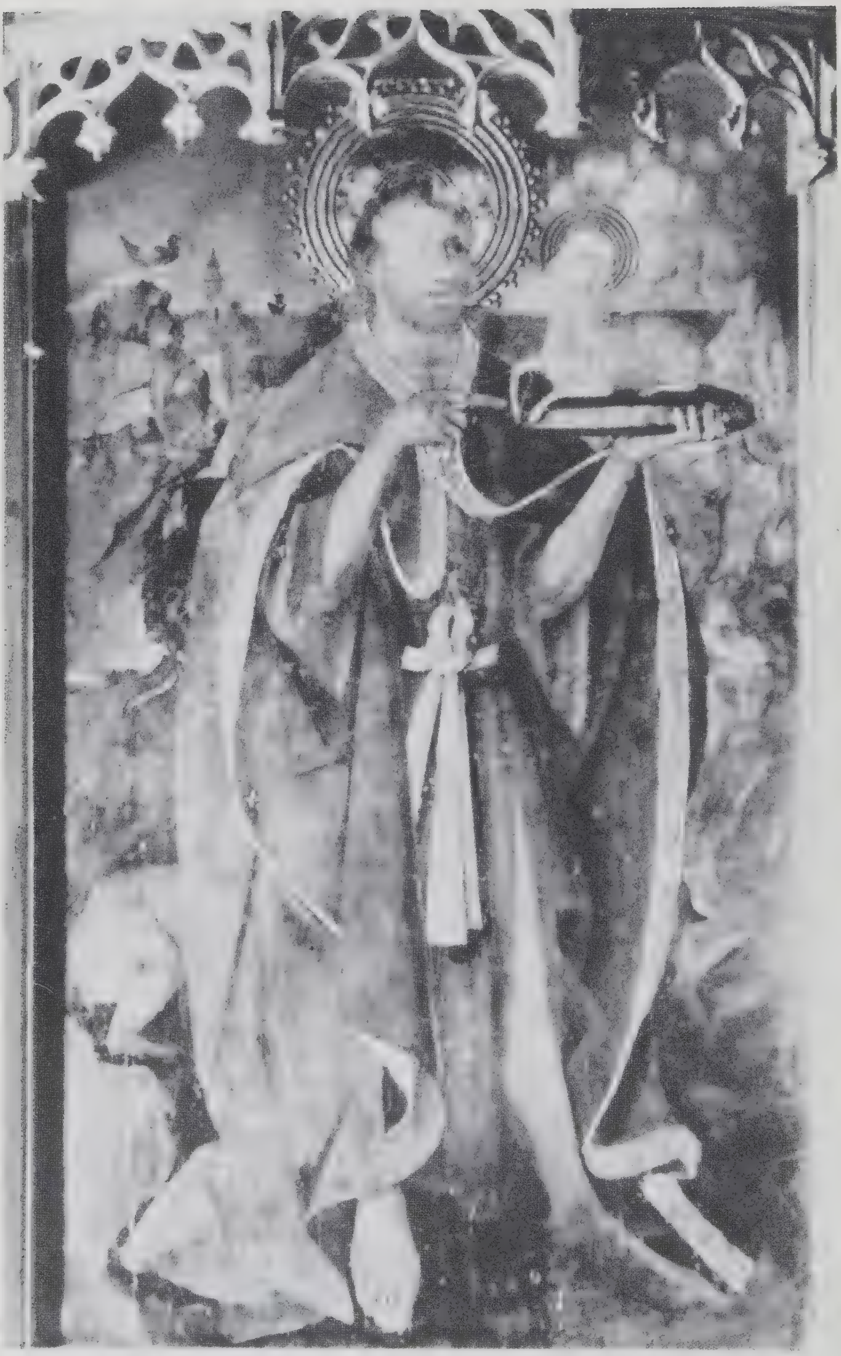

Fig. 308. MARTÍN DE SORIA. ST. JOHN BAPTIST, SECTION OF RETABLE. S. VALERO, SARAGOSSA
(*Photo. Mas*)

and Michael (somewhat varied from the archangel as he is depicted at Barillas); [2] and the themes of the subordinate sections reveal that the central lost compartment between these saints in the main body of the structure must have displayed a figure of Our Lady. The three scenes from her life comprised in the subordinate sections are pinnacles of the Purification (with the same curious composition as in the rendering by the presumptive Jaime Lana at Borja [3]) and Dormition (recalling the version by Martín now in the Saragossa Museum [4]) and from the predella the Nativity of Christ. The further preserved parts of the predella naturally depict scenes from the life of the Baptist, his birth and Salome's presentation of his head, and from the story of St. Michael, the episcopal procession to Monte Gargano, which is analogously treated in the retable once belonging to the Baron de Kuffner [5] but now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The effigies of St. John and the archangel show with what real distinction and charm the master himself can paint, and the resemblance of the Baptist to his figure in the wings of the triptych of St. George adds another (supererogatory!) proof to the evidence for the triptych's attribution to Martín de Soria; but the other pieces lay bare his sin of allowing his less gifted assistants to execute very considerable parts of the too many commissions that he accepted.

The realization that we owe to Martín de Soria a seated effigy of St. Peter now in the Museum of Catalan Art, Barcelona (Fig. 309), will probably be as great a surprise to at least the majority of my readers and as much an occasion at first for incredulity as it has been for me. Recorded to have come from Aragon [6] and formerly in the Dalmáu Collection, Barcelona, it was obviously once the centre of a retable.[7] The ponderousness and forbidding grimness of the representation of the Apostle would suggest at the beginning of one's study some member of the Aragonese coterie deriving from Bermejo, and it is only the feminine saints embroidered on his cope and decorating his throne who guide us in the end unswervingly to Martín de Soria in the Aragonese group dependent rather upon Catalonia. Types recurrent everywhere throughout his output emerge in these ethereally appealing, canonized ladies; but in particular the one on the inner left upright of the throne should be compared with the archangel protecting the woman caught in the tides of Mont St. Michel in the Barcelona Museum,[8] and the narrow countenance of the saint at the top on the outer left upright, with the marked cheek-bones and pointed nose, is actually

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[2] Vol. VIII, p. 331. The new photographs of the Barillas retable made by Don José Uranga betray that Martín very largely turned over all sections except this principal compartment to his shop.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 278.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 318.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 354.

[6] See *Vell i nou*, October 15, 1917, p. 599, where rather fantastically it is claimed that the St. Peter embodies the features of the antipope Benedict XIII.

[7] The dimensions are 145 centimetres in height by 104 in width.

[8] Vol. VIII, fig. 138.

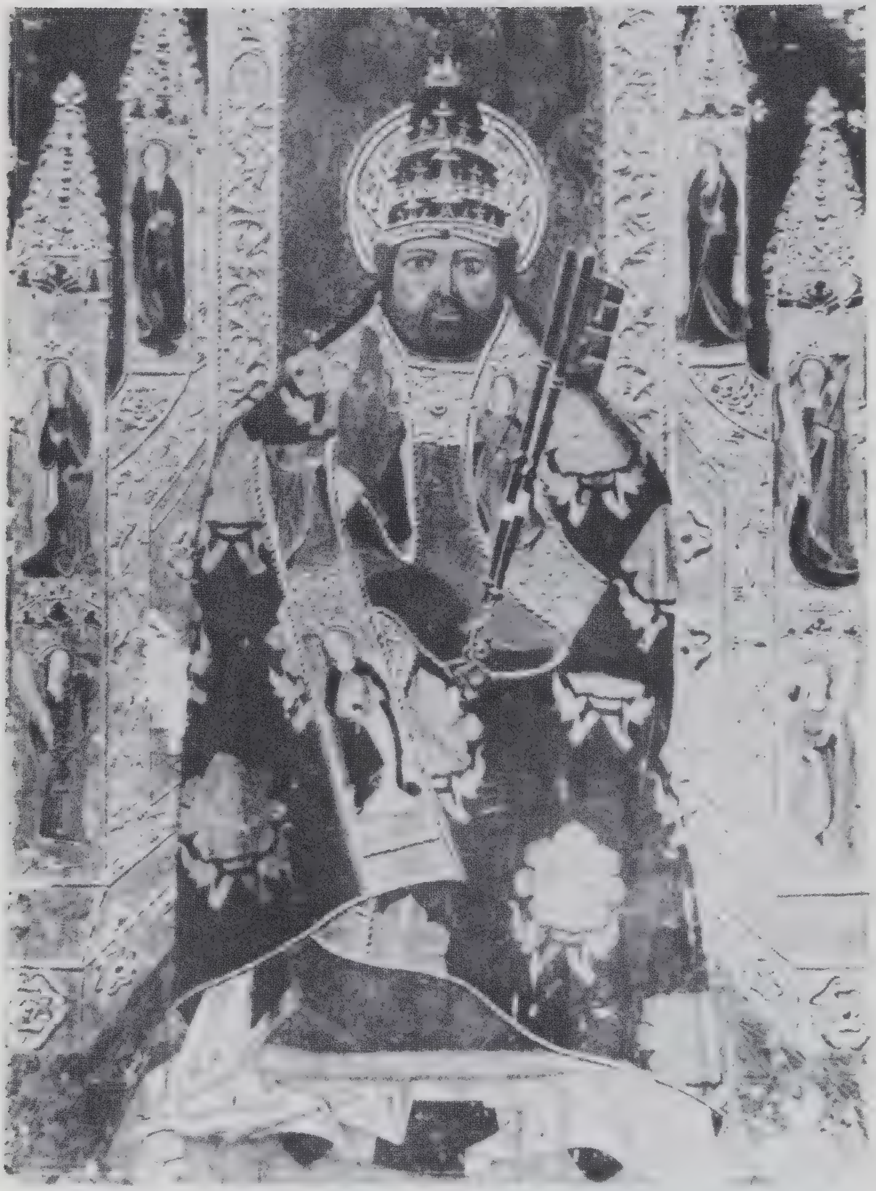

FIG. 309. MARTÍN DE SORIA. ST. PETER.
MUSEUM OF CATALAN ART, BARCELONA
(*Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library*)

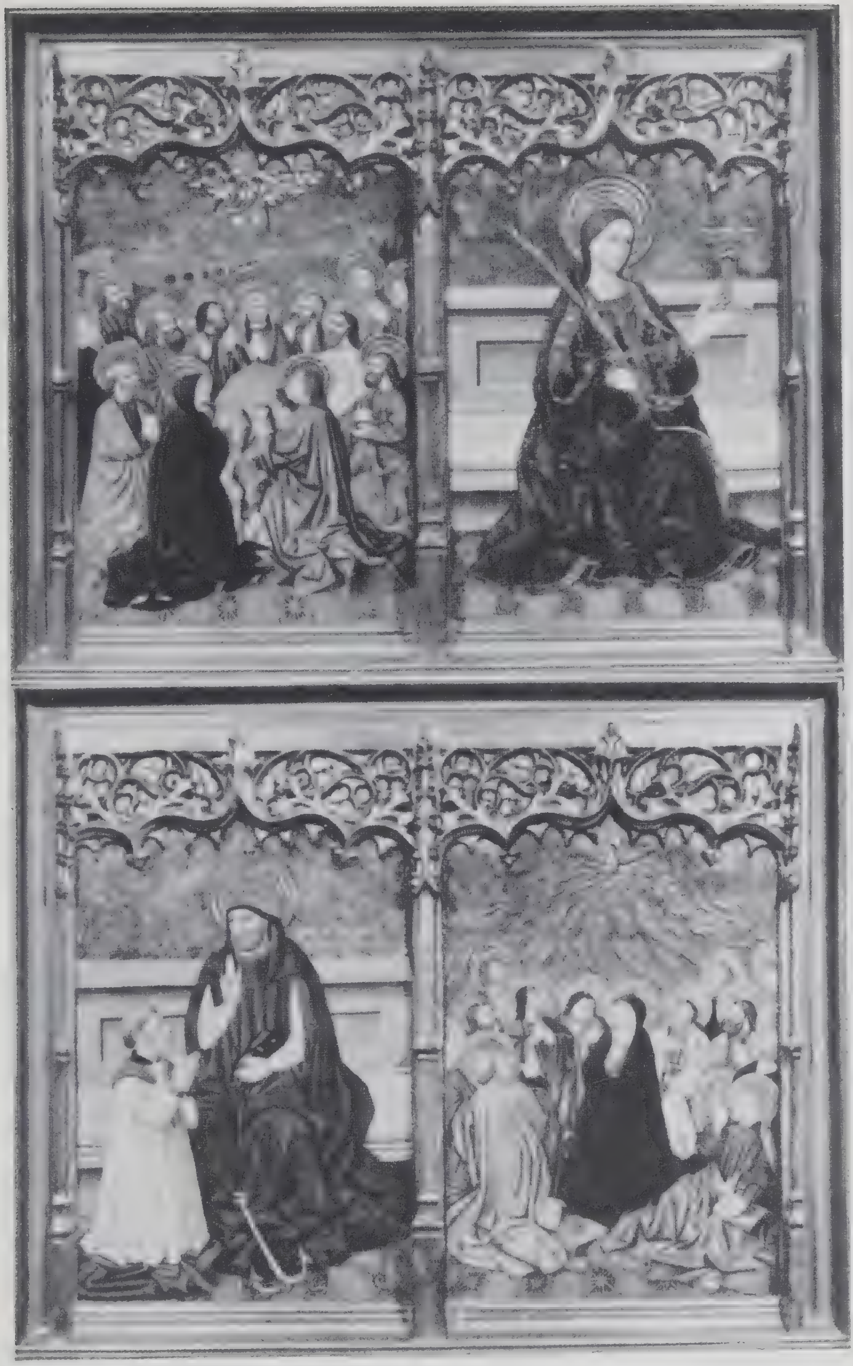

Fig. 310. MARTÍN DE SORIA. SECTIONS OF A RETABLE. BRIMO DE LAROUSSILHE COLLECTION, PARIS

(Courtesy of the owners)

duplicated in the queen beside her royal husband giving audience to St. Christopher in the set of panels at Chicago [9] or in the St. Margaret of the predella of the Lanckoroński Collection, Vienna.[10] The conception of St. Peter as a cult-image and the wide-open, directly frontal eyes, with their glazed effect, make one think at first of similar representations by Bernat, but there are counterparts in Martín de Soria, as in the Christ of the Last Judgment in the signed retable of Pallaruelo de Monegros or the St. Christopher undergoing the torture of the heated iron stool in the predella dedicated to him and once to be seen in the Dupont Collection, Barcelona.[11] Much of this idol-like character is visible in the otherwise somewhat differently treated St. Peter of the altarpiece by Martín de Soria that used to belong to the Hearst Collection, New York,[12] a figure that joins with further examples by our painter in exemplifying the Aragonese taste for thrones elaborately relieved in gold which is emphatically illustrated in the panel that now occupies our attention. He is fond also of the loud pattern, with huge, gold, foliate ornaments scattered on the fabric at rather broad intervals, that St. Peter's cope ostentatiously displays.

His very best personal manner is incorporated in a set of panels from some retable belonging, at my last knowledge, to the firm of Brimo de Laroussilhe, Paris (Fig. 310).[13] The subjects (reading from left to right) are the Ascension, the seated St. Agatha, likewise accommodated on a bench St. Clement with the kneeling clerical donor, and Pentecost. The compositions of the two scenes from sacred history are less matters of routine than in his other versions of the themes and are more loosened in the poses and arrangements of the participants. The gold embossings are used with beautiful decorative effect for the prettily schematized clouds, through which only the feet and lowest draperies of the ascending Lord are depicted, and for the tongues of fire lighting upon the Apostles and Virgin at Whitsunday, as in another treatment of the mystery by him in the Diocesan Museum, Tarragona, which will soon concern us.

Martín de Soria appears to have done much of the labor himself and to have relied less than ordinarily upon assistance in two fragments of a retable now in St. John's episcopal church at Larchmont in the state of New York, representing the Nativity and Epiphany (Fig. 311). The Virgin in the latter compartment is a pronounced example of his curious and frequent resort to an oddly peaked sort of countenance.[14]

In a principal panel of some retable, belonging to the Joubert bequest to the Musée Masséna at Nice and exhibiting the Madonna serenaded by two angels and seated upon a throne whose arms show the characteristic gold filigree work of Aragon assuming the forms of lions, the general accord with Martín de Soria's style is obvious; but, since the majority of the types

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[9] *Ibid.*, fig. 153.

[10] *Ibid.*, fig. 159.

[11] Vol. IX, p. 883.

[12] Vol. VIII, p. 335. Now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

[13] The height of the panels is 80 centimetres.

[14] Vol. VIII, figs. 157–159.

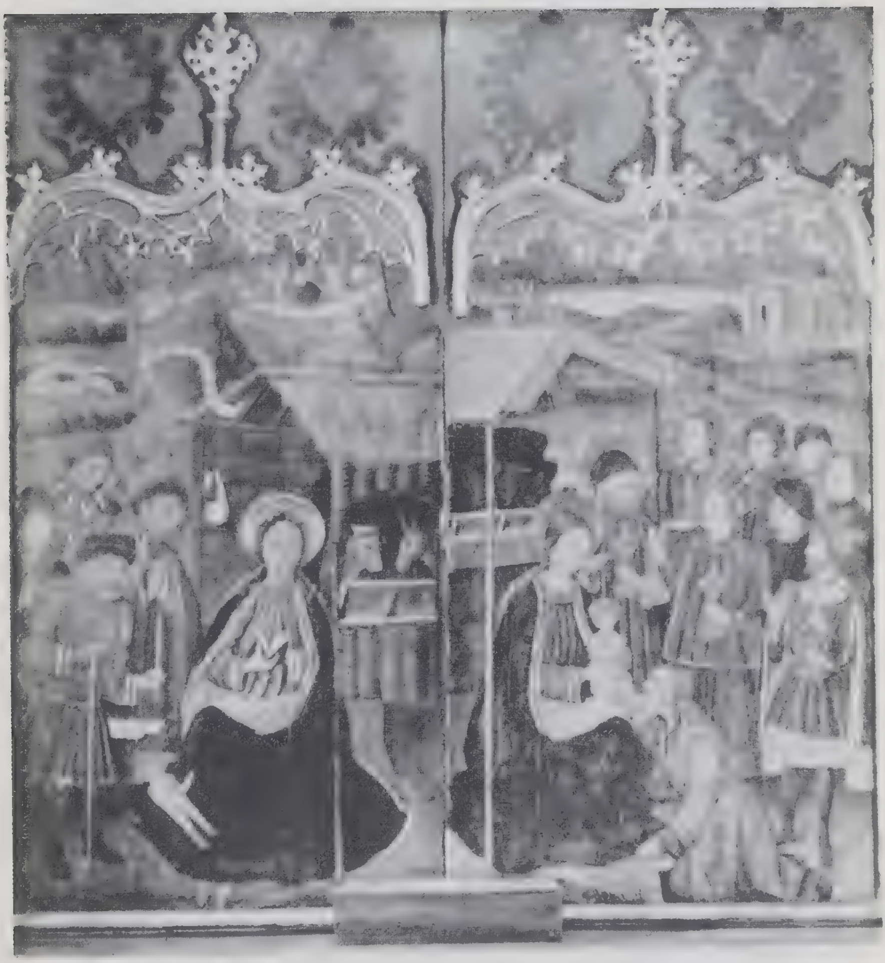

FIG. 311. MARTÍN DE SORIA. NATIVITY AND EPIPHANY.
ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, LARCHMONT, NEW YORK
(Courtesy of Dr. Richard F. Brown)

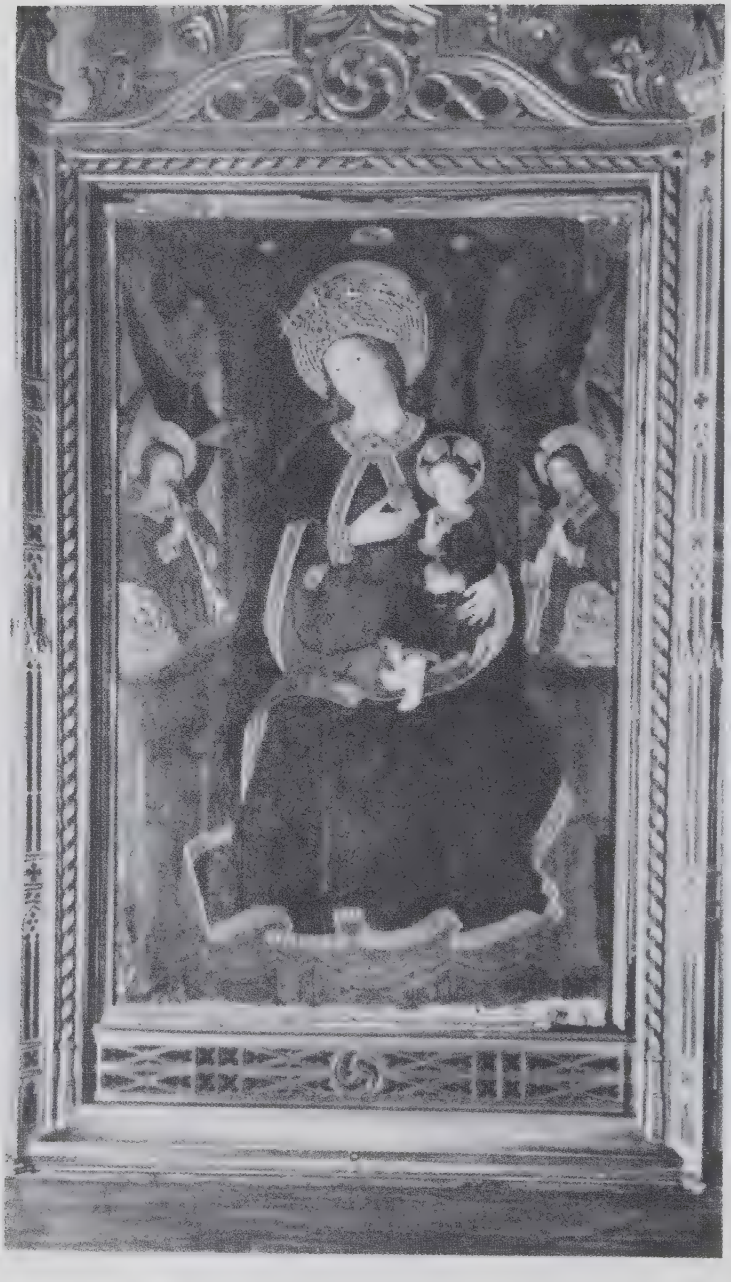

Fig. 312. MARTÍN DE SORIA. MADONNA AND ANGELS. MUSÉE MASSÉNA, NICE
(*Courtesy of the Museum*)

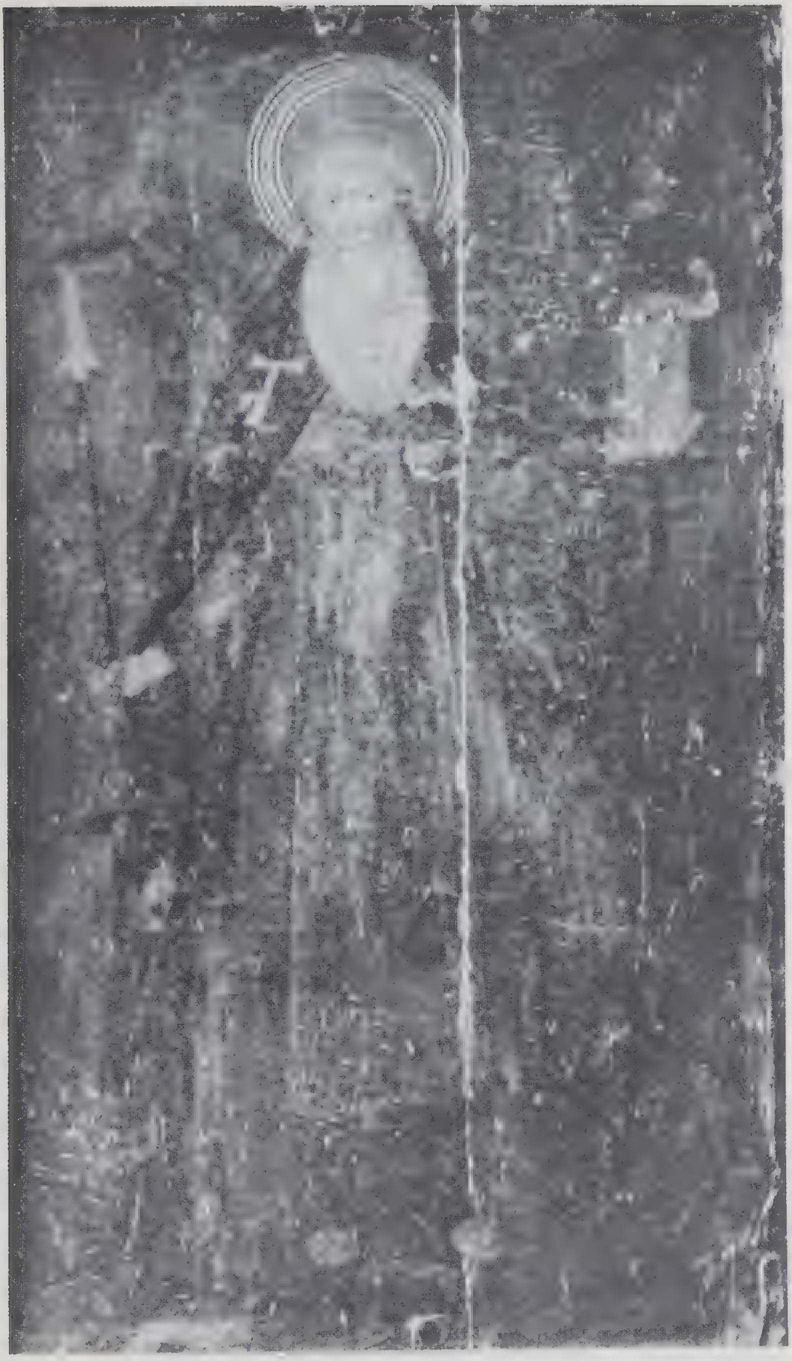

FIG. 313. MARTÍN DE SORIA (?). ST. ANTHONY ABBOT. PARISH CHURCH, NOVILLAS
(*Photo. Mas*)

vary slightly from his norms, it is particularly the angel at the left, the sideward glance of whose eyes is treated in a way peculiar to him, that leads us into a more careful examination of the whole picture which eventually reveals it as embodying everywhere his personal craft (Fig. 312).

Two works have recently hove within my ken that obtrude instances, among a number of others, in which the styles of Huguet's two Aragonese followers, the Master of the Prelate Mur and Martín de Soria, so edge upon each other that the problem of attribution becomes a very delicate matter; but in both instances the odds are somewhat in favor of the latter artist. One picture is a standing figure of St. Anthony Abbot in the church at Novillas (on the extreme edge of the province of Saragossa, just off the road from the capital to Tudela) (Fig. 313), perhaps ascribable rather to Martín de Soria because, especially, of the close similarity to the St. Paul at Berlin.[15] The other is an effigy of St. Bartholomew in the possession of Dr. Ferrando at Palma de Mallorca, likewise originally the centre of a retable or at least one of its principal sections (Fig. 314). In this case it is the less rigidly disposed draperies and the mode of delineating the cypresses in the background that incline me to vote for Martín de Soria.

If, when I wrote volume VII, I had been properly conversant with the art of Martín de Soria, I trust that I should have easily perceived him to have been the author of the Pentecost in the Diocesan Museum, Tarragona, which, with doubts, I assigned conditionally to Jaime Ferrer.[16] In view of the general similarity in the composition of the theme in Spanish painting at the time, not too much stress can be laid upon the fact that there are only slight variations from the treatment in Martín's signed retable of Pallaruelo de Monegros, but he has indelibly stamped his personality upon the types, for instance in the case of the prominent bearded Apostle at the left. In thinking of Jaime Ferrer, I was probably influenced by the consideration that the panel is in a Catalan museum, but, since it entered the institution from a private collection, no reason exists that its provenience should not have been Martín's home, Aragon.

JUAN DE LA ABADÍA THE ELDER AND THE YOUNGER AND FRANCISCO BAGET

It is vexatious that no sooner have we introduced greater clarity into the history of Spanish art by finding that the real name of the Almudévar Master was Juan de la Abadía [1] than we are obliged to confuse the issue through the discovery that he had a son of the same name, also a painter, who seems to have worked in a manner almost indistinguishable from the father's and to whom at least one or two productions in the paternal modes should probably be ascribed. The keen Aragonese scholar, Don Federico Balaguer, has published [2] a document showing that Juan de la Abadía the

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[15] *Ibid.*, fig. 150.

[16] Vol. VII, p. 539 and fig. 198.

[1] Vol. IX, p. 892.

[2] *Argensola*, IV (1953), 162–164.

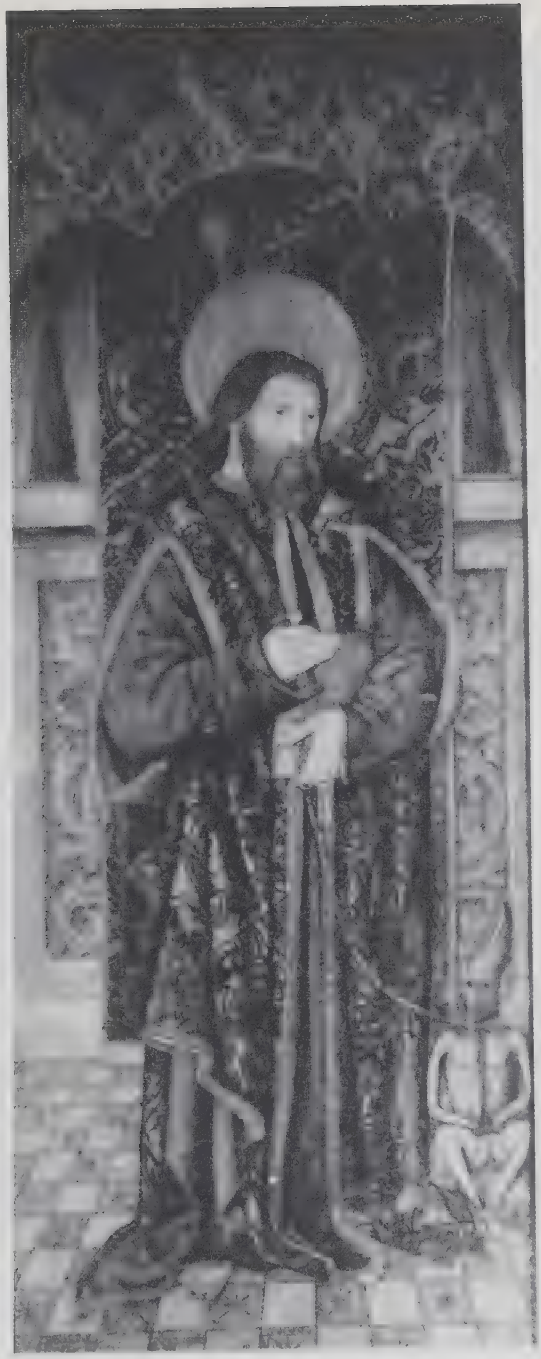

FIG. 314. MARTÍN DE SORIA (?). ST. BARTHOLOMEW. FERRANDO COLLECTION, PALMA
(*Photo. Mas*)

elder died at the end of 1498 or very beginning of 1499, not, as hitherto supposed, between 1503 and 1513,[3] and that therefore all paintings attributable to an artist so called and datable after 1498 must be the son's creations. The pertinent document incorporates the fact that on January 7, 1499, Juan de la Abadía's widow and his homonymous son gave their receipt, as his heirs, for payment for labor that he had done on the *guardapolvos* of the retable over the high altar of the now no longer existing church of the Espíritu Santo at Huesca; and the son's continuance of the paternal profession is proved by a record of 1489 alluding to a quarrel of, on one hand, the older and younger Juan de la Abadía, *both* specifically designated as painters, with, on the other hand, a group of three persons, among them the painter, Francisco Baget (or Bachet). The testament of a Juan de la Abadía, drawn up on August 29, 1503, is the document hitherto supposed to have demonstrated the survival of the elder artist until this date, but, despite the perplexing fact that the testator possessed property in the same parish at Huesca as the artist and also had a son named Juan, Balaguer has found that in reality he was a different individual, a functionary in the employ of the government.

The only extant work in the style of Juan de la Abadía the elder that can be dated with likelihood after his decease and thus attributable to the son is the retable from Nueno now in the Archaeological Museum, Madrid, which has been generally assigned to the year 1508 because a painter of this name was then residing in the town.[4] It is not impossible, however, that the retable was executed before 1499 and that in 1508 the son was at Nueno for some other reason, and yet, influenced now by the fresh documentary discoveries, we can perhaps discern, without oversubtlety, some slight modifications of the paternal fashions. The whole problem of connoisseurship is nevertheless desperately complicated because, as we have remarked, the son was exercising his profession at least as early as 1489, in all probability in the rôle of his father's assistant, so that passages in the elder's commissions which we have naturally taken as the norms of his manner may in actuality embody the younger's handicraft. If to a certain extent we set aside these difficulties, we may not be wrong in seeing in the Salvator Mundi of the Nueno retable and in the man with the pointed hat in the scene of St. Andrew being dragged an elongated visage not quite characteristic of Juan de la Abadía the elder, who does not customarily draw the eyes in precisely the wide-open, rather phrenetic way visible in these and a number of other figures in the altarpiece. The she-devil tempting the bishop whom St. Andrew rescues and the Sts. Lucy and Barbara of the predella have a broader sort of female countenance than the father's standard.

On the basis of the conception of Juan de la Abadía II's style hypothetically derived from the Nueno retable, we can at least guess that he might have done the undated scenes from the life of St. Anthony Abbot in the Harding

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[3] Vol. X, p. 395.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 395.

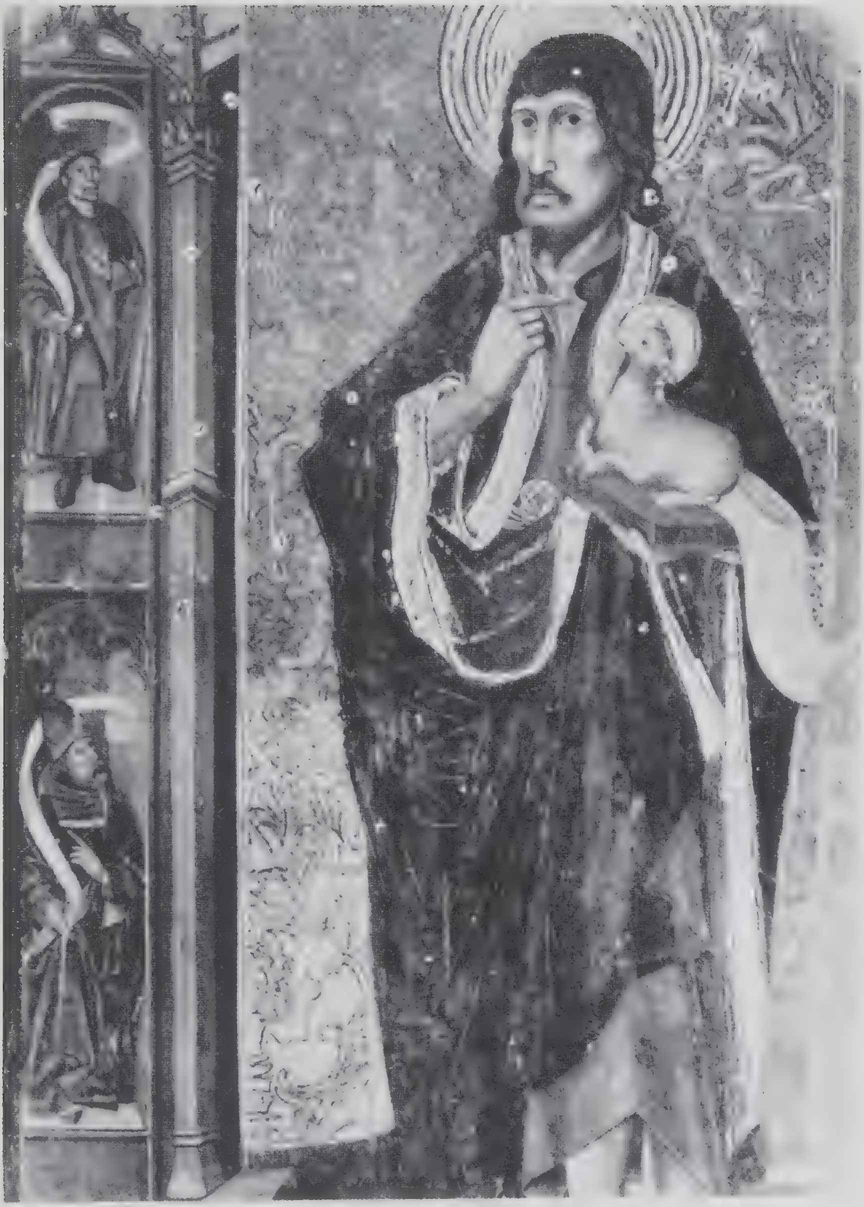

Fig. 315. JUAN DE LA ABADÍA THE YOUNGER (?). ST. JOHN BAPTIST, CENTRE OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, ARDISA
(*Photo. Mas*)

Collection, Chicago, in which case we should have to assume that the father reserved for himself the enthroned effigy in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, if indeed this figure was the central part of the same altarpiece.[5] The only other undated work for which likewise very hesitatingly I should propose an attribution to the younger master is the Crucifixion in the Nathan Collection, Marseilles, and it may have been for this reason that in volume VIII [6] I could not with surety convince myself of the father's authorship.

In a production that I have not hitherto registered in my volumes, a retable of the Baptist in the church at Ardisa, west of Huesca but just over the line in the province of Saragossa, I should be more willing to recognize the hand of the Nueno performer, *viz.* Juan the younger, if the craftsmanship were not at a lower level. In the principal compartment St. John stands against a throne the sides of which are concordantly embellished with the figures of four other Prophets (Fig. 315); and the capping pinnacle receives its orthodox theme, the Crucifixion. The four lateral scenes (reading, unusually, from right to left) are his birth, preaching in the wilderness, baptism of Christ, and Salome's presentation of his head. In the predella, at the sides of the dead Christ supported by an angel between compartments of the mourning Virgin and the Beloved Disciple, the outermost divisions are assigned to the seated Sts. Lawrence and Sebastian. An embossed inscription separates the main body of the structure from the predella, containing under the central effigy the saint's name and in the lateral pieces the beginning of the Saviour's witness to him from Matthew, XI, 11, "Non surrexit inter natos mulierum major Joanne Baptista." Some factors, such as the striking resemblance of the central St. John to the Nueno Salvator Mundi or the reappearance of the full-faced feminine type in the Herodias of the banquet scene could be used as arguments for an attribution to Juan de la Abadía II, but it is not to be forgotten that there were others in the father's circle, such as the above-mentioned Francisco Baget, whose manners we do not know and who might have been responsible for the retable at Ardisa.

With his habitual generosity, Balaguer, before publishing, has in a letter summarized for me hitherto unknown documents, dated from 1471 to 1490, relating to works of the elder Juan de la Abadía. It can scarcely be doubted that one of these works is preserved, for there is attached to the master's contract of 1490 to do a retable at Alcolea de Cinca a rough draft of the document repeating its contents but stating the commission to derive from the town of Lastanosa, where we have found panels attributable to Juan de la Abadía on stylistic grounds.[7] We are at liberty to guess what happened, whether he carried out both undertakings, the one at Alcolea having been lost, or whether he abandoned this order in favor of Lastanosa.

To come now to productions securely proved by internal evidence to

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[5] Vol. VIII, pp. 455–461.

[6] Pp. 461–464.

[7] Vol. IX, p. 893.

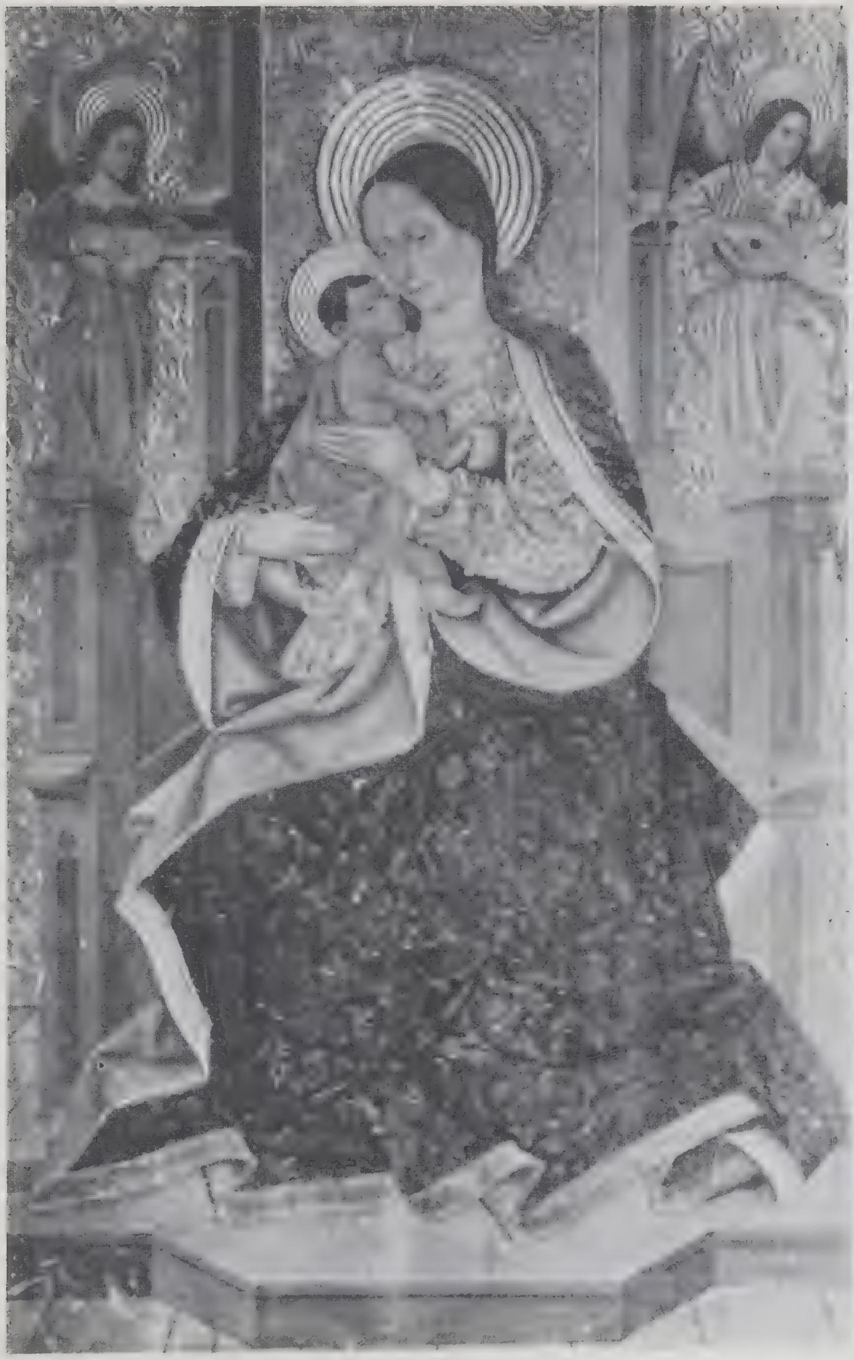

Fig. 316. JUAN DE LA ABADÍA THE ELDER. MADONNA AND ANGELS. EPISCOPAL PALACE, JACA
(*Photo. Mas*)

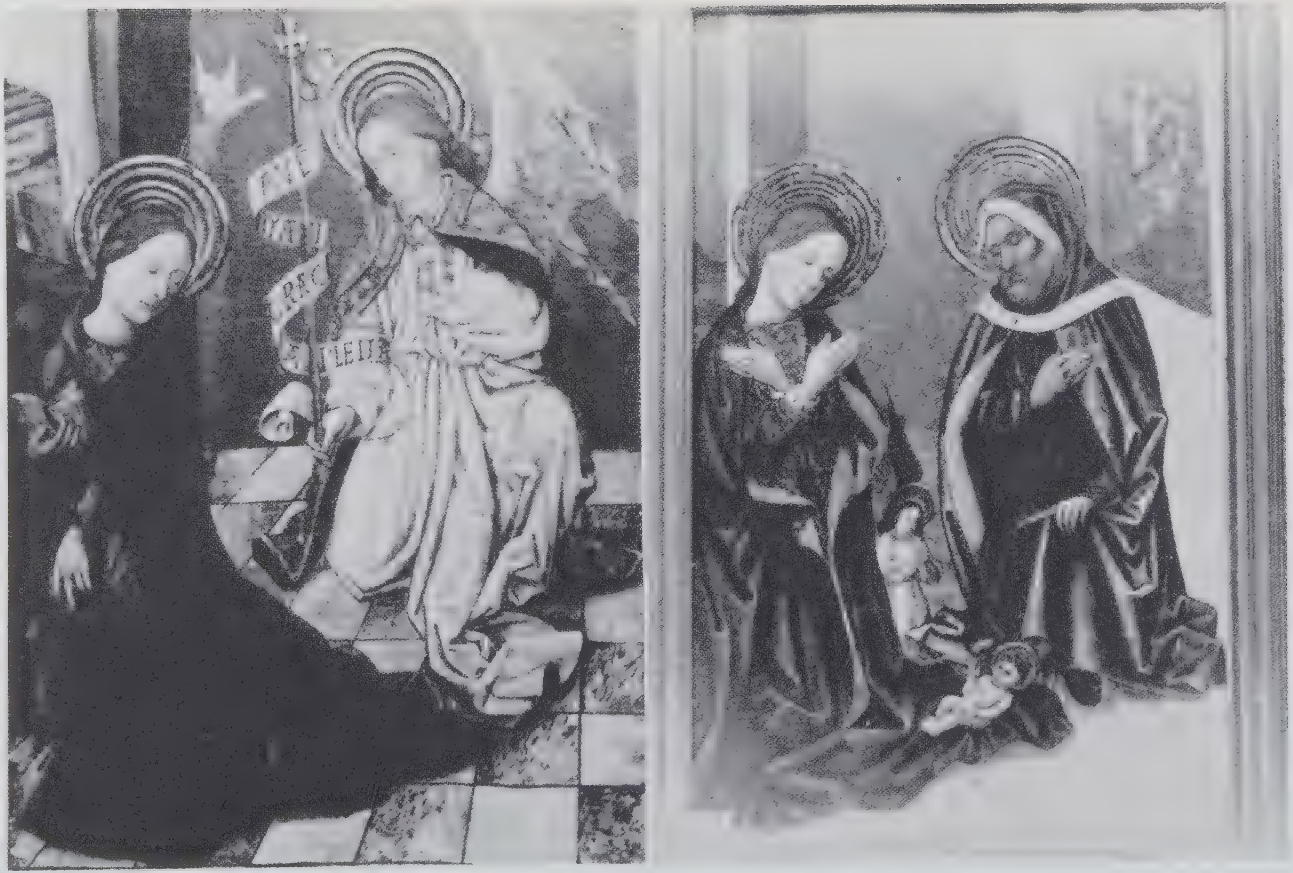

FIG. 317. JUAN DE LA ABADÍA THE ELDER. ANNUNCIATION AND NATIVITY. BRESSET COLLECTION, MARSEILLES
(*Courtesy of the owner*)

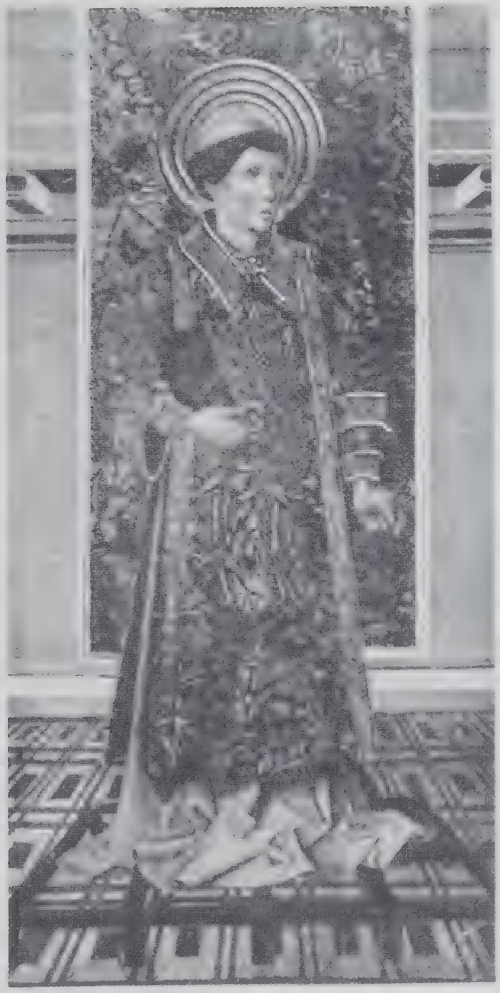

FIG. 318. JUAN DE LA ABADÍA THE ELDER. ST. LAWRENCE. BRESSET COLLECTION, MARSEILLES
(Courtesy of the owner)

have issued from the father's brush and not yet discussed by me, the town of Senegüé has contributed to the collection in the episcopal palace at Jaca not only the panel of the Alfajarín Master's school that we have already noted but also one of Juan's pleasantest and most carefully executed achievements, a large fragment of a retable depicting the Madonna seated on a throne whose arms are surmounted by two music-making angels (Fig. 316). All factors in the picture, including the embossed appurtenances, establish the attribution indisputably.

His authorship is likewise unmistakable and the quality of his craft at an exceptionally high level in two panels of the Annunciation and Nativity that were studied by me long ago in the Perriollat Collection at Paris but now belong to Monsieur L. P. Bresset, Marseilles (Fig. 317). The composition of the Annunciation is derived, immediately or mediately, from Schongauer's print of the subject. Monsieur Bresset owns also a panel (Fig. 318) [8] in which Juan almost duplicated his St. Lawrence in the Lázaro Collection, Madrid.[9]

In a review [10] of my volumes VIII and IX, Père Baudouin de Gaiffier identifies the theme that baffled me in the panel by Juan de la Abadía formerly belonging to the Silberman Galleries, New York,[11] but now, I believe, in the Isaac Delgado Museum, New Orleans. The story, related by St. Athanasius in a sermon, is that of the image of Our Lord at Beirut which, subjected by Jews to the series of actual tortures of the Crucifixion, poured forth, when finally wounded in the side by the spear, real blood and water that, gathered in receptacles by the Hebrews, cured their sick and thus converted them to Christianity.[12]

A follower of Juan de la Abadía, slightly more capable than the Ardisa painter but commonplace, developed the style into blander terms that edge upon the Renaissance in two retables in the church of Puendeluna, from which Ardisa does not lie far away to the north. The one over the high altar is dedicated to St. Nicholas, who is depicted in the central compartment as enthroned between two deacons. Above is the customary Crucifixion; the panels at the sides represent his charity to the indigent maidens, episcopal consecration, resurrection of the butchered boys, and obsequies; and the predella aligns four seated saints, two of whom are George and Agatha.

The retable of St. Nicholas still abides by accentuation through elaborate gold embossings, even retaining behind the central effigy Juan de la Abadía's characteristic diaper of the thistle, but in the second of the retables, at the left of the high altar, the practice, except in the ringed haloes, is virtually abandoned, perhaps because it was carried out at a somewhat later date when, as generally, the chastening influence of the Renaissance had begun to suppress such loud outbursts. Under the Crucifixion St. Bartholomew is seated on a bench in the middle of the structure (Fig. 319), and in the

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[8] The dimensions are about 110 centimetres in height by 50 in width.

[9] Vol. VIII, fig. 212.

[10] *Analecta Bollandiana*, LXX (1952), 230.

[11] Vol. VIII, fig. 216.

[12] J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina*, CXXIX, 283–286.

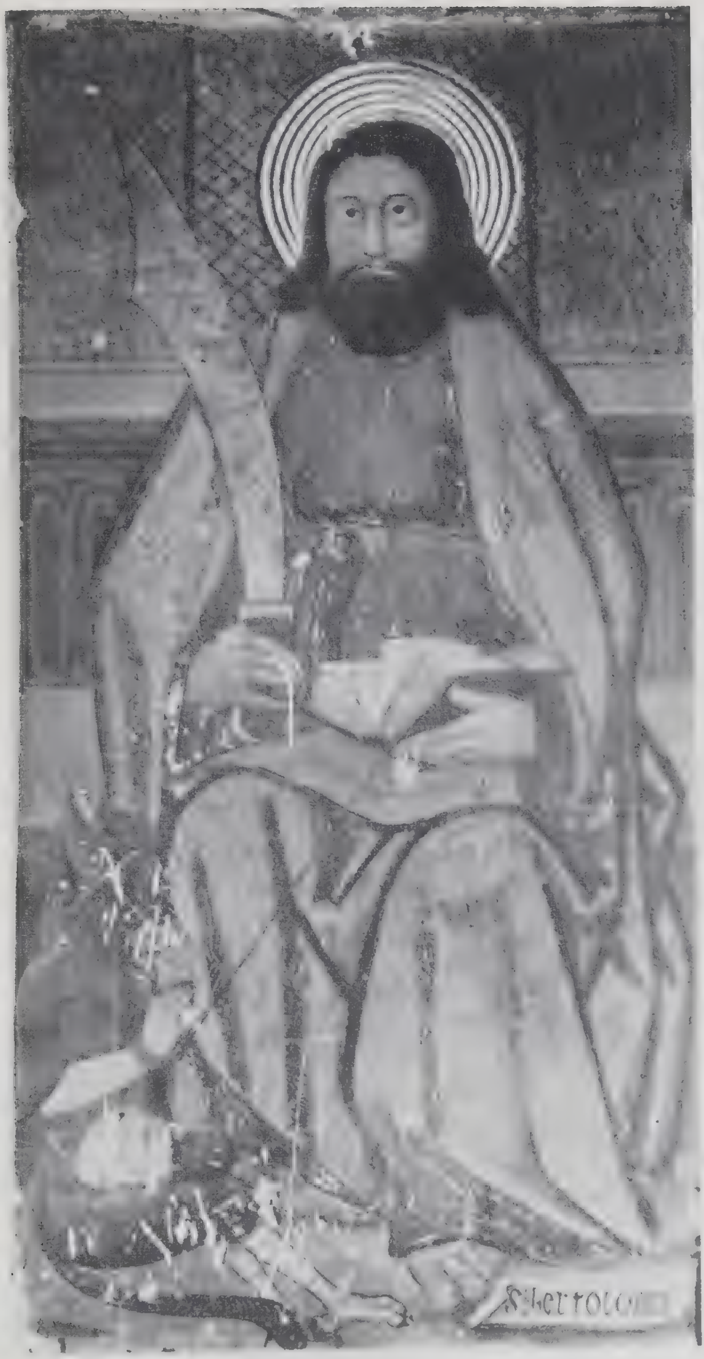

FIG. 319. SCHOOL OF JUAN DE LA ABADÍA.
ST. BARTHOLOMEW, CENTRE OF RETABLE.
PARISH CHURCH, PUENDELUNA
(*Photo. Mas*)

lower divisions of the lateral sections Sts. Lawrence and Vincent are similarly ensconced. The two compartments above them are assigned to representations of St. Bartholomew's overthrow of the idol Astaroth and exorcism of the daughter of King Polemius. As at Ardisa and as so often, the Christ of the Passion is the focus of the predella, set between figures, again seated on benches, of Sts. Peter, James Major, Quiteria (with her emblem, the mad dog), and Helen (holding as attributes the cross and three nails).

Don Federico Balaguer, to whom I am so deeply indebted in my studies of the painting of northern Aragon, has kindly sent me photographs of a panel in the pilgrimage church of Nuestra Señora de Cillas, close to Huesca, which just conceivably, though very far from surely, reveals to us the personality of an artist often mentioned in the documents and intimately affiliated with Juan de la Abadía the younger, namely Francisco Baget (or Bachet).[13] Although he is recorded as much in demand for executing retables from 1490 to 1505,[14] none of them, unless we except the Cillas panel, is preserved, not even the altarpiece at Arto, southeast of Jaca, which Ricardo del Arco lists in 1942 in his Catalogue of the province of Huesca [15] as still extant in the village. The basis of even the suggestion that Baget might have done the Cillas panel is his contract of May 29, 1492, to paint the retable of the high altar in the church, a document which has been summarized by Del Arco [16] and of which Balaguer has generously copied for me the pertinent extracts, but a most bothersome difficulty is created by the fact that, whereas the panel displays a standing effigy of St. Lucy (Fig. 320), the contract calls for the Joys of the Virgin in the main body of the structure, a pinnacle of the Crucifixion, and, on the tabernacle, the Pietà, Nevertheless, we are left in the contract one or two loopholes through which we might detect the possibility of St. Lucy's derivation from the retable. The document requires that, besides the seven Joys, there was to be in the main body an eighth compartment for which the ecclesiastical authorities were to choose the subject; and, however incongruous a single effigy of St. Lucy would be in such surroundings, her inclusion would not be utterly

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[13] The close ties between the two are further exemplified by a document very recently summarized for me by Balaguer and registering the fact that on October 19, 1502, Juan de la Abadía II, then dwelling at Saragossa, ceded to Baget some real estate on the condition that the latter give board and lodging to a little daughter of the former.

[14] For Baget's activity, see Ricardo del Arco in *Archivo español de arte*, XX (1947), 224–226, and consult also the index of artists in his *Catálogo monumental* of the province of Huesca.

[15] P. 367.

[16] *Archivo español de arte*, XX (1947), 224. While my volume is passing through the press, I receive from Balaguer the number of *Argensola* (VIII, 1957, pp. 31–53) in which he publishes the whole contract and Baget's receipt for payment on March 8, 1494. In this article (page 42) he notes that in 1651 there was established in the church of Sta. Mariá de Cillas a benefice in honor of the Virgin *and St. Lucy*, which may reflect an earlier cult of the latter in the shrine and so would argue strongly for identifying the extant panel with Baget's retable.

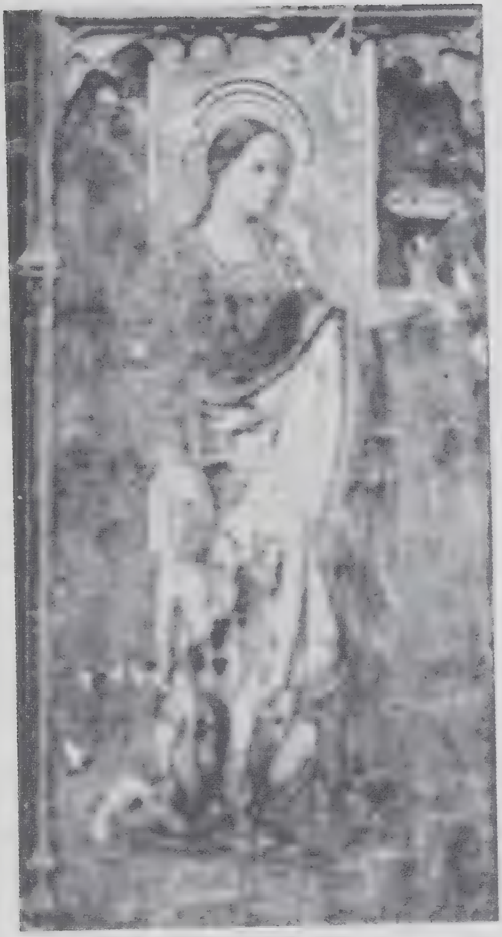

FIG. 320. FRANCISCO BAGET OR JUAN DE LA ABADÍA THE ELDER. ST. LUCY. NUESTRA SEÑORA DE CILLAS, HUESCA
(*Courtesy of Don Federico Balaguer*)

unthinkable. Furthermore, the contract demands ten sacred figures on the *guardapolvos*, but the separate framing of St. Lucy and its nature virtually forbid us to believe that the panel could have been one of the group. Another forlorn hope in the endeavor to ascribe the panel to Baget would be that it was a part of a retable ordered from him in 1495 for the no longer existing Carmelite church at Huesca [17] and that in the transfer of old works of art from one place to another in a town which frequently happens in Spain the picture was removed to the sanctuary at Cillas. If perchance it is an achievement of Baget, we learn that he was so very exact a reproducer of the style of Juan de la Abadía the elder as to be, for all intents and purposes, indistinguishable from him; and this we should have expected from the consideration that in 1500 Juan de la Abadía the younger, whose works are again virtually identical in manner with those of his father, sold to Baget the commissions for four retables,[18] which perhaps indeed had been ordered from Juan the elder, who had died very shortly before. The St. Lucy is little else than a replica of the same virgin martyr at La Puebla de Castro by Juan de la Abadía I,[19] but it might be captiously argued that there is the slightest sort of variation in the cast of countenance from the facial type seen in the figure at La Puebla de Castro and appearing frequently in Juan's output, and that the variation is due to Baget.

Ricardo del Arco registers [20] as still in the church of Nuestra Señora de Cillas a Crucifixion from Baget's retable; but it is not to be found there, and the Spanish scholar may have mistaken for a Crucifixion a panel of the Mass of St. Gregory, which does exist in the edifice but cannot have belonged to the retable because it is a part of a diptych on which oaths were taken (Fig. 321). Despite the study that I have devoted to the question, I have failed to arrive at a more precise classification of the picture than as a work of some not incompetent follower of Martín de Soria.

PEDRO BERRUGUETE

Both the tremendous vogue of this standard bearer of the Spanish Renaissance and the happy fortune that has been generous in the preservation of his works are witnessed not only by the additions that I was able in volume XI to make to the large number of his productions which I assembled when first I considered him but also by two further achievements which can be credited to him with entire conviction. One, belonging to a private collection in America, vies in quality with the finest examples of his craft and, moreover, is of iconographical interest, a small panel of half-length figures, Christ bearing the Cross between a guard and apparently St. John Evangelist instead of Simon of Cyrene, the three within an architectural frame

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[17] *Ibid.*, 225.

[18] See Ricardo del Arco in *Seminario de arte aragonés*, I (1945), 26. One of the four was a lost retable for the town of Javierre de los Cornudos (or de la Garganta), not the Javierre that gives the Javierre Master his name: cf. above, p. 354.

[19] My vol. IX, pp. 893–895, and Del Arco, *Catálogo monumental*, fig. 555.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 140.

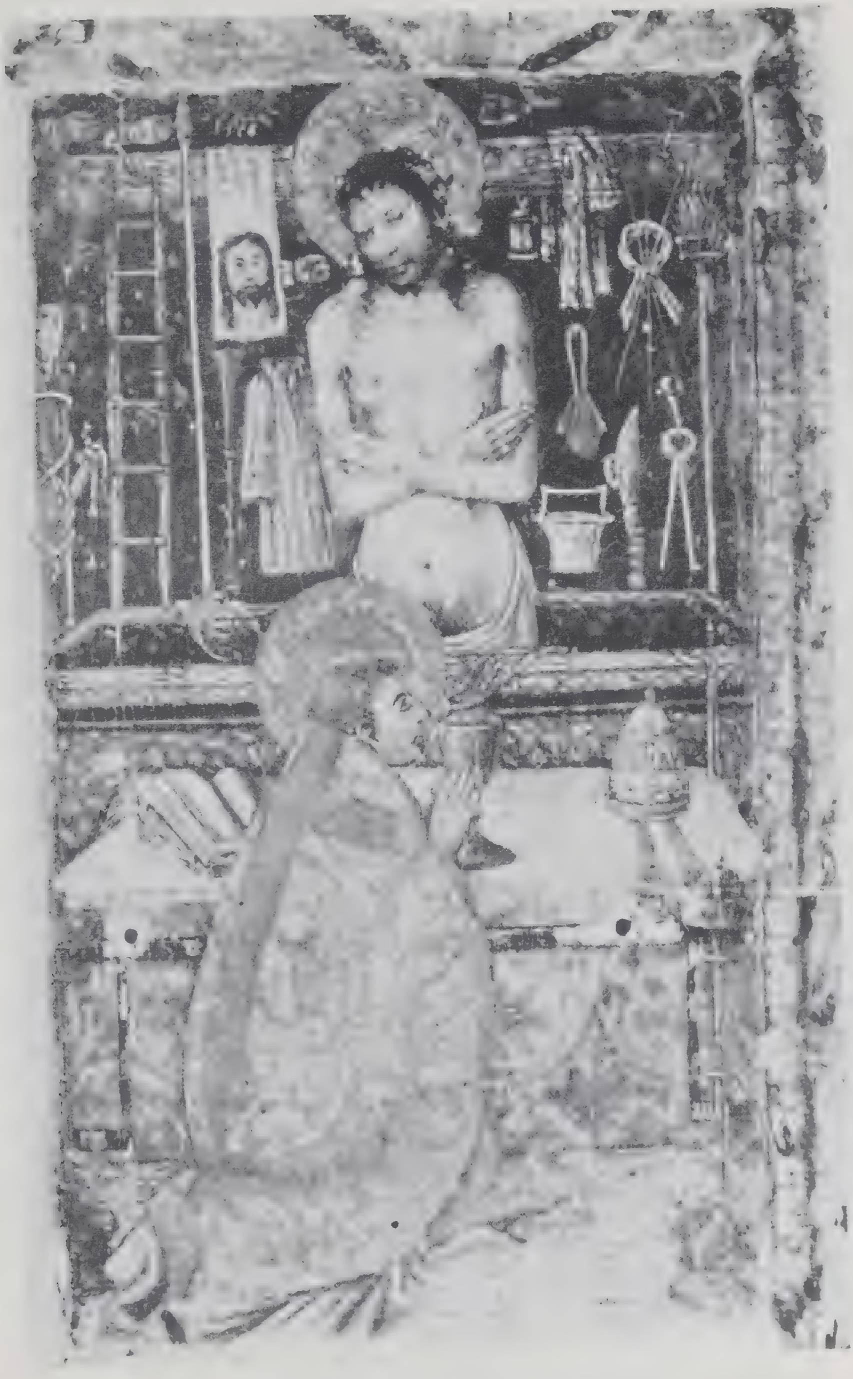

FIG. 321. SCHOOL OF MARTÍN DE SORIA. MASS OF ST. GREGORY. NUESTRA SEÑORA DE CILLAS, HUESCA
(*Photo. Mas*)

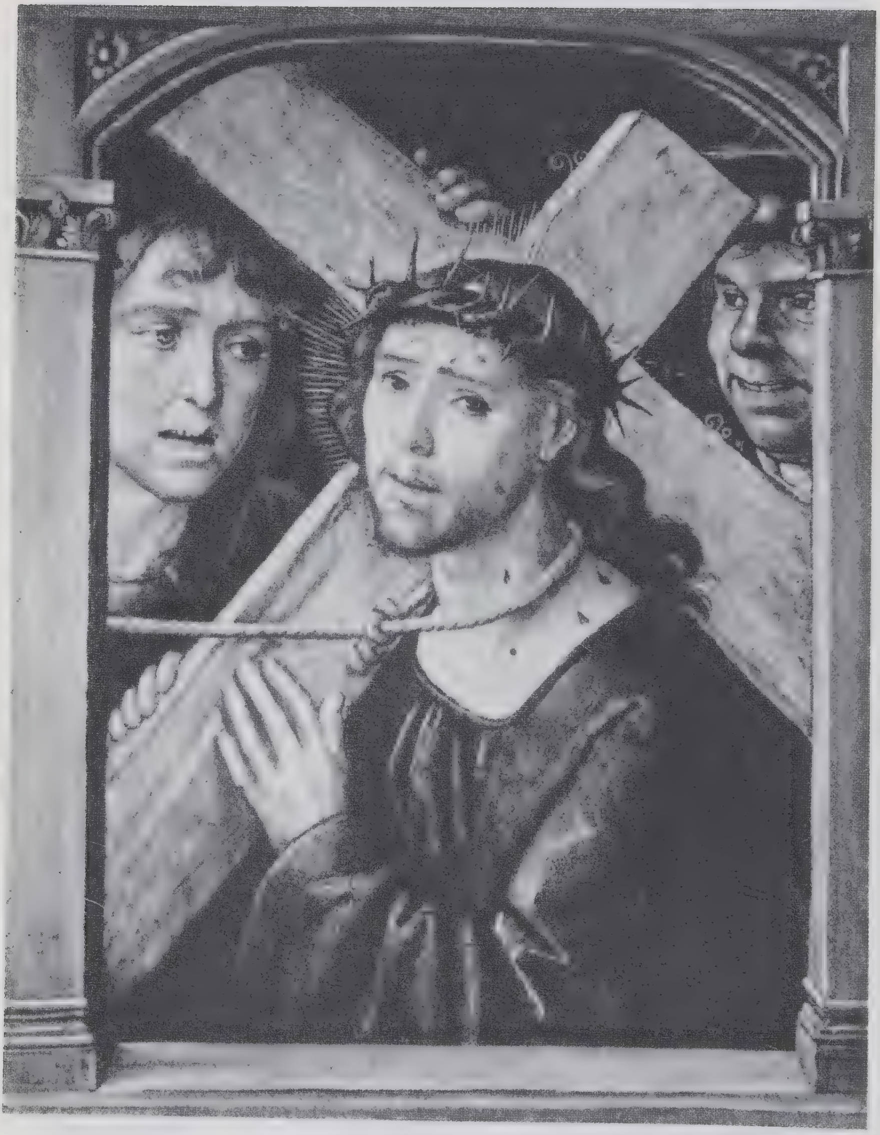

FIG. 322. PEDRO BERRUGUETE. CHRIST BEARING THE CROSS.
PRIVATE COLLECTION, AMERICA
(Courtesy of the owners)

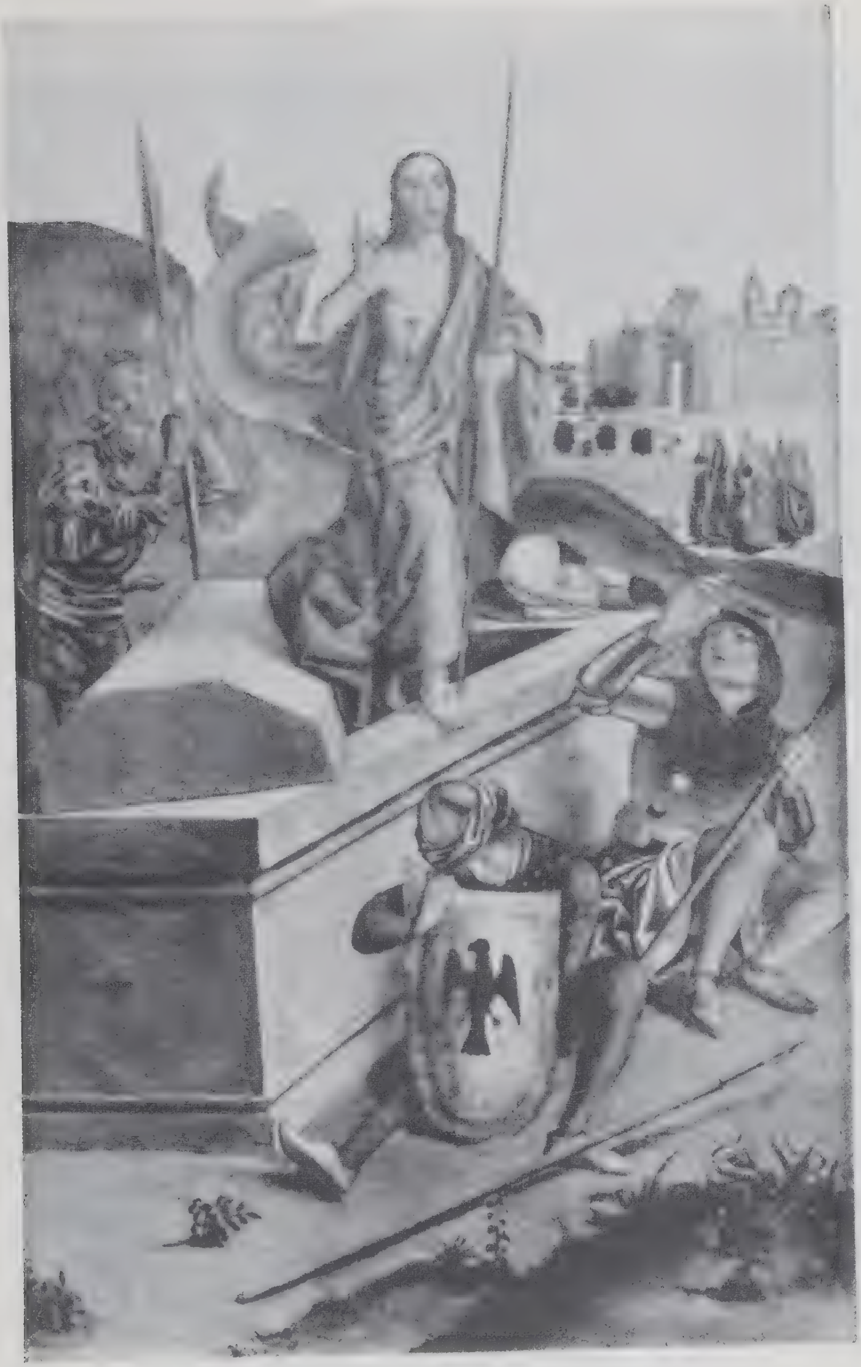

FIG. 323. PEDRO BERRUGUETE. RESURRECTION.
MUSEO CERRALBO, MADRID
(Courtesy of the Museum)

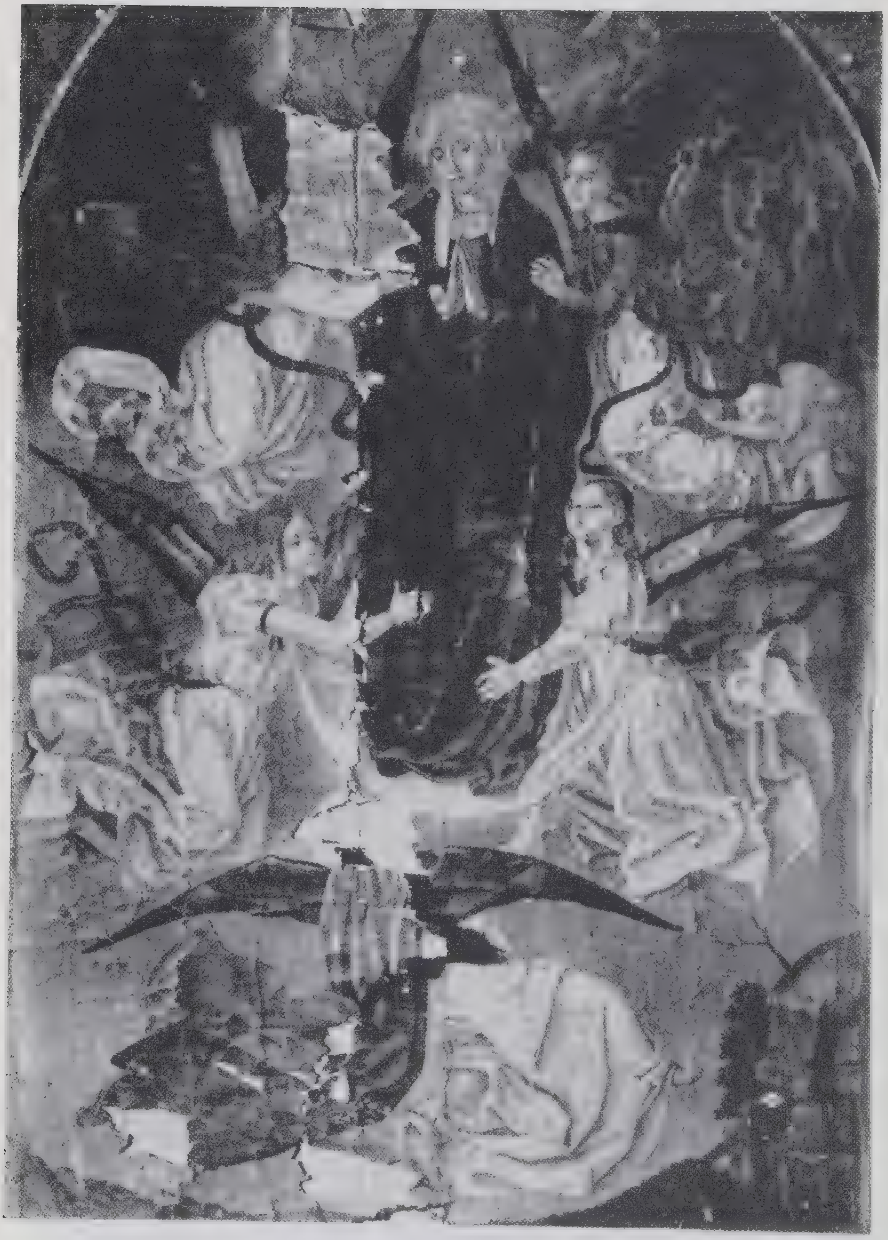

FIG. 324. PEDRO DELGADO. ASSUMPTION. CATHEDRAL, CUENCA
(*Photo. Mas*)

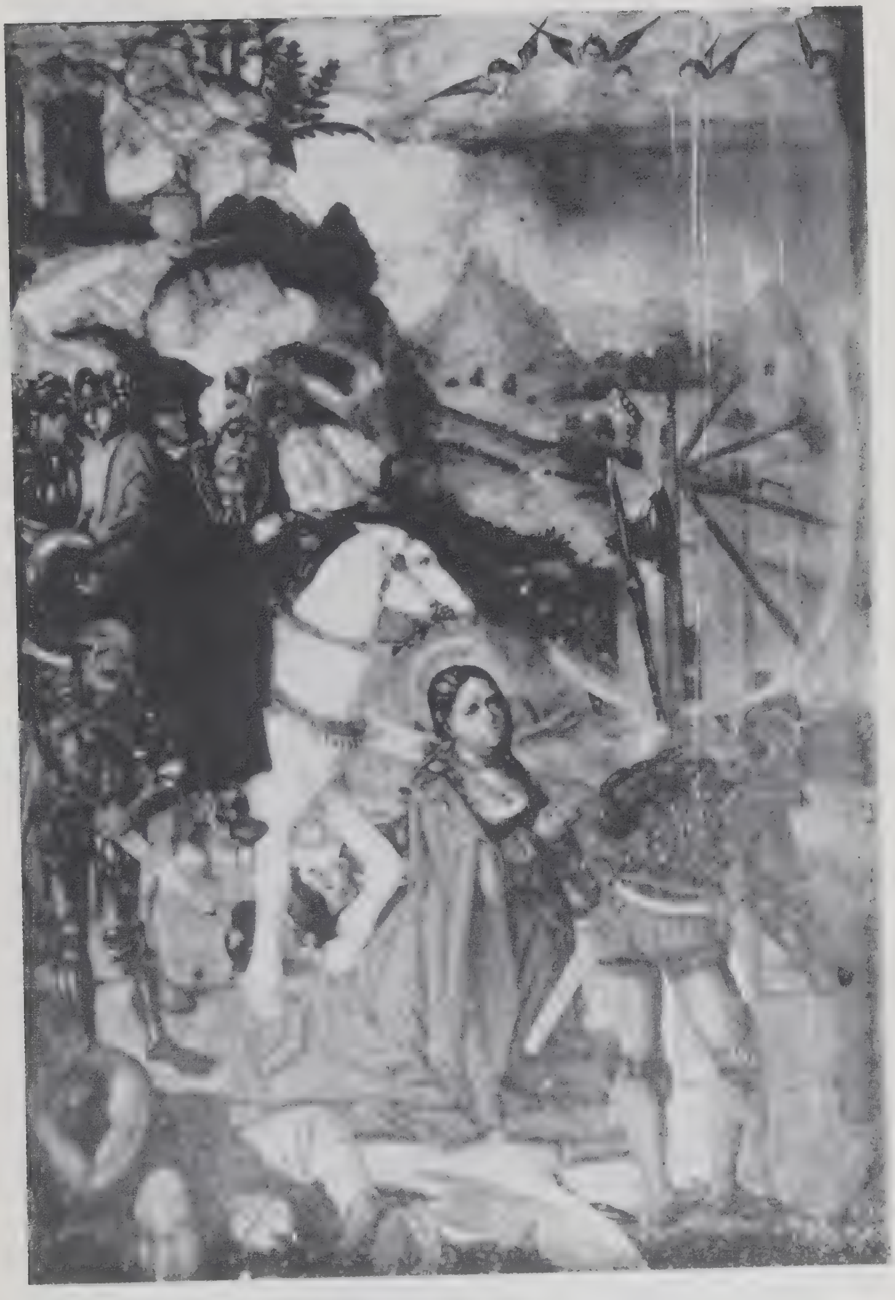

Fig. 325. PEDRO DELGADO. ST. CATHERINE'S ORDEAL OF THE WHEELS. CATHEDRAL, CUENCA
(*Photo. Mas*)

painted by the master himself to contain them (Fig. 322).[1] The guard and his malicious leer vividly recall the scourger at the left in Berruguete's Flagellation in the retable of the high altar in the cathedral of Avila.

To the second achievement, a Resurrection in the Museo Cerralbo, Madrid (Fig. 323), there attaches the significance of embodying the same phase of his style as the series once in the Lafora Collection in this city [2] and even of perhaps having belonged to the same retable.

Pedro Delgado

I should long ago have taken account of two panels in the cathedral of Cuenca which not only can be ascribed with great confidence to this gifted, though too sparsely preserved, painter of Toledo but also serve as a coupler to bind to him securely the works that in former volumes I have somewhat short of conclusively set under his name, since the pair of panels share in characteristics of these works as well as of the signed St. Michael in the Adanero Collection, Madrid. The subjects are an Assumption (Fig. 324) and St. Catherine's ordeal of the wheels (Fig. 325), the latter in the chapel of Sta. Catalina, whether or not the relic of an altarpiece devoted to her at this spot; and it is not, of course, impossible that, in view of the heterogeneous themes often contained in Spanish retables, the Assumption belonged originally to the same assemblage. If for the moment we leave out of consideration the analogies in types of persons, the conformity to Pedro's general practices is very exact. The Flemish debt, as usual with him, is more tangible than with the majority of his rivals in the transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, as particularly in the flying and contorted draperies of the angels in the Assumption, which are duplicated on the signed St. Michael. His ardent enthusiasm for Italianate *putti* is signalized by his employment of them instead of regular angels for the task of casting stones from the clouds upon the manipulators of St. Catherine's wheel,[1] and it is to be noted that they are the pert little creatures, with sharp-pointed wings, that everywhere enliven his productions. The landscape also might easily serve as a continuation of the vistas behind his St. Michael and St. Anthony of Padua.[2] For parallels now in actual physical types, the very distinctive sort of countenance illustrated by the St. Catherine and the lower angel at the right in the Assumption belongs to the same cast of features as the visage of the St. Michael, and it is repeated in an infantile aspect by the Child in the arms of the Amsterdam and Novelda Madonnas.[3] On

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[1] The dimensions are 22 inches in height by 17 in width.

[2] Vol. IX, p. 117. The St. Gregory from the series is now in the Collection of Don Juan Prats Tomás, Barcelona.

[1] The activity of regular *angels* dropping stones upon St. Catherine's tormentors is exemplified in a painting by Giulio Romano mentioned by Mrs. Jameson in her treatment of the virgin martyr in volume II of *Sacred and Legendary Art*.

[2] Vol. IX, fig. 123.

[3] Vol. X, figs. 177 and 178. The Amsterdam example is impossibly attributed to the Sicilian painter Riccardo Quartararo by Ilaria Toesca in *Paragone*, 41 (1953), 38.

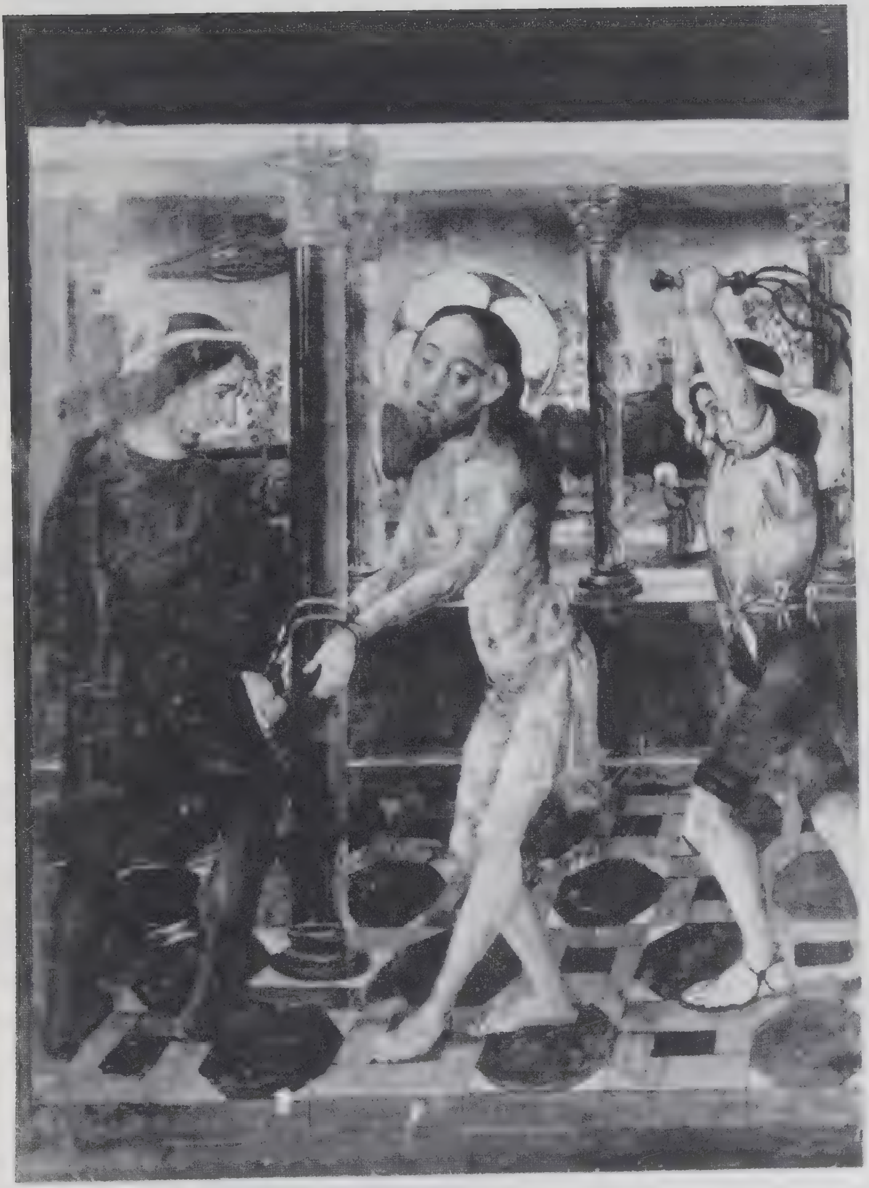

FIG. 326. B. DEL CASTRO(?). FLAGELLATION.
MUSEO ARQUEOLÓGICO, MADRID
(*Photo. Mas*)

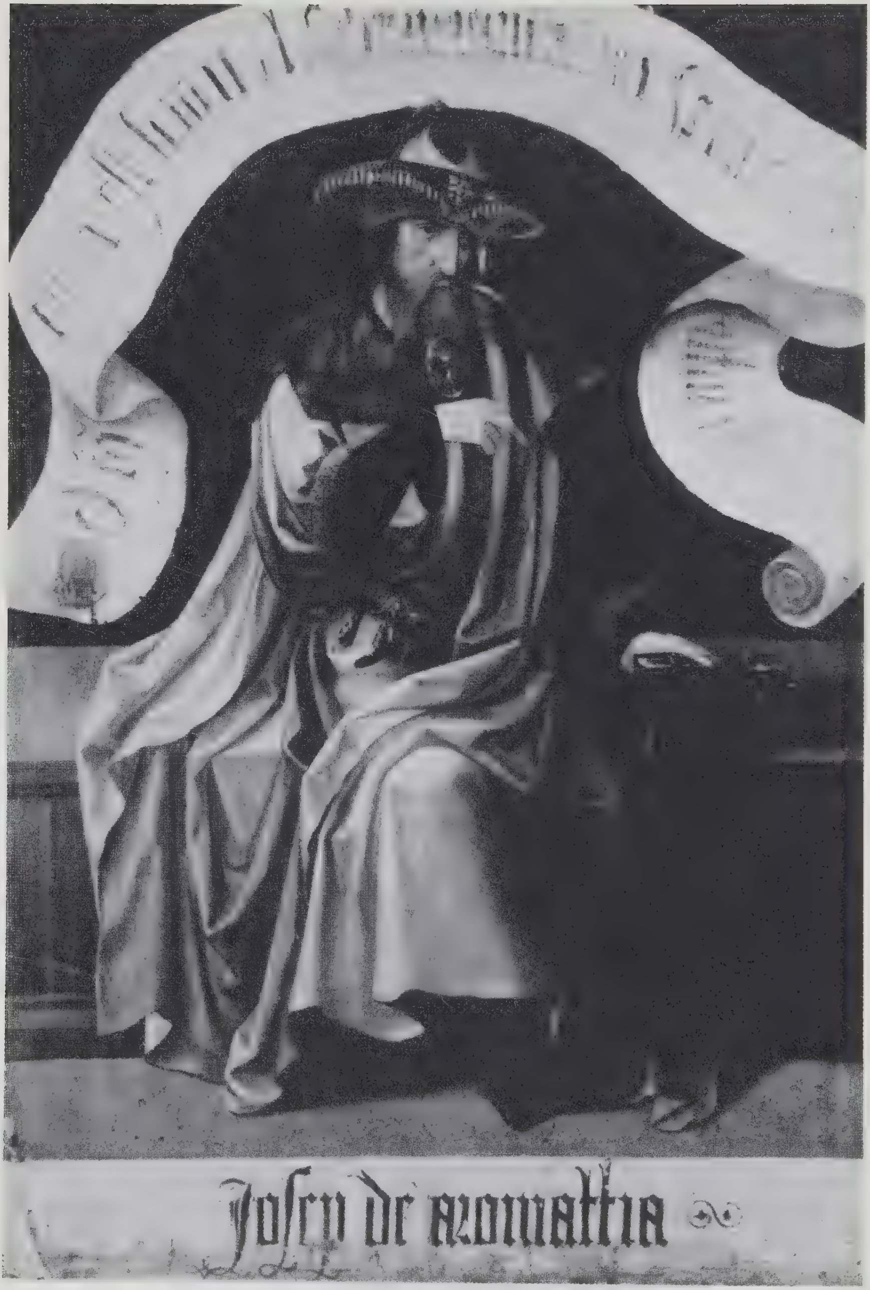
Josep de arimathia

FIG. 327. B. DEL CASTRO (?). ST. JOSEPH OF ARIMATHAEA. SCHAEFFER GALLERIES, NEW YORK
(*Courtesy of the Galleries*)

the other hand, the face of Our Lady of the Assumption and the piously humble downward glance are vividly recalled by the St. Anthony and to a certain extent by the Virgin once at Amsterdam. Both the Cuenca panels justify the superior opinion of Pedro Delgado's craft that I have stressed in volume IX, for instance the precociously fine delineation of the steed upon which rides St. Catherine's persecutor, Maximin.

In further confirmation of Pedro's authorship of the Amsterdam and Novelda Madonnas, I should have perceived in volume X that they embody the iconographical phase of Mary called by the Spaniards the Virgen del Pópulo and that Ceán Bermúdez selects for particular mention the master's version of this subject at Orgaz,[4] a theme of which he may have made a specialty. Indeed, it is not out of the question that the Amsterdam rendering is the actual picture of which Ceán speaks, for, although he describes the Virgin as accompanied by saints, he could have loosely so designated the four archangels who in this rendering surround her.

B. del Castro

It is hard, if not impossible, to deny a panel of the Flagellation in the Museo Arqueológico, Madrid (Fig. 326), to the painter who did the retable at Requena de Campos [1] and who is either Castro or a nearly indistinguishable imitator. The striking analogy of the scourger at the left to the executioner of the Baptist [2] in the Requena altarpiece is in itself sufficient proof. What little additional evidence the Madrid panel affords would tend to support an identification of the artist with Castro himself. The legs of the flagellator at the left are clad and rendered in the same way as those of the negroid Magus in the Epiphany [3] of the Lázaro Collection, Madrid, and in the background we descry a plentitude of Castró's favorite, stubby, thickly leaved trees. The short physique of Christ need not trouble us in comparison with the proportions of most of Castro's forms, since he was always capriciously varying his practices. I am at a loss for an iconographic explanation of the introduction of an aged male saint into the landscape.

In answer to my hopes, there has appeared, in the possession of Dr. Hans Schaeffer, New York (Fig. 327), still another member of the series of debating scribes and Pharisees that I have tentatively ascribed to Castro.[4] The personage represented is somewhat of a surprise, Joseph of Arimathaea, plainly so designated on the frame underneath, since the councillors on the

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[4] Vol. IX, p. 368.

[1] Vol. X, p. 427.

[2] Vol. IX, fig. 334.

[3] José Camón Aznar, in his *Guía abreviada del Museo Lázaro Galdeano*, Madrid, 1951, p. 109, states that this and the other two scenes from the life of the Virgin in the Collection, as well as the signed panel of St. Dominic, all come from the Dominican church of S. Pablo at Palencia.

[4] Vols. IX, p. 422, and XI, p. 451.

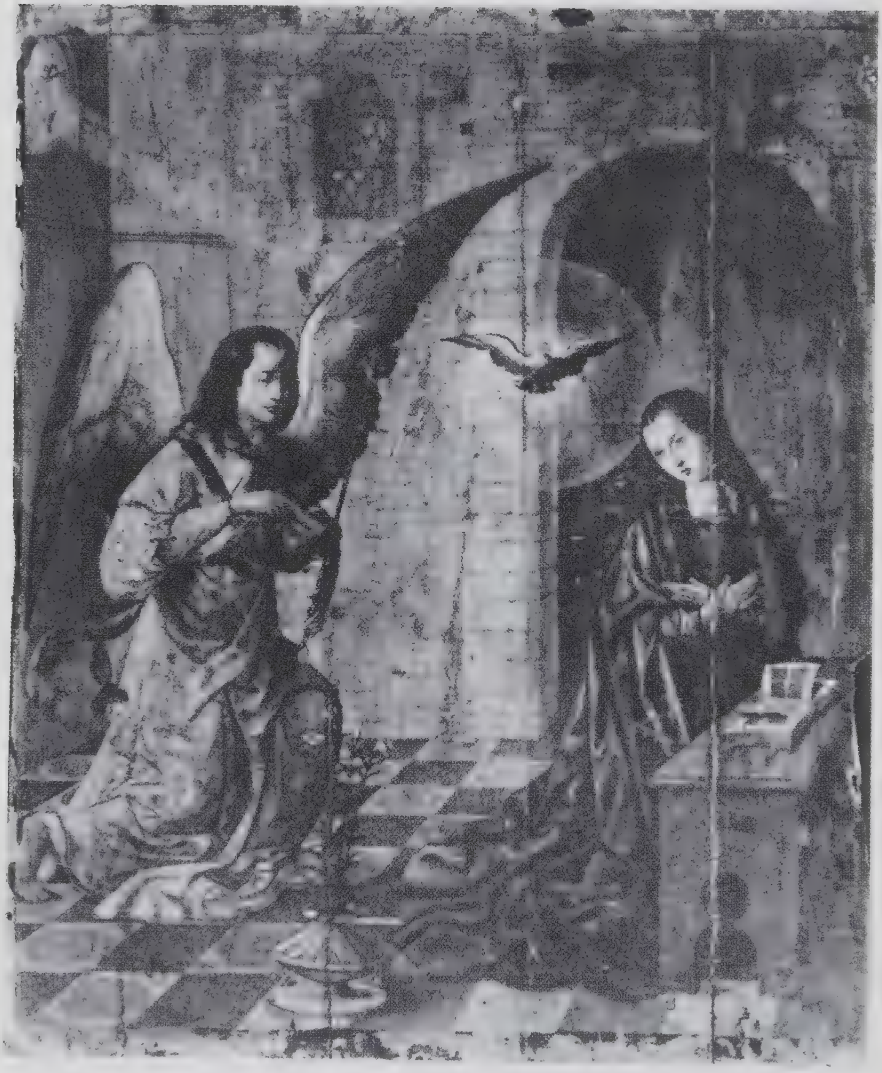

FIG. 328. THE BECERRIL MASTER. ANNUNCIATION. S. MARTÍN, PAREDES DE NAVA
(*Photo. Mas*)

other panels, in the debate on the question of putting the Saviour to death, are hostile to Him, whereas Joseph must have advocated His acquittal. In distinction, however, from the other parts of the cycle, the inscription of the words that the figure is supposed to be uttering, on the banderole above him, is so far obliterated and faded as to defy my hard efforts to read it. The actual style supplies no new factors to bolster my attribution to Castro, but the form taken by the name Joseph of Arimathaea helps at least to place the series in Castile. The loose spelling of Arimathaea (Aromattia) might have occurred at the time anywhere in Europe, but the transmutation of the preposition *ab* before Arimathaea in the Latin of the Vulgate into *de* implies a country where a Romance language was spoken. The only credible elucidation of the first word of the name is *Joseph,* the downward-extending stroke of the *p*, which is found in the inscriptions in the other panels of the series, having been blotted out in the Schaeffer picture. *Josep* is the Catalan word for Joseph; but the style seems to make Catalonia an impossibility, and *Josep* is also an old Castilian form for the modern *José.*

THE BECERRIL MASTER

Neither Angulo[1] nor I was shown in the church of S. Martín at Paredes de Nava two panels of the Annunciation (Fig. 328) and Nativity, the relics of some retable, which the photographs recently taken by the Mas Archive seem to prove works of the Becerril Master, although not incorporating his style at its most characteristic. The Virgin Annunciate is not exactly duplicated in any of his known achievements, but Gabriel scarcely differs in treatment of the head from the youthful Apostle at the left in the Last Supper in the retable of the Passion at Astudillo or, in the altarpiece at Bamba, the St. John in the Pietà and the St. Michael. In composition and architectural background there are analogies in the two renderings of the Annunciation that I have provisionally ascribed to the Becerril Master,[2] the example in the Ayuntamiento at Palencia and the treatment seen through the windows above the enthroned Madonna at Manzanillo. The types of the Virgin and St. Joseph in the Nativity can be harmonized with his general standards for the representation of such human beings, and they would probably look still more like other figures by him if they were not artificially illuminated through his experimentation here, perhaps under Flemish influence, with a nocturnal effect in which the radiance emanates from the Child. The landscape visible at the left in the Nativity is entirely congruous with the attribution in its bleak rocks and eery ruins of castles, and great stones lie on the ground in front of the Holy Family exactly as in the Entombment in the episcopal palace at

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[1] I gather that he did not see the panels from the fact that he does not mention them in his article on Palencian painting of the period in *Archivo español de arte,* XVIII (1945), 229.

[2] Vol. IX, pp. 456–459.

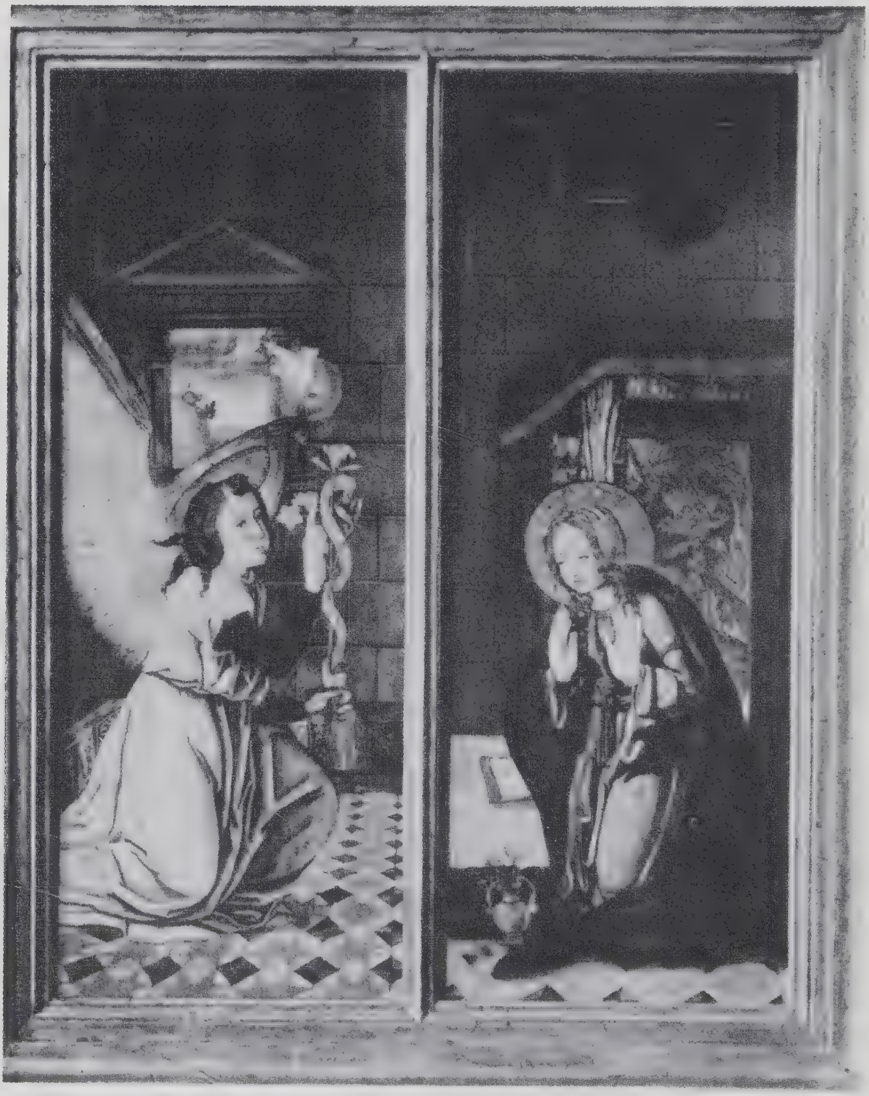

FIG. 329. THE BECERRIL MASTER. DIPTYCH OF THE ANNUNCIATION. COLLECTION OF DON RAIMUNDO RUIZ, MADRID

(*Courtesy of the owner*)

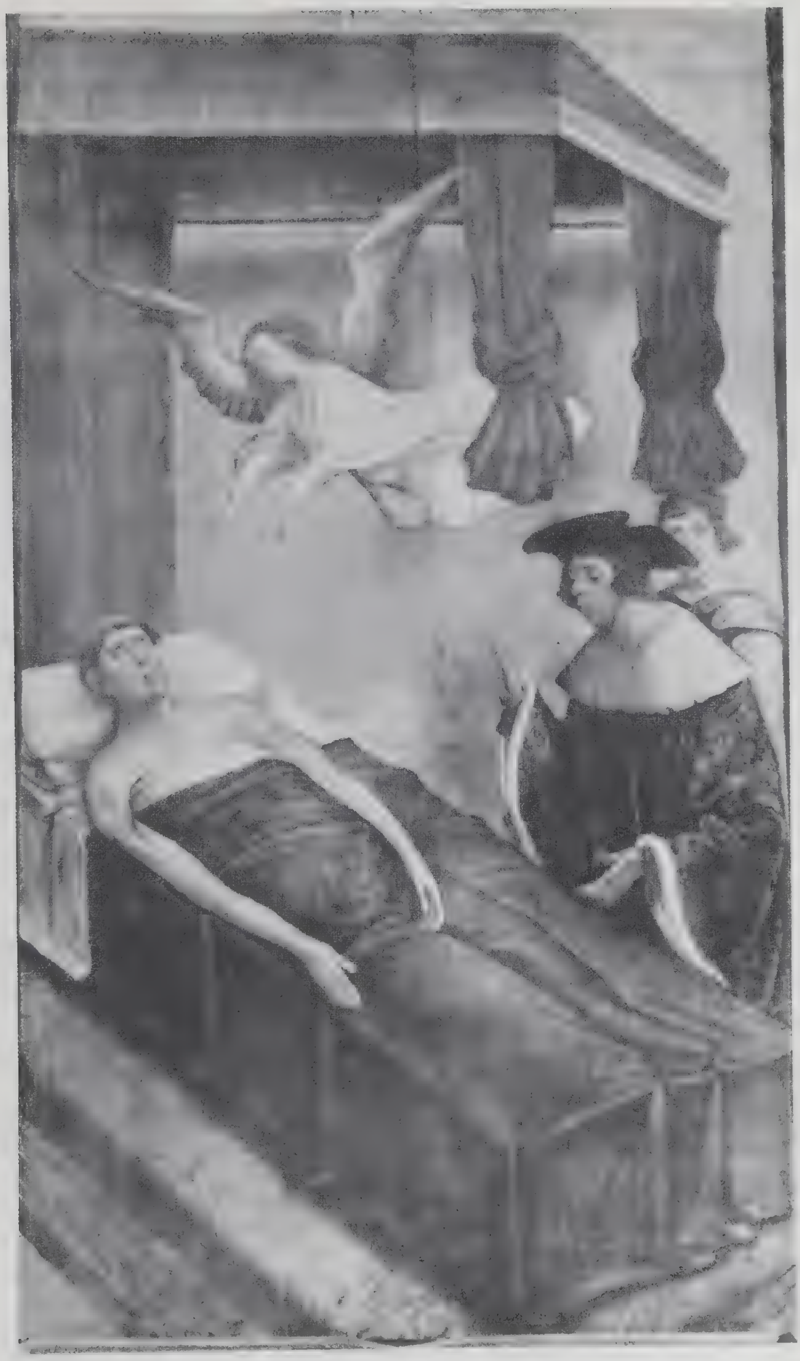

FIG. 330. THE BECERRIL MASTER. DEATH OF ST. VINCENT.
LAFORA COLLECTION, MADRID
(*Photo. Mas*)

Palencia [3] or as in the Deposition once in the Palencian Hospital but now in the March Collection at Sa Vall on the island of Majorca.

A diptych of the Annunciation, in the Collection of the late Raimundo Ruiz at Madrid but of unknown original provenience (Fig. 329), [4] varies somewhat in composition from the versions that have just demanded our consideration, but the absolute agreement of the Virgin's face with a constantly recurring type in the Becerril Master's production is enough to counterbalance this slight disparity and to establish the work with a good deal of security in his canon. The rendering in the Ayuntamiento at Palencia differs more than that at Manzanillo from the Ruiz treatment, but even in the Palencian Annunciation the masonry of the Casa Santa is similar. The St. Lucy in the panel at Manzanillo, like the Gabriel in the diptych, illustrates the Master's occasional mode of tipping the halo, to suit the position of the head, instead of laying it flatly according to the regular convention of the times.

With as much equanimity we may credit to the Becerril Master two panels, the remains of some retable, in the Lafora Collection at Madrid, one depicting the tortured St. Vincent found dying in bed by his persecutor Dacian (Fig. 330) and the other, the martyr's corpse guarded by a raven from the wild beasts. We look in vain for one of the artist's romantic landscapes of mountains and castles behind St. Vincent's exposed body, but all the rest in the two compartments accords not only with his general manner but with actual details in his other works. The countenance of the angel comforting the moribund deacon reiterates somewhat the recurrent type mentioned in the last paragraph; the room of death is built of the Master's favorite masonry; Dacian's attendant recalls the young, standing executioner in the ghastly scene of St. Pelagius's dismemberment in the retable now in the cathedral of Malaga; [5] and, most determinative, Dacian himself is represented as precisely the same sort of highly individualized gentleman of the early sixteenth century as the Nicodemus at Christ's feet in the Deposition once in the Hospital at Palencia or in the Joseph of Arimathaea at His head in the Entombment in the Palencian episcopal palace.[6] I can make nothing of what may be intended as letters inscribed on the base of St. Vincent's bed.

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[3] Vol. X, fig. 182.

[4] The dimensions including the frame are 83 centimetres in height by 68 in width.

[5] Vol. X, p. 428. In his book, *La mitología y el arte español del Renacimiento*, Madrid, 1952, pp. 47–50, Don Diego Angulo has finally elucidated the themes, which hitherto had perplexed both him and me, of the simulated classical reliefs in the background of the compartment, in the Becerril Master's retable in the cathedral of Malaga, depicting St. Pelagius brought into the presence of the Caliph Abdur Rahman (cf. my vol. IX, p. 450 and fig. 160). With a subtlety that we should scarcely have anticipated in a painter of such provincial stature, the subjects are related to the unnatural passion inspired in the Moslem potentate at the sight of the boy, an unpleasant aspect of the martyr's story that is much more stressed in the retable at Olivares de Duero (east of Valladolid) by a Castilian artist of the High Renaissance to whom in a future volume I will give the name of the Olivares Master. That it was the Becerril Master's intent to suggest the interrelationship, is made clear by the fact that he decorates the frieze of the entablature of the edifice where the event takes place with an inscription parts of which are tantalizingly hidden by columns but towards the end of which there can plainly be read the name Pasiphaë, the Greek lady guilty of the abnormal vice of bestiality. Correspondingly, in the relief in the tympanum of the portal at the rear of the edifice, at the left is represented another mythological instance of the same sin, Leda and the swan. Angulo is probably correct in interpreting the figure at the centre of the relief as Lucretia stabbing her-

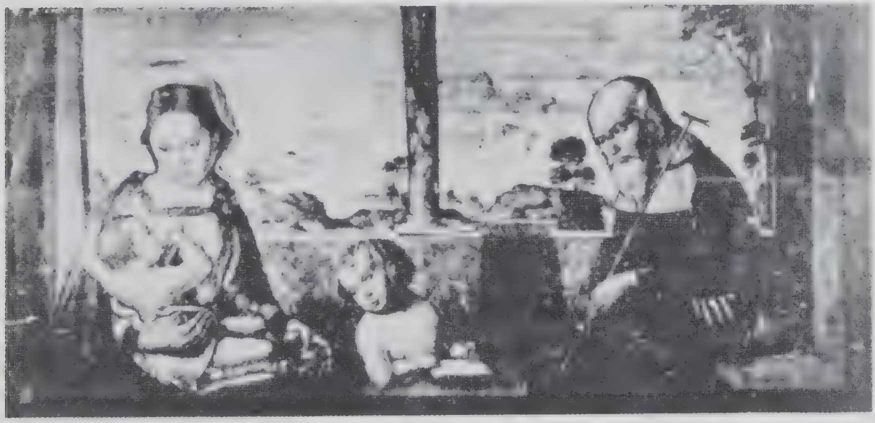

FIG. 331. THE ASTORGA MASTER. HOLY FAMILY. FORMERLY IN THE VALENCIANO COLLECTION, BARCELONA
(*From an article in "Vell i nou"*)

MASTER ALEJO (THE SIRGA MASTER)

I have long known a panel depicting in half length Moses enthroned which bears the signature "Alexo me fecyt (*sic* for fecit)" and which has now passed into the possession of Don José Gudiol Ricart in Barcelona; but, although I had perceived that the painter could not be Alejo Fernández of Andalusia and that the picture was related to the Palencian artist whom I have called the Sirga Master,[1] I never quite mustered the courage to

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self, a virtuous victim of the honor in which she held chastity, just as St. Pelagius suffered martyrdom for his rejection of the Caliph's advances. The theme at the right in the tympanum would seem to be Cephalus caressing his dog Laelaps; but the love of Cephalus and his wife Procris was conjugal and natural, though tainted with wicked curiosity in the case of both spouses, and Angulo suspects instead some classical, as yet unidentifiable example of bestiality. Like the inscription, the reliefs above the entablature are largely concealed, so that their subjects are rendered desperately obscure; but of the two figures capping the arms of Abdur Rahman's throne, one is a male nude holding an escutcheon with the swans of Venus, as if the Becerril Master wished to stigmatize the pagan goddess as the source of the monarch's impure desires.

[6] For both these paintings, see above, pp. 727 and 730.

[1] Vols. IX, pp. 480–488, and X, pp. 434–442.

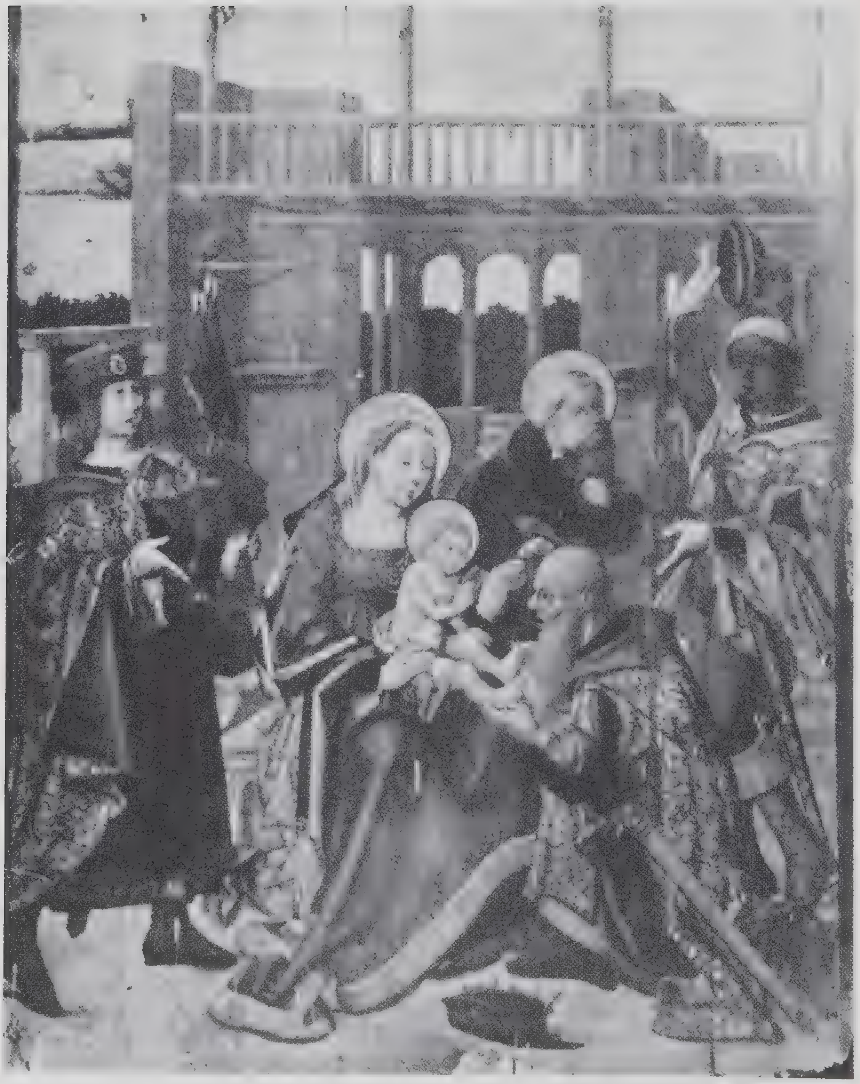

Fig. 332. THE SINOBAS MASTER (?). EPIPHANY.
CATHEDRAL, BURGO DE OSMA
(*Photo. Mas*)

make the equation until now, emboldened by the potent authority of the present owner.[2] I cannot, however, agree in assigning to him either the retable of St. Anthony of Padua at Villalcázar de Sirga, which Angulo[3] has finally concurred with me in attributing to the Calzada Master, or the panels of the story of St. Vincent in the Lafora Collection, Madrid, for which I have just claimed the Becerril Master as the author.

The Astorga Master

There has recently come to my attention the most charming piece of the retable by this superior Leonese artist of the early Renaissance which once graced the chapel of the cemetery at Astorga and from which I have already[1] identified two scenes of the story of St. James Major now in the Lázaro Collection, Madrid. Recorded in 1919 as in the Valenciano Collection, Barcelona, the piece is indelibly stamped with the Master's individual characteristics in types, setting in a loggia, and landscape (Fig. 331); and its provenience from the retable of the Astorga chapel is assured through Gómez-Moreno's[2] description of it *in situ* as a "Holy Family, with Mary nursing the Child, with Joseph seated, and with the (infant) St. John between fingering a book." Moreover, when the panel was published in 1919[3] (without knowledge of its author), it was stated to have come from "the chapel of a cemetery of a Castilian town."

The Sinobas Master

Although the types depicted by this exponent of the very early Renaissance in the province of Burgos and adjoining territory are so little marked by any personal conception of human beings as to render difficult the critic's task in the matter of attribution, he begins to loom as a more clearly defined and even more important figure if my tentative assignment to him of a few further works turns out really to have a sound basis. Two panels in the cathedral of Burgo de Osma representing the Visitation and Epiphany (Fig. 332), the fragments of some retable, are certainly by the same hand that did the relics of an altarpiece at Palazuelos de Muñó, and, provided that I was right in volume IX[1] in ascribing these relics to the Sinobas Master, we can safely attach the pieces at Burgo de Osma to his name. The kneeling Magus, for instance, is very similar to the Joel at Palazuelos, and the St. Joseph, above the Magus, is almost caricatured by the cocky tilt of the head and the outward glance of the eyes in precisely the manner of the Isaiah. But close analogies are discernible to the Master's sure productions,

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[2] *Pintura gótica*, 379.

[3] *Pintura del Renacimiento*, 105, although he had once ascribed it to the Sirga Master (cf. my vol. X, p. 434).

[1] Vol. IX, p. 557.

[2] *Catálogo monumental, Provincia de León*, 340.

[3] *Vell i nou*, May 15, 1919, pp. 189 and 194.

[1] P. 615.

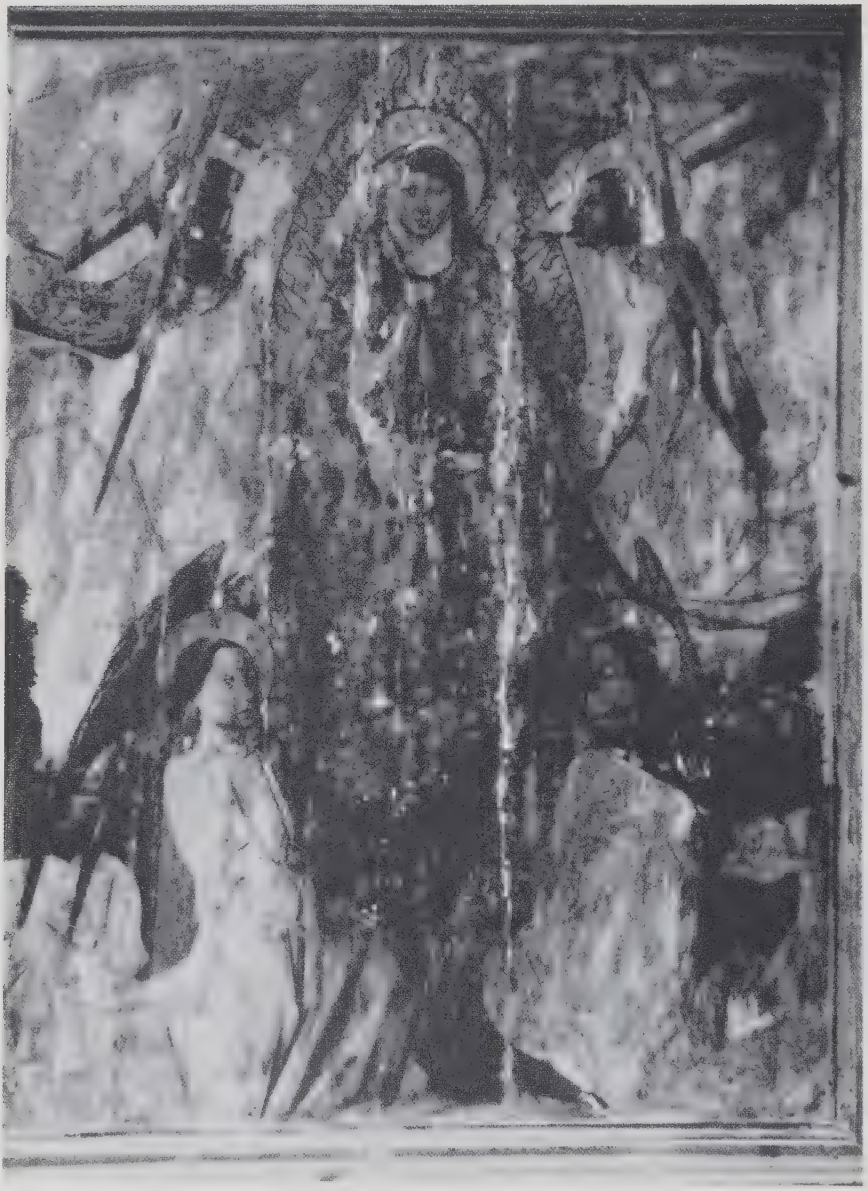

FIG. 333. THE SINOBAS MASTER (?). ASSUMPTION.
PARISH CHURCH, RUPELO
(*Photo. Photo Club*)

the retable from Sinobas and the panels at Haza, thus contributing to tie the Palazuelos remains to these productions and to bring them into the painter's authentic bequest to us. In the Haza compartment of the episcopal procession to Monte Gargano, the cleric at the extreme left possesses a sharp profile very like that of the Virgin's handmaid correspondingly placed at the right in the Visitation at Burgo de Osma, and such figures in the Haza cycle as Mary in the Annunciation or St. Michael victorious over the demons or, in the Sinobas retable, St. Catherine in the ordeal of the wheels provide general counterparts for the feminine countenances in the two panels that now concern us. A very striking resemblance exists between the Zacharias holding a falcon in the Visitation and the soldier with his hands upon the arrested episcopal saint in the Sinobas altarpiece. The zoological interest betokened by the inordinate stress upon the domestic animals in St. Joachim's Vision and by the arbitrary introduction of deer into the scene of St. Anne's Annunciation in this altarpiece, however unequal the painter was to the demands in their delineation that he thus took upon himself, is echoed at Burgo de Osma not only in the falcon of Zacharias but also in a peacock perched upon his house and in a pair of slain partridges hanging in the edifice of the Epiphany. It is pertinent to remember that Sinobas and Haza, although in the province of Burgos, belong to the diocese of Burgo de Osma and that the orbits of artists' activities at this period were commonly dioceses rather than provinces.

The review of the Sinobas Master's output that I have had to undertake in order to attribute the Visitation and Epiphany inclines me to believe that he might have done the Assumption at Rupelo which I was obliged in volume IX [2] to leave in the category of paintings without an ascertained author but for which I suggested the Belorado Master as a possibility (Fig. 333). The corollary would be that, as in the panels at Palazuelos, the Sinobas Master's vogue had penetrated into the actual diocese of Burgos.

With few or no misgivings we may register as a further accretion to the deposit left by the Sinobas Master two panels [3] in the parish church of Torregalindo (south of Aranda de Duero), representing St. Blaise among the dumb creatures in the wilds and his decapitation (Fig. 334); and it is once more significant that the town, albeit in the province of Burgos, is attached to the diocese of Burgo de Osma, which appears to have been the centre of the Master's efforts. The attribution would seem to be sufficiently established by the similarity of St. Blaise's executioner to the mounted figure, second from the right, in the Haza scene of the founding of the church at Mont St. Michel or by the almost as impressive analogy of the

[2] P. 663.

[3] In passing I mentioned the panels in volume IX, p. 591, when I was discussing the remains of another retable in the church which I now believe to be, not by the Durham Master, but by an artist to whom in a later volume I will give the name of the Ventosilla Master. The compartments presumably by the Sinobas Master are built into the same altarpiece as an Apostle's bust that the Ventosilla Master painted.

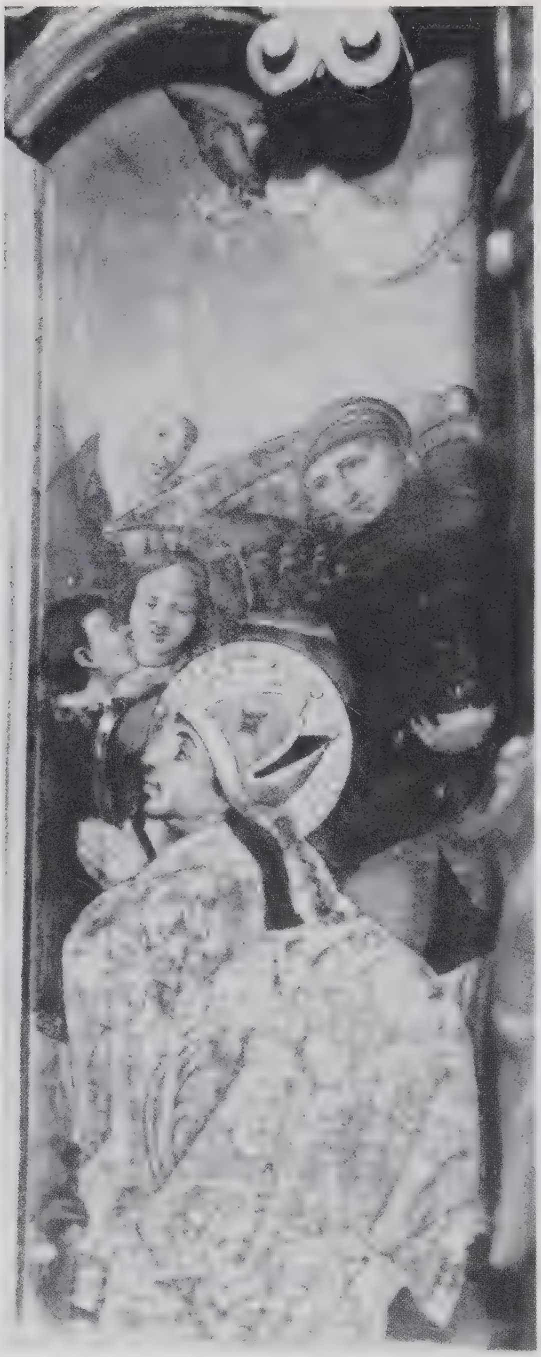

FIG. 334. THE SINOBAS MASTER (?). DECAPITATION OF ST. BLAISE. PARISH CHURCH, TORREGALINDO
(*Photo. Mas*)

boy gazing up at the executioner to the youth carrying a lamb in the compartment of the Meeting at the Golden Gate in the retable now at Buenos Aires.

Less surely and yet not implausibly the hand of the Sinobas Master should be discerned in another piece in the church of Torregalindo, a small and fragmentary panel depicting the proving of the true Cross by St. Helen through the miracle of resurrection, whether or not it derives from the same retable as the compartments of St. Blaise. There is no negative evidence against the Master's claims to the authorship, and on the affirmative side we may point especially to the likeness of the uppermost of the three men lifting the cross of one of the thieves to the rather harsh profiles in the Haza representations of the Monte Gargano episode and of the Mass of St. Gregory. Another candidate for the ascription would be the Ventosilla Master.[4]

In any case, the expansion of my knowledge of the Sinobas Master's style has persuaded me that we owe to him a large panel in the Lázaro Collection, Madrid, which has baffled my powers of perception ever since 1926 (!), a representation of the *Anna selbdritt* into which is curiously introduced at the left St. John Evangelist penning one of his compositions and perhaps originally balancing a now lost sacred personage at the right (Fig. 335). During all these years, having the picture constantly in mind, I have wavered from one candidate to another in quest of an attribution, until finally I rest content with the choice of the Sinobas Master. The picture's provenience is reported to be Vitoria, and, although such allegations are notoriously untrustworthy, it is not impossible that his brush should have been in demand so little far north of the province of Burgos. The composition for the *Anna selbdritt* is practically repeated in the retable from Sinobas; the versions of the Holy Child are as nearly identical as one could ever find in two different paintings; the Virgin is varied in countenance from her figure in the Visitation at Burgo de Osma only by a slightly more melancholy expression; the treatment of her hair is a favorite with the Master; her mantle and that of her mother are trimmed with borders of decorative, simulated lettering as in more than one instance in the Sinobas altarpiece; St. John, depicted at a surprisingly youthful age, derives from the same model that suggested such lads in this altarpiece as the priest's acolyte in St. Joachim's Expulsion from the Temple or the executioner puncturing St. Sebastian with an arrow; nor is the eagle, the Evangelist's symbol, any better a specimen of ornithological draughtsmanship than the Master's other ventures into this sphere of art.

Andalusian Works of the Early Renaissance at Cordova

Ordinarily I do not include in these appendices works that I cannot ascribe definitely or even tentatively, but I make an exception in the present instance because the extant paintings of the first years of the sixteenth

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[4] See previous note 3.

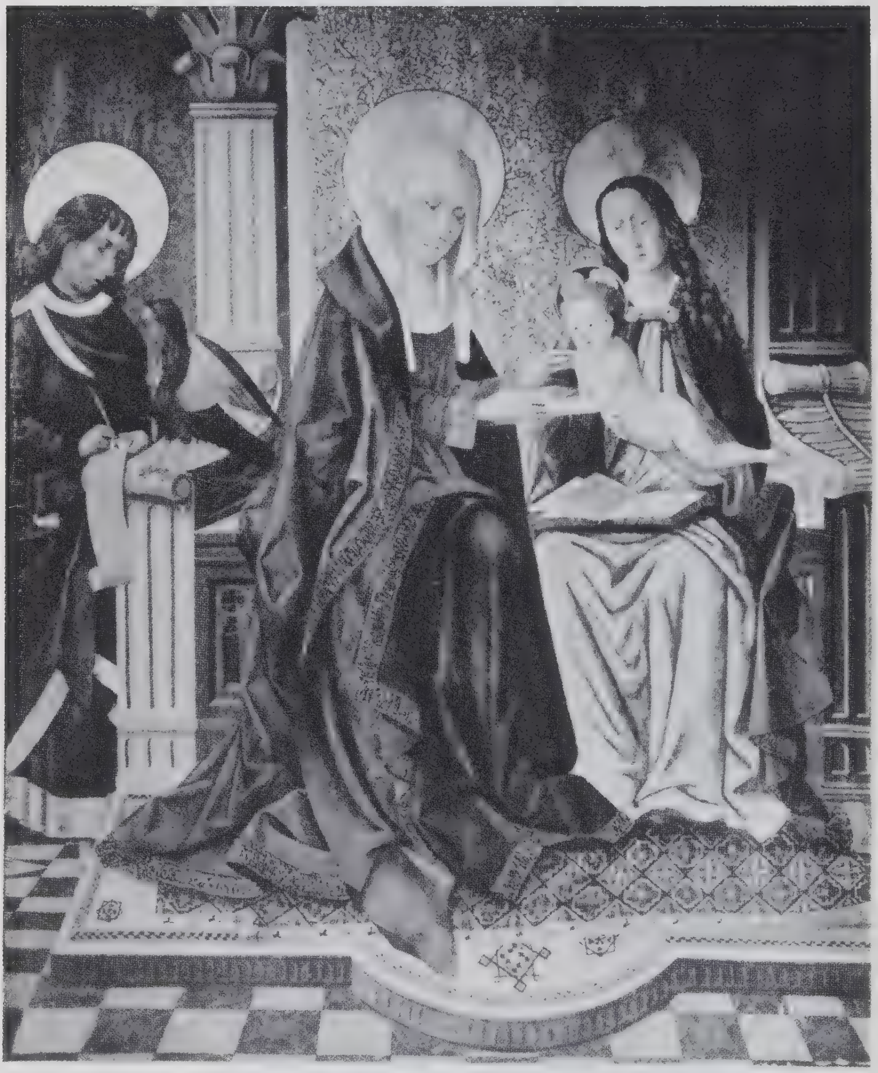

FIG. 335. THE SINOBAS MASTER. *ANNA SELBDRITT.*
LÁZARO COLLECTION, MADRID
(*Photo. Ruiz Vernacci*)

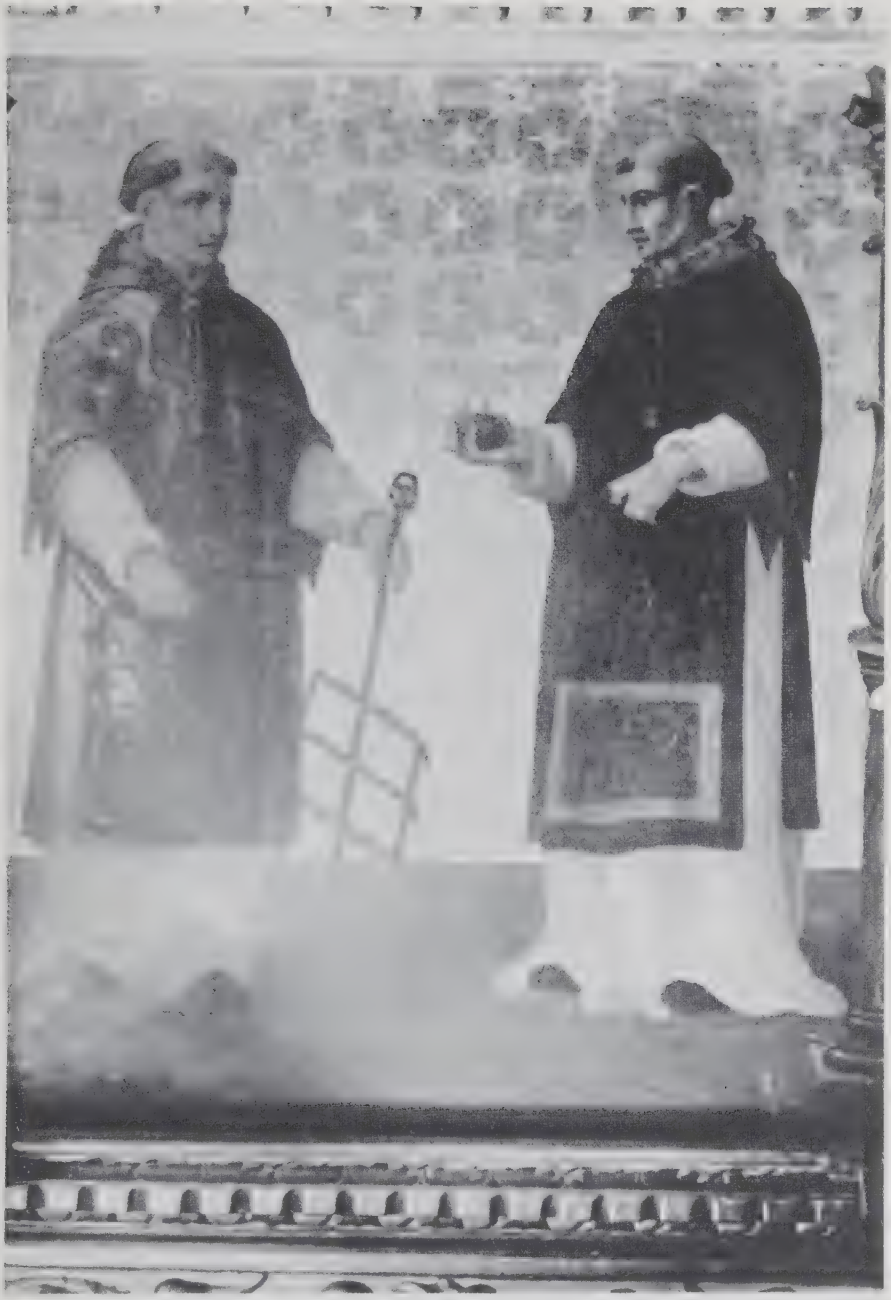

FIG. 336. ANDALUSIAN SCHOOL, SIXTEENTH CENTURY.
STS. LAWRENCE AND STEPHEN, SECTION OF WINGS
OF A RETABLE. S. ANDRÉS, CORDOVA
(*Photo. González*)

century are so rare in southern Spain and especially Cordova, the city that in the church of S. Andrés harbors the productions with which we now have to do. There are two sets of panels of the period in the edifice, in my opinion by different personalities. A lateral apse contains one set as the side-pieces in a retable of which the centre is made by sculptured groups of the Assumption and Crucifixion. They consist of pairs of saints relieved against gold backgrounds diapered with the favorite Andalusian pattern of ornamented checkers, the members of each pair being iconographically interrelated. With an identical design in the backgrounds, one panel marshals the Apostles St. Andrew, to whom the church is dedicated, and St. James Major, the patron of the country, and a second compartment aligns the deacons, Sts. Lawrence and Stephen (Fig. 336). The other two panels, united by a single pattern (as of tiling) in the backgrounds, different from that of the first twain, exhibits Sts. John Baptist and John Evangelist and then the friars St. Francis receiving the stigmata (the only one of all the personages who kneels instead of stands) and St. Dominic. The composition of the figure of the Dominican Order's founder resembles closely the representation of this saint in the same church of S. Andrés by the most adequately known Cordovan master of the time, Pedro Romana,[1] and so brings out the more clearly the stylistic divergences which likewise in the other effigies in the series render his authorship of the panels incredible. Indeed, the only contemporary active at Cordova revealing any significant analogies is Luis Fernández, whose one authenticated work, however, the Nativity in the episcopal palace of the city,[2] provides far too little evidence for advocating seriously his claims to the retable's painted sections. It is not difficult to perceive also some similarities (especially in the case of the holy deacons) to the Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine of Siena in private possession at Seville and to the Mass of St. Gregory in the cathedral of Malaga, both of which I was obliged, in volume X, to leave in the class of anonymous pictures, but here again the attachments are insufficient to support the idea of a single authorship.

Quite as indeterminate are the links of the second set of panels in the church with the art of Antón Becerra.[3] The paintings are found on the doors of a cupboard in the sacristy, Sts. John Evangelist (very different from his figure in the altarpiece) and Catherine of Alexandria on the front and back of one valve, St. Bartholomew and a canonized maiden without attributes correspondingly placed on the other valve (Fig. 337).

PEDRO MACHUCA

Our scant recognized pictorial legacy from this Italianate Spaniard of the Renaissance has been augmented by Roberto Longhi,[1] who brilliantly and correctly discerns his authorship of two panels, a Deposition, No. 47

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[1] Vol. X, fig. 76.

[2] *Ibid.*, fig. 69.

[3] Vols. X, p. 222, and XI, p. 462.

[1] *Paragone*, No. 43 (1953), 11–13.

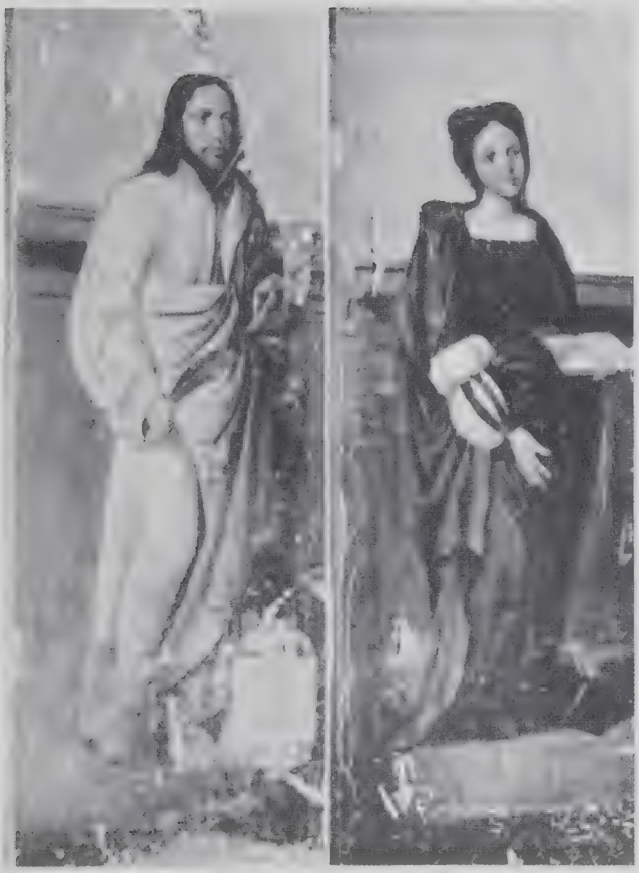

Fig. 337. ANDALUSIAN SCHOOL, SIXTEENTH CENTURY. ST. BARTHOLOMEW AND A VIRGIN MARTYR, DOOR OF A CUPBOARD.
S. ANDRÉS, CORDOVA
(*Photo. González*)

of the Catalogue of the Bourgeois Collection in the sale at Cologne in 1904 and now in the Hátvany Collection, Budapest, and a long, horizontal representation of Pentecost, probably in origin a whole predella or, mayhap, only a section of a predella that he reports as at present somewhere in the United States. With a chauvinistic tendency to think that Spanish artists who studied in Italy attained worthier results there than after repatriation, Longhi dates the pictures before Machuca returned to his own country and honors him with a not unimportant rôle in the creation of Italian mannerism, just as we shall find in a future volume that he does the same for Alonso Berruguete, in the latter case actually ascribing to him on thin stylistic evidence and without entire success a group of paintings done in Italy. Since, however, the ultimate provenience of the two panels by Machuca is unascertained,[2] they are not sufficiently different from his works at Granada to negative the possibility of their execution in Spain, especially if we remember the extensive list of the lost paintings that he is documented as having there produced. Moreover, when the Deposition existed in the Bourgeois Collection, it was set in an elaborate carved wooden, Plateresque frame, loosely ascribed to Alonso Berruguete, which, if from the beginning attached to the picture, would establish a Spanish origin. The painting does not look as if it had been cut and accommodated to the frame, and, to judge from the rather large size,[3] it might have constituted in itself a whole altarpiece instead of being only a part of a huge retable. Longhi, perhaps rightly, makes much more than I [4] of the influence upon Machuca of the artistic *milieu* of Rome in the first two decades of the Cinquecento, but I should still cling to his dependence also upon Correggio. The Pentecost provides an outstanding example of his unusual treatment of his subjects which I have stressed in my discussion of him in volume X [5] and which in itself may be taken as an augury of the characteristics of the manneristic movement. Partly also in order to fill the lengthy space, he has added to the central group of the Virgin and Apostles a wondering and excited multitude at the sides, perhaps, as Longhi interprets, "the devout men out of every nation" who were amazed at the marvels resulting from the descent of the Holy Spirit. The strange, contemplative personage emphasized at the extreme left looks as if suggested by the mysteriously brooding spectator in Leonardo's Epiphany in the Uffizi, Florence, a figure that was retained in the version by Llanos (perhaps assisted by Yáñez) [6] in the shutters of the retable in the cathedral of Valencia, but otherwise it is hard to unearth anywhere in Machuca a vital debt to the seductive Florentine.

Whatever the provenience of the panels recognized by Longhi, we

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[2] Longhi himself discounts the alleged derivation of the Deposition from a church at Palermo.

[3] The height is 138 centimetres and the width, 127.

[4] Vol. X, pp. 263–264.

[5] Pp. 265–266.

[6] Vol. XI, p. 194.

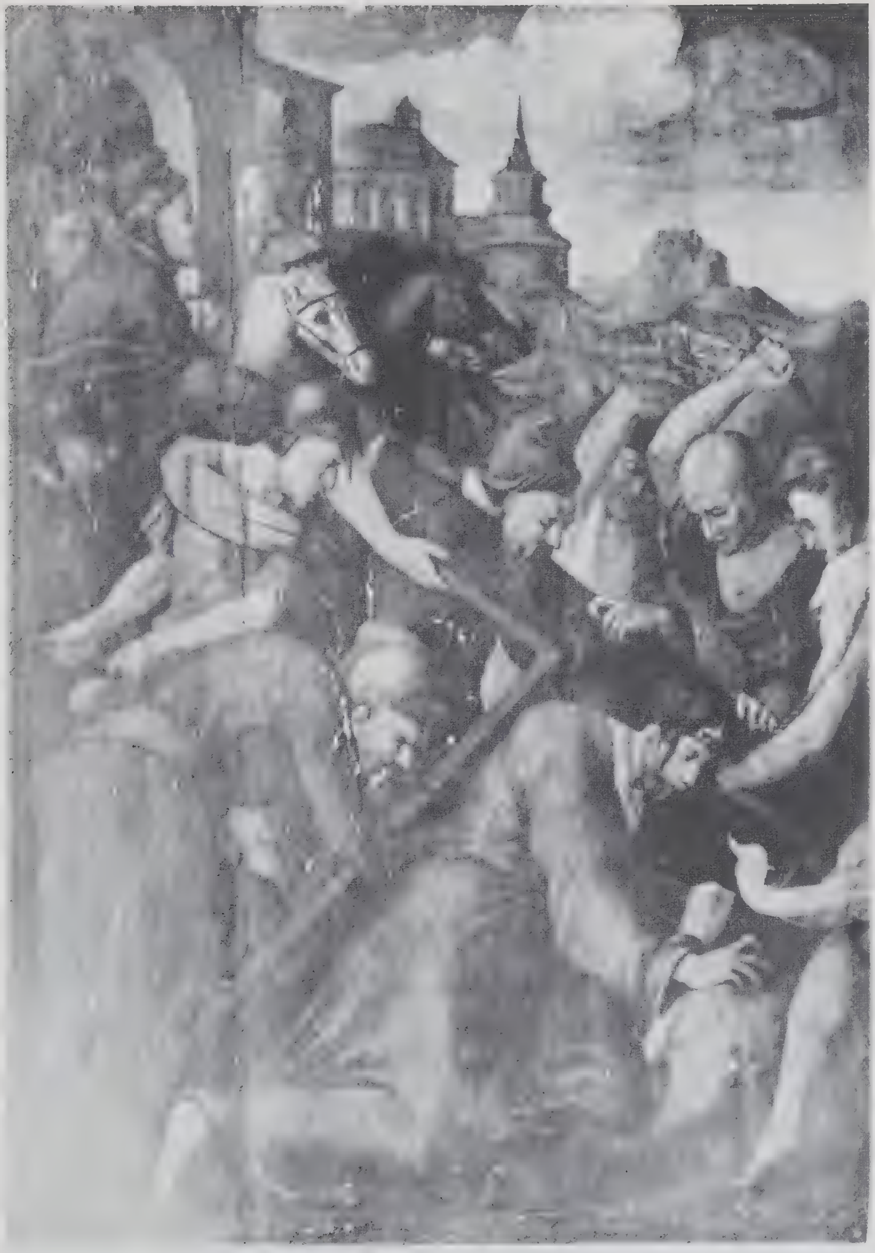

Fig. 338. PEDRO MACHUCA. VIA DOLOROSA.
CASTILLO-BAQUERO COLLECTION, SEVILLE
(Courtesy of Dr. Martin S. Soria)

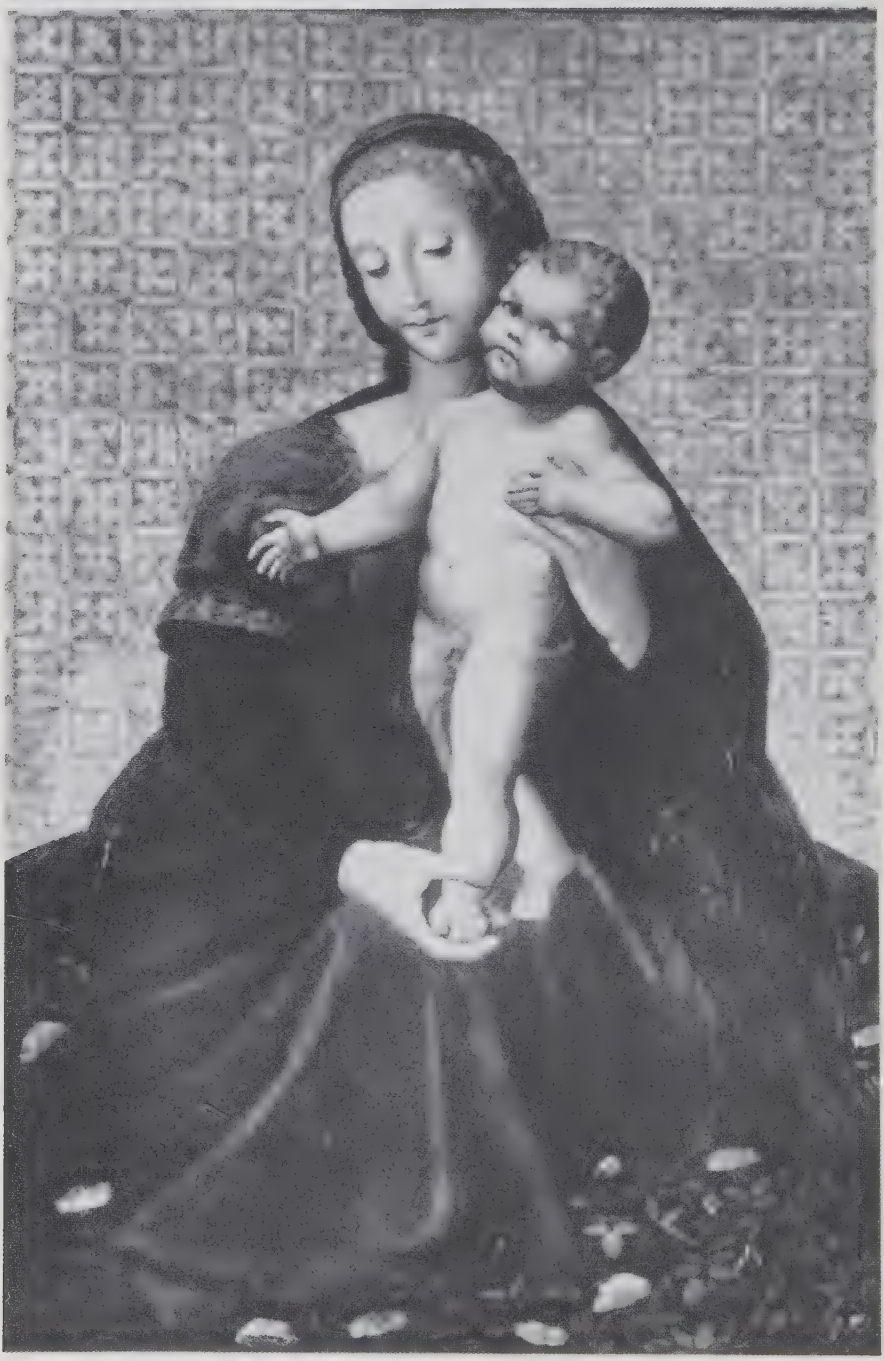

Fig. 339. PEDRO MACHUCA. MADONNA. DEALER, BARCELONA
(*Photo. Mas*)

must with certainty assign to Machuca's Spanish period two of his works that have recently emerged to our knowledge. One of the many obligations that I owe to the unfailing friendliness of Dr. Martin S. Soria is the pleasure of being able to publish an illustration of a production in which Don Diego Angulo[7] has discerned his craft, a Via Dolorosa in the Collection of the Viuda de Castillo-Baquero at Seville (Fig. 338). The close affiliations with Machuca's other scenes from the Passion in the retable in the Royal Chapel, Granada, are rightly pointed out by Angulo, but the history of the retable[8] and the dimensions[9] of the Via Dolorosa discourage us from thinking it to have been once a part of this *ensemble*.

A second work that he did in Spain has appeared in the possession of a dealer at Barcelona, a panel of the Madonna and Child that again exhibits his iconographic originality in that she is seated on the ground in a composition which in Italy goes back to Don Lorenzo Monaco and in Spain was employed a few times in the early fifteenth century but became rare in Europe during the Cinquecento (Fig. 339). The leaves and flowers of the rose on the ground show that she was represented as the Virgin of the Rosary. The types and pictorial methods, especially the chiaroscuro, fit neatly into Machuca's manner, and the derivation from a Spanish site is proved by the Andalusian pattern of florally ornamented checkers in the gold background.

JOHANNES HISPANUS

Pride goeth before a fall. I have always plumed myself on keeping abreast of the bibliography of Spanish painting, but I find that, as a punishment, I have fallen into overlooking two articles that, although they do not negate what I have written about Johannes Hispanus,[1] yet would have clarified further for me his personality. The excuse for my oversight is that one would not have naturally sought for information on Spanish painting in periodicals of Italy, *Proporzioni*[2] and *Paragone*,[3] which are at least principally concerned with the art of this country; but I have learned better subsequently (as my immediately preceding discussion of Pedro Machuca has shown), and I ought to have realized that, since the single work of Johannes known to me existed in Italy and was thoroughly Italianate, such comprehensive and explorative publications might have devoted some space to him. The author of the articles, the eminent and perceptive Italian scholar, Federico Zeri,[4] has correctly attributed to him on stylistic grounds a considerable number of productions, all of them in Italy or deriving therefrom, besides the signed Entombment once belonging to the Marchese d'Adda at Milan but now in the Saibene Collection in this city, the sole achievement of Johannes Hispanus hitherto recognized by me or anyone else. The importance of the articles for students of Spanish art is, first, that the new attributions confirm, in my opinion, the impossibility of equating him with any Spanish painter thereafter active in the Iberian peninsula and that we must therefore now definitely exclude from such an identification Vicente Juan Masip, whom I was already very much disposed to reject in my volume XI, and Juan de Borgoña, whom I still emphatically throw into the discard. Zeri himself disposes of Berenson's proposal to see in Johannes the Ferrarese master, Gian Battista Benvenuto, called L'Ortolano. The second importance of the articles is that Johannes, despite his Spanish birth, became, like Giovanni di Pietro, nicknamed Lo Spagna, to all intents and purposes, a member of the Italian school who evidently never returned to his native land, in whom I fail to discern the vague Spanish traits observed by Zeri, and who is therefore removed from any extended consideration in our volumes. Suffice it to say that, patronized in places so distant from each other as Viadana in Mantuan territory and Montecassiano just north of Macerata in the Marches, he must have been an itinerant master, possessing as a basic style the manner of the Venetian provinces and resembling especially Boccaccio Boccaccino of Cremona but superimposing upon this foundation, like another eclectic wanderer from the artistic *milieu* of Venice, Antonio da Solario, Umbrian characteristics.

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[7] *Pintura del Renacimiento*, 226.

[8] See my vol. X, p. 264.

[9] The only comparable section of the Granada retable in size is the Descent into Hell, whose measurements are 140 by 75 centimetres, whereas those of the Via Dolorosa are 117 by 84.

[1] Vol. XI, pp. 83–86.

[2] II (1948), 172–175.

[3] 11 (1950), 60–61.

[4] In an article (*Burlington Magazine*, XCVI, 1954, pp. 147–150) on the Neapoli-

The Cuenca Master

There has again occurred a phenomenon that I have often pleasantly experienced after succeeding in the isolation of a new personality in Spanish art: I have been rewarded almost at once by recognizing further works of his hand. So now in the case of the Perea Master's rather individual follower, the Cuenca Master, whose talents rose superior to the average of the Valencian coterie to which he belonged.[1] The work in which his craft proves most tangible is a panel of St. Anthony Abbot in the Museum of Bilbao, once the centre or at least among the principal compartments of an altarpiece (Fig. 340). In addition to the general conformity to the Cuenca Master's style, there should be pointed out: the likeness to the St. Andrew in the Mateu retable, especially in the patriarchal beard hiding a goodly part of the countenance; a resemblance only a bit less marked to several of the Apostles in the predella of the retable at Cuenca; the analogy to the head and its downward bend in the Louvre Christ; the Master's

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tan painter whose personality Zeri has isolated and to whom he gives the name of the Master of the Glasgow Adoration, he tentatively — but, to my eyes, not convincingly — proposes an identification of this artist with the beginnings of Johannes Hispanus.

[1] Vol. XI, p. 162.

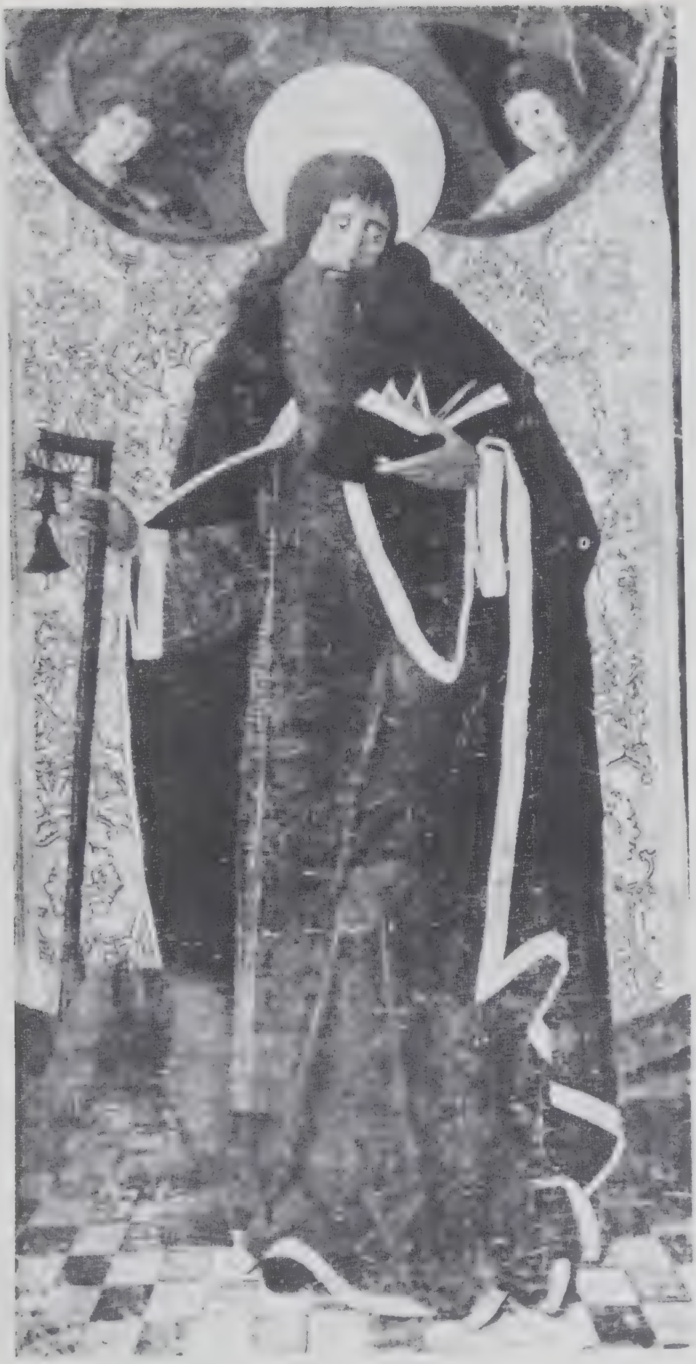

FIG. 340. THE CUENCA MASTER. ST. ANTHONY ABBOT. MUSEUM, BILBAO
(Photo. Mas)

constant practice of allowing stray locks to fall upon the forehead, as, for instance, in the Santiago of the Cuenca retable, whose hair at the sides of the visage are even ruffled in the fashion of St. Anthony's coiffure; as throughout this retable, the mode of casting in shadow one side of the face; the duplication of the book and the way that it is held in the St. James of the Mateu retable and the St. Simon (second from left, with the saw) in the Cuenca predella; and the same sort of Valencian tiling that the Cuenca retable displays. The St. Anthony Abbot on the Mateu *guardapolvos* is conceived as an older man, but he also has a plenitude of beard. The angels upholding the fabric behind the hallowed hermit are rather different from those in the Louvre picture but not too diverse from the examples in the Pietà of the Mateu predella; and in any case the Cuenca Master exhibits a considerable range in his types, though sufficiently repeating some of them and other distinguishing marks of his style to permit the recognition of his productions.

A more significant accretion to his legacy to us is a lovely panel of the Madonna and angels that has passed from the Sterbini Collection to the Museum of the Palazzo Venezia at Rome,[2] a work which has long been a puzzle to connoisseurs and turns out to confirm the opinion of those who have voted for the school of Valencia (Fig. 341). With the Cuenca Master's fondness for varying his types, Our Lady does not resemble closely the Virgin at the centre of the Cuenca retable; but she is not unlike the Madonna of the Epiphany in the pinnacle of the Mateu retable, particularly in the long tresses falling at either side of her mantle, and the frontal composition of her form is precisely the same. In both pictures the body of the Child has been the object of unusual anatomical attention for Spain of the period, and the blessing gesture of His right arm and hand is identical. A Morellian item of proof is the strabismus of the Virgin's left eye, exactly as in the St. John and, somewhat less apparently, the St. Bartholomew (third from right) in the Cuenca predella. The angels depart widely from representations of celestial spirits in his other works, but the general cast of features is like that of the Apostles in the predella of the Cuenca retable, even in the Master's tendency to shade one side of the countenance, a peculiarity observed also in the Virgin herself. The appurtenances in the panel of the Palazzo Venezia also accord with his practices, the tiling and the splendor of the brocaded hanging; and it is to be noted that at the bottom the border of the hanging curves upward just as behind the St. Anthony at Bilbao.

The similarity to the Madonna at Rome that is evident in a treatment of the same theme bearing the inscription *La Almoyna*,[3] which from the guild of millers at Valencia has passed into the Collection of the Marquesa de Benicarló in this city, would possess the importance of revealing, were it not for two great uncertainties, the actual name of the Cuenca Master as Pedro Cabanes. It is likely that there were two popular Valencian

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[2] The dimensions are 115 centimetres in height by 64 in width.

[3] Vol. VI, p. 258 and fig. 101.

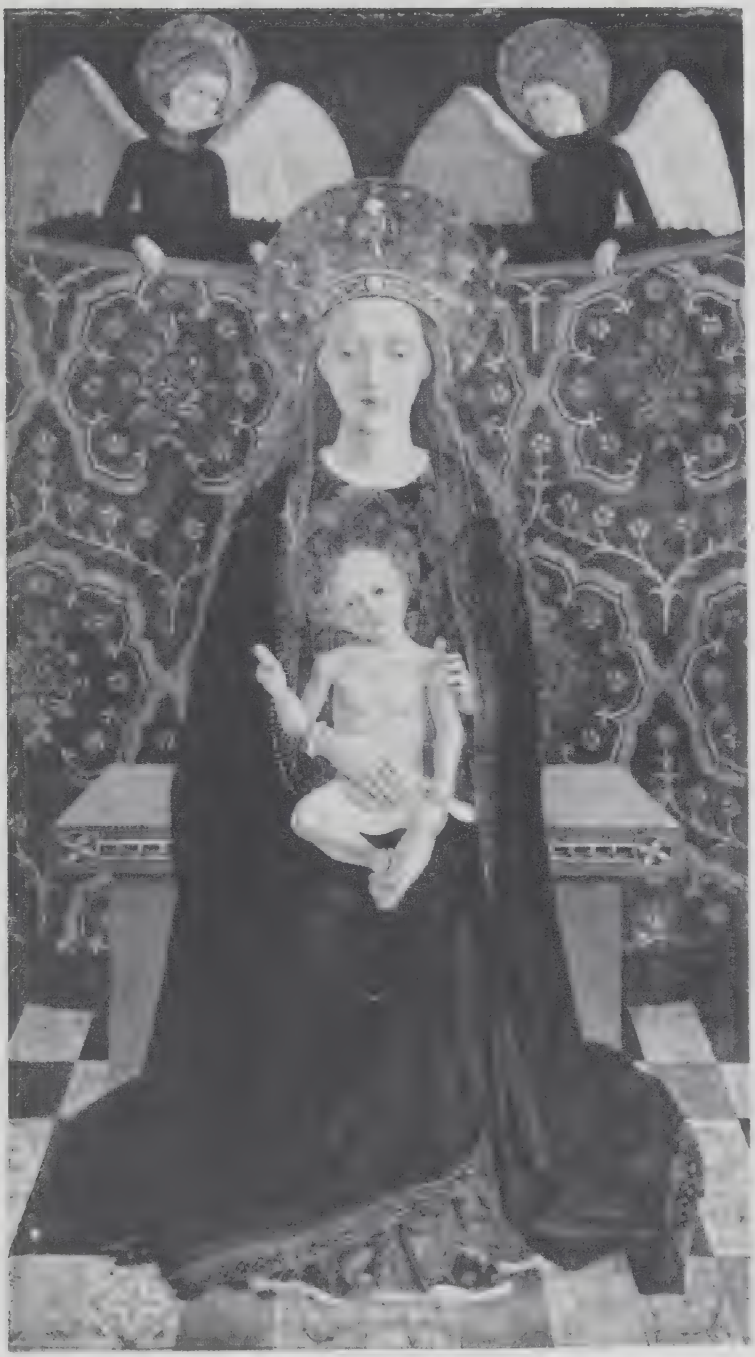

FIG. 341. THE CUENCA MASTER. MADONNA AND ANGELS.
PALAZZO VENEZIA, ROME
(*Photo. Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale*)

painters so called, one whose activity fell largely within the second half of the fifteenth century and the other belonging to the first third of the sixteenth century; and it would be the earlier of the twain with whom the Cuenca Master might conceivably be identical.[4] The first uncertainty is the serious question [5] whether the picture is really the one which Cabanes is documented in 1498 as having done, a painting of unspecified theme over the portal of the Casa de la Almoyna, Valencia, and the second is the impossibility of asserting with conviction, partly by reason of the liberal repaint, that the Cuenca Master was the author. It is not, however, beyond credibility that a judicious cleaning might uncover convincing analogies of the Virgin and of the active Child to his undoubted creations. The original tiling of the pavement has not been concealed and proves to be of the sort that the Cuenca Master favors.

Fernando Yáñez de la Almedina and Fernando de Llanos

Among the virtues of the monograph on Yáñez by Felipe María Garín Ortiz de Taranco,[1] published so shortly after the appearance of my volume XI that the author had not read my discussion of this painter and his associate Llanos, we may stress especially the hard and intelligent effort (which no one realizes better than I) that has gone into the ferreting out of forgotten works and into the acquisition of photographs of these, as well as of lost productions. The most signal example is his discovery in the church of S. Nicolás, Valencia, of further parts of the assemblage to which belonged the handsome *Anna selbdritt* that I analyzed in volume XI [2] without knowing that Ponz had seen and described it as the chief compartment of a small retable. More alert than I, Señor Garín had perused Ponz [3] and then searched successfully in the church for the retable's other parts that this writer had listed, an Annunciation above the *Anna selbdritt* and a predella of the dead Christ accompanied by an angel and set between panels of the standing St. Michael and the seated St. Peter. Since the Annunciation, very different from the version by Yáñez in the Colegio del Patriarca, Valencia, and with the two actors on the same level, insistently suggests even in the types execution by Llanos, it would confirm my contention that he had his part also in the *Anna selbdritt*. I see no reason for refusing to believe that Yáñez did the predella, which acquires signal importance in his development because the figure of the dead Christ, it seems impossible to doubt, was based upon Andrea del Sarto's

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[4] For Pedro Cabanes I and II, see *ibid.*, p. 175, n. 3.

[5] Vol. VI, p. 258. Saralegui (*Archivo español de arte*, XVII, 1944, p. 108, n. 1) has very tentatively endeavored to equate Cabanes (meaning, I suppose, the second of the name) with my Cabanyes Master, suggesting — I believe, wrongly — that this Master might have executed the picture now in the Benicarló Collection.

[1] Valencia, Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1954.

[2] Pp. 205–207 and fig. 71.

[3] *Viaje de España*, IV, Carta tercera, paragraph 31.

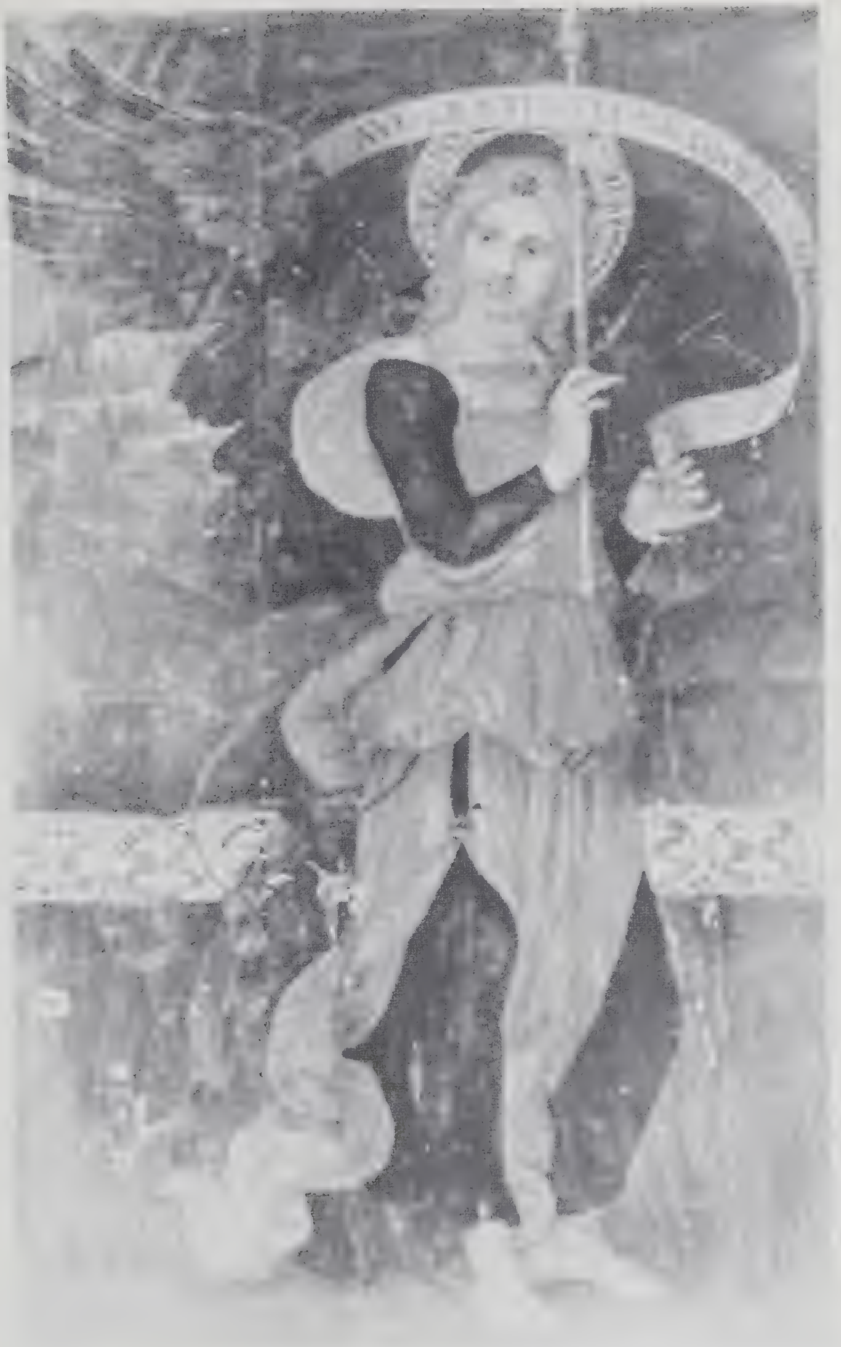

FIG. 342. FERNANDO YÁNEZ DE LA ALMEDINA. ST. GABRIEL, SECTION OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, AYORA
(Courtesy of Don Adolfo Cámara Ávila)

rightly admired fresco of the theme, that, according to my most recent information, has been placed in the church of San Salvi, near Florence.[4] The importance is that, since Andrea del Sarto's picture is ordinarily dated about 1515 or slightly earlier, the debated question of a second journey of Yáñez to Italy would be decided in the affirmative.[5]

The indefatigable zeal of Garín obtained an old reproduction of the birth of the Baptist that disappeared from the church of Montserrat at Orihuela in 1936.[6] So far as the types can be discerned in the dimness of the reproduction, they tend to corroborate my attribution to Llanos, who was active in this region; and the composition bears some resemblances to this artist's Birth of the Virgin in the Valencian shutters and implies that it was known to the follower of the Fernandos who set the subject of St. John's Nativity at the centre of a retable now in the Mateu Collection, Barcelona.[7] The date 1504, set under the reproduction in a newspaper of Orihuela in 1924,[8] is, of course, impossibly early.

The salient accretion to our legacy from Yáñez that has come to light since Garín's and my publications, constituting one of the outstanding discoveries of modern times, is a series of four panels in the present parish church of Ayora, in the southwestern corner of the province of Valencia, but originally parts of a retable in a chapel of the upper church of the castle. The honor of the discovery belongs to Don Adolfo Cámara Ávila, who found them utterly neglected on the floor of a dependency of the parish church but has succeeded in having them rescued to the sacristy. The preserved parts consist of: the principal compartment depicting the seated Madonna holding the Child and labelled in the halo Our Lady of Succor (inscribed, in the Valencian language of the time, *Socós*); the central, crowning piece of a half-length of the Eternal Father between heads of cherubs emerging from clouds; and panels of the kneeling St. Onuphrius and the standing St. Gabriel, treated not as an actor in the Annunciation but as a separate cult-figure (Fig. 342), both either lateral sections from the retable's main body or divisions of a predella.[9] In the admirably modest but clear and scholarly articles [10] in which Cámara publishes the fragments, he quotes a letter written to him by the great connoisseur of Valencian art, Don Leandro de Saralegui, with whose conclusions I entirely agree. The illustrations in the articles and Saralegui's authority are enough, without further ado, to ensconce the series in an important niche among the indubitable creations of Yáñez, and Saralegui is certainly right in perceiving the closest stylistic analogue in the Last Judgment in the Collection of Don Juan March on the island of Majorca, a conclusion to which I myself had come before reading the articles and from just looking at the illustrations. The cherubs' heads, for instance, are actually repeated about the Christ of the Last Judgment, and the second aged head at the left in the purgatorial flames is used again for the Ayora St. Onuphrius. Indeed, it seems impossible to question Saralegui's surmise that the March picture was once a part of the retable at Ayora, for the supplicating Virgin in the Last Judgment wears a halo with exactly the same figuration and kind of inscribed name as the sacred personages throughout the recently discovered panels, and nowhere else is precisely this kind of halo employed by Yáñez or Llanos. Iconographically also the March picture would fit into the retable's scheme. The Madonna of Succor is usually represented as victorious over Satan; but the designations of the many phases under which the Virgin was worshipped have no very accurate limits, and the title, Madonna of Succor, might easily have been extended to include the Madonna del Suffragio (in Spanish, Sufragio) who brings relief to souls in purgatory. In Machuca's Madonna del Suffragio in the Prado,[11] purgatory is comprised within the same panel; but in the Ayora retable it would have been a passage in a separate compartment, the Last Judgment, above the panel of the Virgin and Child, and at the top, as in the version of the theme by Yáñez once at Játiva,[12] there would have appeared the effigy of the blessing God the Father.

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[4] Illustrated, for instance, as fig. 407 in Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, IX, part 1.

[5] My vol. XI, p. 229.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 269–271.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 359 and fig. 149.

[8] Garín, p. 132.

[9] The dimensions of the principal compartment are: 105 centimetres in height by 82 in width; of the *remate*, 21 in height by 59 in width; of the St. Onuphrius, 84 by 65; and of the St. Gabriel, 92 by 65.

[10] In the daily newspaper of Madrid, *ABC*, for October 11, 1955, and in the periodical, *Valencia, Atracción*, January, 1956.

Whether or not there was any collaboration of Llanos in the March picture, none is to be detected in the fragments still at Ayora. Obviously they are considerably later in manner than the shutters of the retable of the high altar in the cathedral of Valencia and than the majority of the works assignable to Yáñez before his Cuenca period, and indeed they are almost, if not quite, as mature as this period's productions. If Llanos had anything to do with the March Last Judgment as part of the Ayora altarpiece, the date for the altarpiece would have to be prior to 1516 when the partnership had been dissolved and Llanos had moved to Murcia, but his collaboration in the Last Judgment can by no means be proved. Ayora, though not close to Valencia, is so much nearer than to Cuenca that it is very unlikely that Yáñez should have received the commission from the more distant city. After 1513 until his appearance at Cuenca possibly by 1523, we do not really know where he was, except for his temporary sojourn at Barcelona in 1515, and we are justified in guessing that he continued to reside at Valencia or in Valencian territory, executing the order at Ayora and other mature productions such as the Last Judgment at Játiva. If Jaime Pérez, a native of Ayora, who had been auxiliary bishop of Valencia during the archiepiscopate of Rodrigo Borgia (afterwards the pope Alexander VI), survived into the second decade of the sixteenth

[11] Vol. X, p. 261.

[12] Vol. XI, fig. 72.

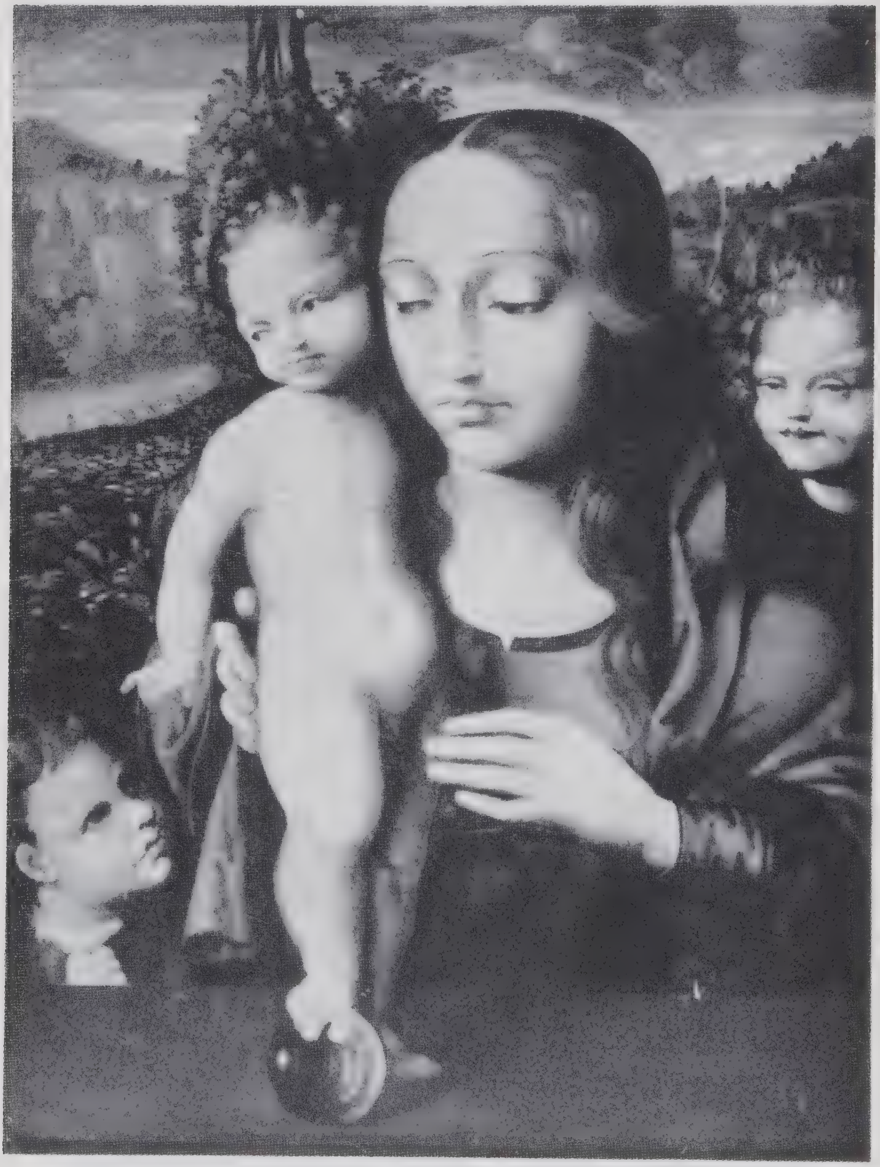

Fig. 343. FELIPE PABLO. MADONNA, CHILD, YOUNG ST. JOHN, AND ANGEL. S. ESTEBAN, VALENCIA
(*Photo. Mas*)

century, we should be furnished with some substantiation for Cámara's proposal that his influence obtained for Yáñez the contract.

To Garín's and my lists of the works of Yáñez, Augulo[13] has added a panel of the favorite Valencian theme, Christ presenting to His mother the redeemed of the old dispensation, in the Adanero Collection, Madrid. I have been a bit troubled by some resemblances to the Pentecost in the Collection of Don Ignacio Lacuadra at Valencia, which I am inclined,[14] though without absolute conviction, to ascribe to the Fernandos' follower, Miguel Esteve, rather than to either of the partners. The most tangible of the resemblances exists between the Apostle relieved against the doorway in the Pentecost and the man with clasped hands in the background of the Adanero painting; but in the end I find myself ready to concur with Angulo in an assignment to Yáñez and in his dating at a late moment in the artist's development. The composition, with the featuring of the redeemed thief holding his cross, is generally similar to the treatments of the theme by the Valencian contemporary of Yáñez, the Cabanyes Master.[15]

FELIPE PABLO

Among the many oversights betrayed by my books must be numbered the failure, in volume XI, to recognize an achievement of this representative of the Leonardesque strain at Valencia in a panel of the Madonna, Child, infant St. John, and a smiling boy-angel that graces (or once graced) the church of S. Esteban in the city (Fig. 343). The Virgin is extremely like her effigy in the panel of similar theme in the church of the Congregación, Valencia, and, since I am more confident of Felipe Pablo's claim to the version in S. Esteban, the other rendering is therefore farther raised to the status of one of his authentic productions. The individualized and not too well-favored young St. John actually repeats the representation of him, riding on the lamb, at the front of the Adoration of the Shepherds in the Geri Collection, Florence, and the (wingless) angel has one of the emotional expressions of the countenance that Felipe Pablo almost uniquely cultivated in Valencian art of the period, in this case a pronounced smile, which strangely reminds us of the innovation of a laughing angel in Fra Filippo Lippi's celebrated Madonna in the Uffizi. Within the norms of Felipe Pablo's practices there falls also the darkened sky cut by streaks of light.

THE ALCIRA MASTER

Since the publication of my volume XI, this member of the circle of Yáñez and Llanos has grown considerably in stature through Angulo's[1] brilliant ascriptions to him of further works, through contributions of my

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[13] *Archivo español de arte*, XXVII (1954), 70.

[14] Vol. XI, pp. 330–332.

[15] Vol. VI, pp. 397 and 412.

[1] *Pintura del Renacimiento*, 52.

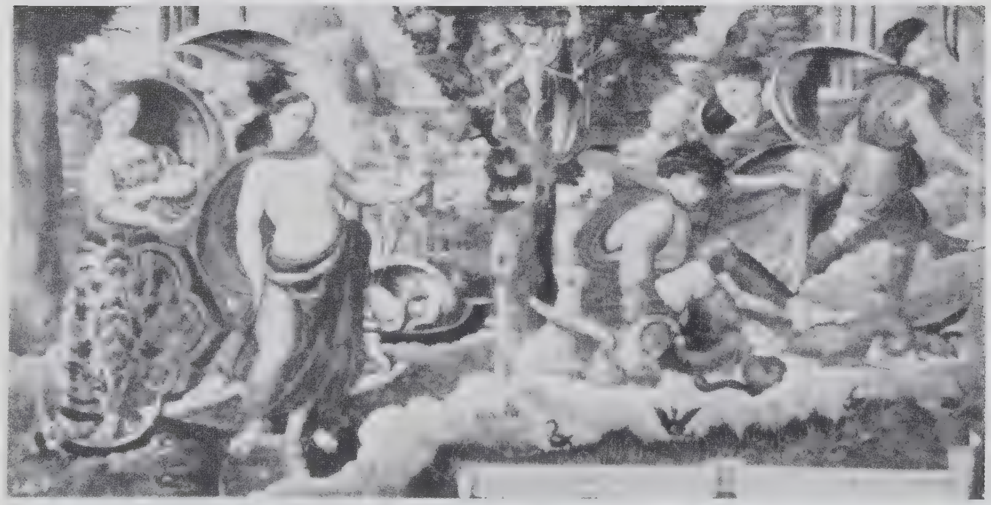

FIG. 344. THE ALCIRA MASTER. ALLEGORICAL SUBJECT.
MUSEUM, BUDAPEST
(*From a Catalogue of the Museum, published in 1916*)

own, and through a now general realization that one of the most distinguished painters active in Aragon during the early Renaissance, the Master of Sijena, owed to him a very considerable stylistic debt. The additions to his recognized legacy to us reveal not only an originality merely adumbrated in his paintings that I mustered in volume XI but also both a broader stylistic range than the largely Leonardesque dependence which these paintings incorporate and a distinct advance towards mannerism. The most important work newly and rightly attributed to him by Angulo is an entire thematic surprise in his production, as well as in the pictorial output of Spain in general at so early a period, an elaborate, pure allegory [2] in the Museum of Budapest (Fig. 344), quite apart from such commonplaces as the personified Virtues. It may very well be that the details are based upon some poem of which two verses are quoted at the bottom of the panel,

"Los que quieren porfiar sin el viento de razón,
Ellos i ellas locos son;"

but at least the conception of the figures and the definition of their activities would be the artist's own invention. Inasmuch as I know the work only in reproductions in books [3] and in a photograph kindly sent me by Mr. Andor Pigler, I cannot explain all the details or read all the lettering, and I may have missed here and there the proper exegesis. The picture is divided into halves by a tree, inscribed Sensualidad (Sensuality), in whose branches stands Cupid carrying two arrows with banners marked with the word *apetito* (appetite). In the general, didactic labelling of the figures throughout the painting, on the waves of the sea at the bottom of the panel there is written beneath the tree El Amor as a specification of the quality of which Cupid is an agent; and in addition to the escutcheon attached to the tree the face of Memoria looks forth from its branches, reminding of their sins the exponents of vices in the picture's left half, who are all women (!) and witness to the misogyny of the Alcira Master or his literary inspirer. At the back appears Lust (Deleite), and behind this figure recumbent Indolence (Descuido) is wafted along in a small boat; but the names of the two other female exponents of evil in the foreground (one standing on the crescent moon and the other on the terrestial globe), I am unable to read in the illustrations. The gusts of unreasonableness blow from the left upon all these personifications of uncontrolled desires, swelling the expanses of drapery that they carry, whereas the wiser figures at the right of the tree, in each case men, are subject to the wind of reason, causing their garments to billow forth in the opposite direction. Seated Content (Contentamiento) is drawn over the surge by Prudence, in the shape of one of the regular symbols of the virtue, a (dragon-like) serpent, and by Circumspection (*el Tiento* [4]) materialized as a swan. The other two

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[2] The dimensions are 77½ centimetres in length by 44½ in height.

[3] One of the reproductions is included by Von Loga, *Die Malerei in Spanien*, p. 105, where the panel is wrongly ascribed to Alonso Berruguete.

[4] Or perhaps it ought to be read as *el Tiempo* (Time).

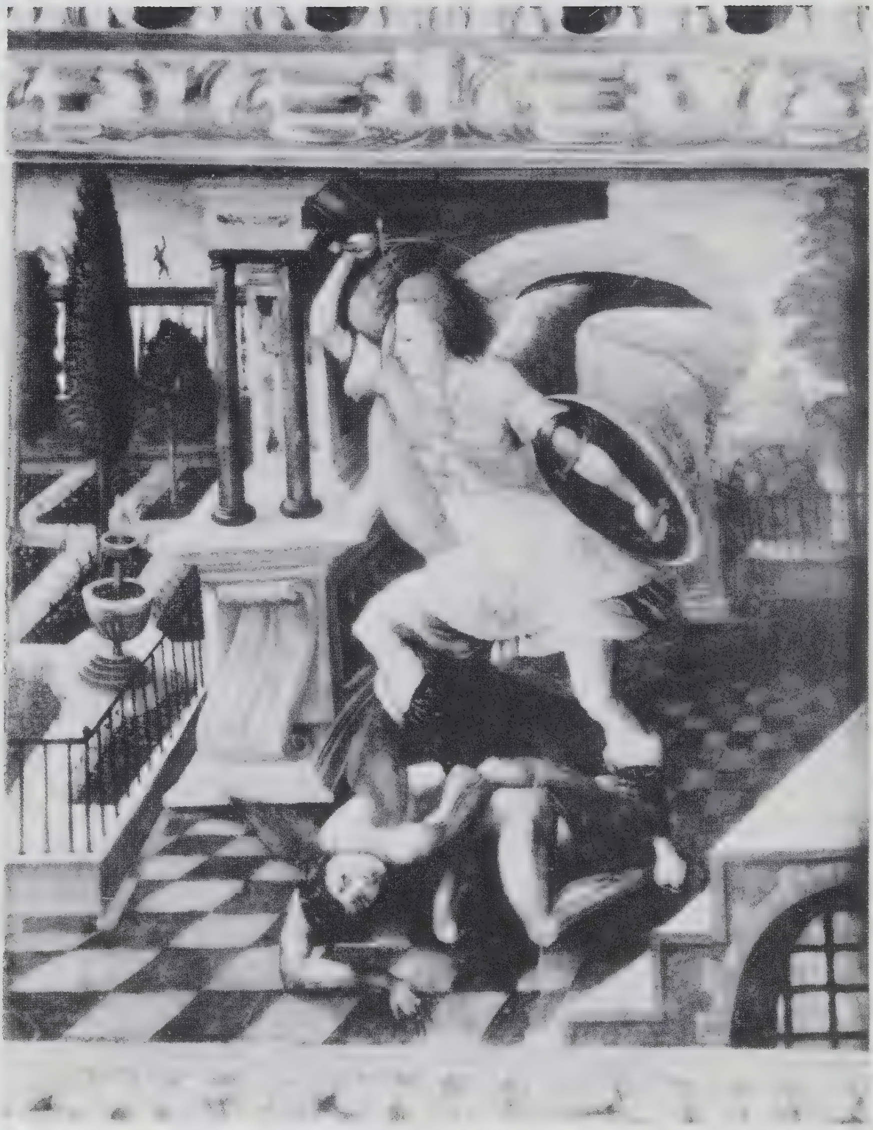

Fig. 345. THE ALCIRA MASTER. ST. MICHAEL.
PRIVATE COLLECTION, VALENCIA
(*Photo. Mas*)

men are accompanied by identifying inscriptions that my eyes cannot decipher.

The stamp of so shrewdly seeing a scholar as Angulo is enough to authenticate the picture as an achievement of the Alcira Master and to disburden me of annoying the reader with itemized proof. I will confine myself to pointing out that, although the painter adds to his repertoire a number of types not comprised within his hitherto recognized creations, he repeats some of his characteristic heads. Memory and Cupid, for instance, are like the child-angels in the Nativity of the Alcira retable; Content recalls the youngest Magus in the Epiphany of this retable; and the youth at the extreme right is not much differentiated from the St. John in the scene of the Magdalene washing Christ's feet in the triptych from Sagunto. The tree at the centre of the Budapest panel, in its trunk and foliage, reappears in the episode of the *Noli me tangere* in this triptych, and the birds below on the shores of the sea illustrate the Master's predilection for introducing them at the base of his paintings.[5]

Unless Angulo's assignment of the Budapest allegory to the Alcira Master had revealed to me the artist's fondness for violently agitated forms and great, flying draperies, I do not know that I myself should have been able to augment his preserved works with a curious panel of St. Michael which, in private possession at Valencia, had always much interested me, while remaining a puzzle in regard to authorship (Fig. 345). The similarity of the archangel to the man at the extreme right in the Budapest picture is striking, and still more convincing is the link with the Master's previously recognized works afforded by the crushed and yet Milton-like Lucifer, who is treated in the mode of the handsome lads whom the painter is prone to stress and constitutes practically a replica of the boyish shepherd in the Nativity of the retable at Alcira. To the very original conception of St. Michael is added the further evidence of the painter's fanciful mind in employing as a background a formal garden on the balustrade of which two of Satan's minions, in reduced scale, are depicted in frightened discomfiture.

I submit that two different artists could not have done figures so analogous to the St. Michael in elongated, lank physique and in movement as the pair of tormentors in the foreground of a Crowning with Thorns (Fig. 346), which still exists in the church of S. Esteban, Valencia, and which Tormo[6] assigned to a collaborator of Juan de Juanes, together with a companion-piece, the Agony in the Garden. Had it not been for this analogy, the authorship would scarcely have been suspected, but, thus guided, we experience little difficulty in ferreting out parellelisms to the Alcira Master's other productions. The tormentors display the sharp profiles echoed in many of his achievements; the Saviour has one of those serene faces that emerge now and then in the artist's rather harsh conceptions of

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[5] I am unfamiliar with another painting ascribed to him by Angulo, a Holy Family in the Collection of the Marquesa de Heredia, Madrid.

[6] *Levante*, 100.

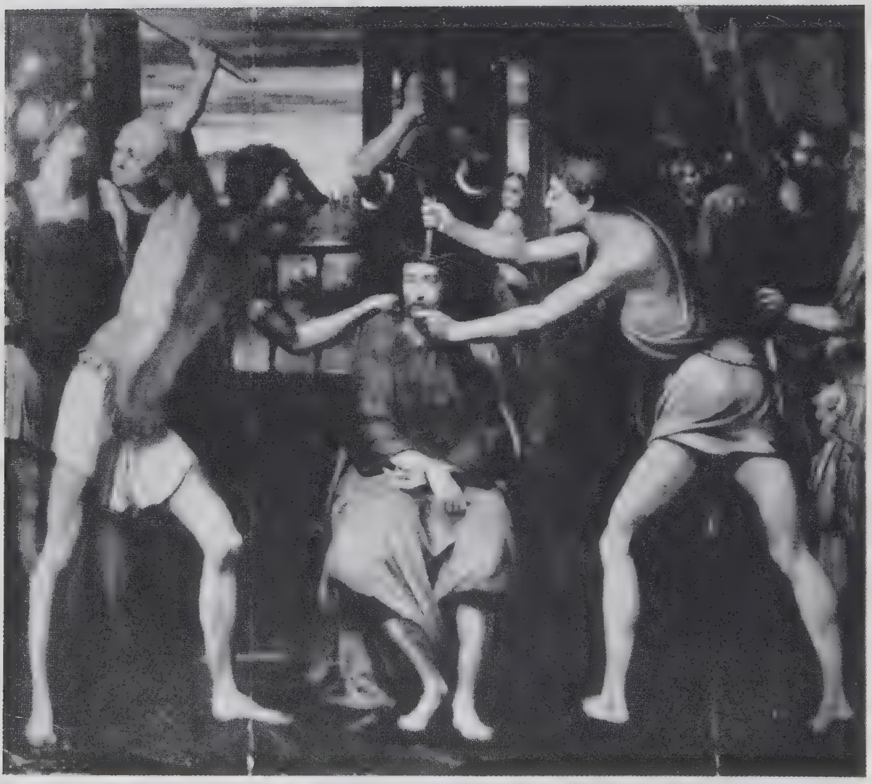

Fig. 346. THE ALCIRA MASTER. CROWNING WITH THORNS.
S. ESTEBAN, VALENCIA
(*Photo. Mas*)

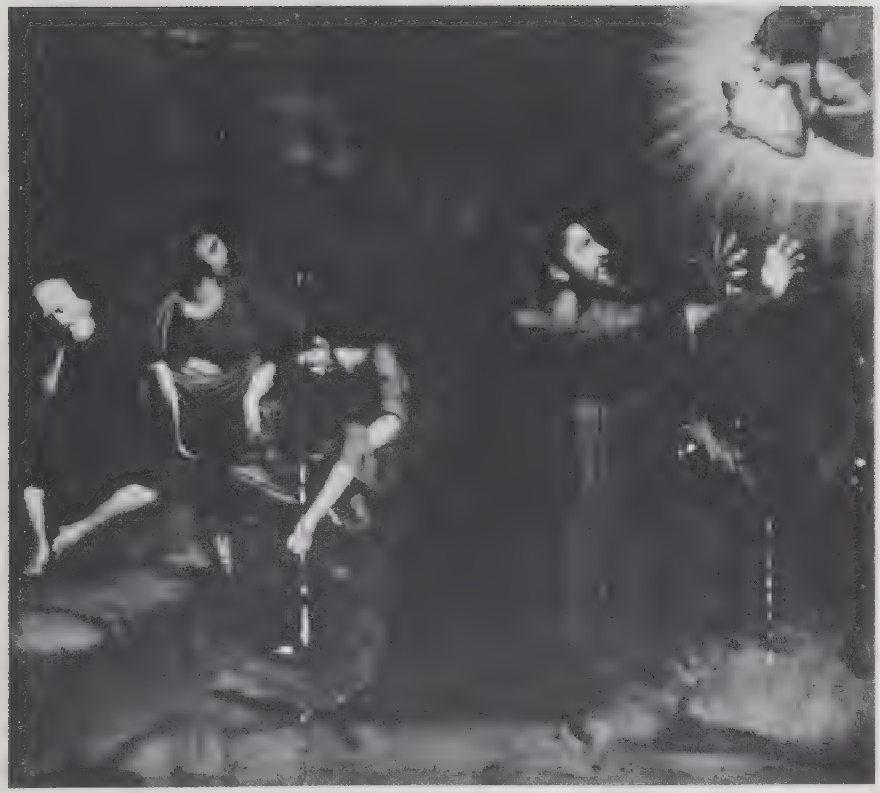

FIG. 347. THE ALCIRA MASTER. AGONY IN THE GARDEN. S. ESTEBAN, VALENCIA

(Courtesy of Don Leandro de Saralegui)

humanity, as in the standing Magus at the left in the Epiphany of the retable at Alcira; and the officer at the extreme right is only a more aged phase of the David on the Alcira *guardapolvos*. The Alcira Master here reverts to one of the strictly symmetrical compositions beloved by his Spanish predecessors of the Middle Ages; and yet in the midst of it his potent invention finds memorable expression, not only in the characterization of the pair of bravoes but also in the two participants who constitute the central axis, embodying the successful attainment of tranquil majesty in the Christ and the contrasted brute force of the henchman above Him lifting a weapon in his brawny arms to drive the crown of thorns deeper upon the sacred brow, a figure worthily foretelling the principal blacksmith in Goya's Forge in the Frick Collection, New York.

Likewise in the Agony in the Garden (Fig. 347) he so transcends his probably earlier and more Leonardesque phase that his craft would perhaps not have been recognized except by reason of the connection with the Crowning with Thorns and except for a single factor, the angel with the chalice who repeats one of his favorite profiles with abundant, windblown hair, as in the Budapest picture and in the St. Michael in a private Valencian collection. Not that reverting links with the works that I assembled in volume XI are totally absent. The St. James among the dormant Apostles resembles the St. Joseph peering from a window in the Epiphany of the Alcira retable, and Christ's outspread hands recall those of the Magdalene in the *Noli me tangere* in the triptych from Sagunto. Again the Master discloses unexpected powers of rendering posture, emotion, and character in the ardent but not pietistic devotion of Christ and in the differentiation of the convincing attitudes of sleep in the three Apostles and of the varied natures of their personalities.

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